PLANNING *WITH* NATIVE COMMUNITIES:

AN EVALUATION OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PRACTICES IN QUEBEC'S CREE COMMUNITIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The Cree communities in northern Quebec have undergone rapid changes over the last half century. Mainstream Canada's influences have brought about dramatic changes in the Cree way of life and have impacted the Cree customs, rituals, and traditions. Perhaps most notable is the influence the western lifestyle has had on settlement patterns and living accommodations: in recent decades, Quebec's Cree populations have shifted from a semi-nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary lifestyle in permanent villages with community designs and housing styles that are often typical of a Canadian suburb. Have the traditional needs of the Cree been reflected in today's modern settlement? Can culturally-sensitive environments be achieved through effective consultation and participation with the Cree during the planning of their new settlements? Moreover, what is the role of the Native person and the professional in the consultation process? This paper examines these questions through exploring the relevance of participatory planning strategies in two case studies of Cree Communities in northern Quebec (Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou). The case studies trace both the planning processes and the outcomes, in an attempt to evaluate the participatory exercise applied in each community.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

CHC	Cree Housing Corporation
DAAI	Daniel Arbour and Associates
DGNQ	Direction Générale du Nouveau-Québec
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
DINA	Department of Northern and Indian Affairs
FGRC	Fort George Relocation Corporation
GCC	Grand Council of the Crees
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (formerly DIAND)
JBNQA	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement
JBDC	James Bay Development Corporation
JBEC	James Bay Energy Corporation (Société d'Énergie de la Baie James)

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Conflicts between Natives and non-Natives over Canada's lands and resources have been ongoing since the arrival of the Europeans in Canada in the 16th century. The influx of non-Natives within Canada's northern regions has had a profound impact on the Native way of life:

> Indigenous peoples' assets, interests and property have been sold, leased, traded, and despoiled; communities have been dispossessed, displaced and impoverished; lands have been submerged, cleared, fenced and degraded; seas, rivers and lakes have been polluted … and appropriated for private use; sacred sites have been dynamited, excavated, desecrated and damaged in every possible way; cultural knowledge and material has been stolen, displayed, appropriated as national heritage, and commodified as an economic good; and even indigenous peoples themselves have been classified, subjected to repressive legislation, arbitrarily removed from their families by state apparatuses, and most recently, subjected to patenting of their genetic materials (Howitt et al., 1996, p. 15).

The disparity between the traditional Native lifestyle and the Canadian "western" lifestyle has been studied by scholars in the fields of anthropology, geography, and political science- to name a few. Considerably less attention has been paid to contributions from the field of planning.

Nonetheless, planning is a relevant discipline because it focuses on the management and organization of land and resource use, often involving problem-solving and mediation between diverse actors. Above all, planning is a forward-looking discipline that aims to improve the circumstances of human existence through principles of equality and sustainability (Lane & Hibbard, 2005).

This paper explores the relevance of participatory planning strategies through two case studies of Cree Communities in northern Quebec, Canada. Specifically, the report examines the extent to which culturally-sensitive environments can be achieved through effective participation with the Cree populations during the planning process.

BACKGROUND

Without question, the introduction of roadways, airports, and mining and forestry industries in northern Canada have had significant social, economic, and cultural implications for the Native people. These interventions have reduced the size and productivity of hunting lands, drastically hampering the Natives' ability to maintain their livelihood in a traditional manner (Afshari-Mirak, 1994).

High unemployment rates, coupled with unhealthy, overcrowded living conditions became widespread in Native settlements in the 1950s. At the same time, the Natives became very aware of the fact that their accommodations were substandard in comparison to services and housing for the public servants in Canada's north (Bone, 1987). Consequently, Canada's Natives applied social and political pressure to the federal government, obliging it to address the problems that plagued their settlements.

In a reaction to what Native political leaders described as third world conditions, the federal government developed a series of programs to initiate the construction of new housing and community services and facilities in the 1950s. Government housing programs were seen as a remedy to fill the social gap that was occurring between the country's Native and non-Native populations.

Unfortunately, these projects were "rudimentary at best", and lacked community consultation, site analysis, and technical and climatic considerations for the northern environment (Bone, 1987 ; Salisbury, 1986). The planning strategy set forth by the government was narrowly focused on the technological aspects of the developments, which were based on standards applied in Canada's southern areas. For the most part, planning approaches, methods, land-use bylaws, and building codes were geared towards the social, economic, and cultural needs of mainstream Canada (Afshari-Mirak, 1994).

The provision of conventional municipal services in Native settlements implied substantial changes to the Native environment. For instance, the introduction of power and other municipal services required large generators for electricity, poles for the wires and oil storage tanks to supply the generators. Water distribution required delivery trucks, which in turn necessitated garages and maintenance facilities, as well as the development of a road system. The end result was a community structure that coincided with mainstream Canada, and less so with traditional Native practices (Afshari-Mirak, 1994).

Notwithstanding the efforts of both the provincial and federal governments, housing in the Native settlements remained in a deplorable condition for the most part. In the late 1970s, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) reported that 11,000 new homes were needed, and

that 9,000 of the 38,000 homes on the Canadian reserves needed repairs. 1 in 3 households lived in crowded conditions, and less than 50% of the 38 000 houses were properly serviced (this figure is even lower, at 20%, in remote areas), compared to the national level of 90% (Shaw, 1982).

In the late 1960s, the Native Band Councils were increasingly responsible for the state of their communities, having taken over the administration of community-level affairs from DIAND. Band Councils were now able to hire planning and engineering consultants to prepare and implement plans, though DIAND maintained control over the spending of the federal government funds (Shaw, 1982). By the end of the 1970s, Band Councils obtained additional funding to improve the housing state, as well as funding to design new communities and relocate their populations. Regardless, few Native communities had the means to upgrade their settlements because the federal government did not provide funds for large-scale upgrading projects. Rather, grants and subsidies were for new housing and new facilities.

The nine Cree communities in the James Bay region of northern Quebec have faced, and continue to face, similar housing and planning problems as other Native groups within Canada. Quebec's Cree populations became politically active in the 1970s, due to several political and socio-economic events within the region that enabled them to take control of their own affairs. Perhaps most famous of these events was the Quebec government's scheme to dam or divert the major rivers of James Bay and build power dams in 1971, known as the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. The Cree fought the project in the courts and negotiated with the Quebec government for a decade (1971-1981), because no consideration was given to the aboriginal rights of the Cree population, or to the effects the project would have on the environment and wildlife of the region- on which the Cree's livelihood depended. After a decade of negotiations, the territory became legally recognized as the homeland of the Cree in the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* (Afshari-Mirak, 1994).

The James Bay Cree's contemporary built environments continue to have difficulty responding to the traditional Native social, economic, and political contexts. Economic considerations are often cited as being the barrier to successful planning and housing initiatives in the northern Quebec. Although professional consultants were increasingly involved in the preparation and implementation of the Cree community development plans from the late 1960s to the 1980s, town planning was very basic, partially because DIAND controlled the spending of the federal government funds. Town planning was often limited to the establishment of community needs, site analysis, and the preparation of community plans in consultation with the Band Councils only. Specifically, the principal design criterion for community

master planning was to plan for minimal costs for water and sewage connections to the housing. This minimum cost criterion often translated into grid pattern or row layouts for the communities, with housing sitting on small lots. As for housing standards, DIAND also provided standards for designs that minimized the cost of their construction (Shaw, 1982).

Perhaps there was a lack of funds to carry out extensive consultations that included the participation from the Native populations within the communities. Consultations were often limited to gaining approval from the Band Councils; however, most of the decisions were made prior to their involvement or were outside of their control (Shaw, 1982). Other possible explanations for the lack of consultation with the community members may relate to issues of governance and permission to do so from the Band Councils. Furthermore, the consultants' difficulty relating to the different social and cultural contexts may also be to blame. Without increased involvement, consultation, and participation from the Cree, attempts to address modern Native housing and community planning will remain a challenge.

Studies on both traditional and modern Native ways of life are widespread in the fields of sociology and anthropology (Salisbury, 1986; Wilson & Rosenberg, 2002; Blaser, 2004). However, minimal research has looked at the cultural and social aspects of housing and community planning in Native settlements, with the exception of Shaw (1982), Brabec (1984), Chicoine (1990) and Afshari-Mirak (1994). Minimal research has provided a comparison of strategies for user participation in Native town planning. This report intends to add to the literature.

RESEARCH STATEMENT & DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Mainstream Canada's influences have brought about dramatic changes in the way of life of northern Quebec's James Bay Cree. The western lifestyle has impacted the Cree customs, rituals, and traditions. Perhaps most notable is the influence on settlement patterns and living accommodations: in recent decades, Quebec's Cree populations have shifted from a semi-nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary lifestyle in permanent villages with community designs and housing styles that are more typical of a Canadian suburb.

In spite of this, the Cree concepts of culture, space, and community remain distinct from those of non-Natives, for the most part. The mismatch between the lifestyle of the Cree and their modern settlements in Quebec has made people question whether the traditional needs of the Cree have been reflected in today's modern communities (Carter, 1987; Logsdon, 1987). It has been suspected that more effective consultation and participation with the Cree would increase the likeliness that their environments will be more responsive to their Native needs, capabilities and aspirations.

This research explores the nature and extent of participatory planning in Quebec's Cree communities, through the following research question:

Can culturally-sensitive environments be achieved through effective consultation and participation with the Cree during the planning process? Moreover, what is the role of the Native person in the consultation process? What is the role of the professional in the consultation process?

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research is intended to serve as a resource for participatory planning strategies with Native communities. It is aimed at researchers and professionals who are involved in the planning and design of development projects in Quebec and throughout Canada. The research objectives are as follows:

(1) To understand the interrelation of Native ways of life and the built environment;

(2) To analyze the methods and strategies used to facilitate consultation with and participation from the Native communities of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou;

(3) To inform researchers and professionals on the values of participatory planning, as well as assist them in the application of participatory planning strategies in future projects with Native communities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

The format of the present report involves a literature review, an analysis of case studies and conclusions and recommendations. The research is a qualitative study based on reviewing documentation, and field observations.

The theoretical portion of the report is based on literature reviews. The literature reviews provide an overview of participatory planning, with an emphasis on culturally-sensitive contexts, as well as user-environment relationships. An analytical framework that is based on the literature concludes this portion of the report.

The analytical framework is then applied to two case studies. The Quebec Cree communities of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou are used as examples of communities that have gained recognition for their participatory planning processes which involved varying degrees of participation from the Native people. The research examines the nature and extent of the community involvement and participation during each planning process.

The report is organized into three parts. Each part has its own conclusions, which are drawn together to form a general conclusion at the end of the report. The three parts of the report are:

PART 1 - PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN CULTURALLY SENSITIVE CONTEXTS

This section provides an overview of participatory planning, with a strong focus on participatory planning strategies within culturally-sensitive contexts. The identification of users, various degrees of participation, and participatory techniques are briefly assessed. Part 1 concludes with an evaluation criterion of the participatory planning process, which will be applied to the two case studies in the latter half of the report.

PART 2 – THE NATIVE CONTEXT

This section focuses on the relationship between behaviour and the built environment. It serves to place the *Cree world* within the greater context of Quebec and Canada. The first chapter explores the demographic, cultural, and economic factors unique to northern Quebec and the implication of such factors on the settlement patterns of Quebec's northern populations. Secondly, the focus of the report narrows to provide a background on the many Cree concepts of "community" and the impact this has on settlement patterns in northern Quebec. Here, the social, spiritual, physical, and economic community structures of the Cree are explored. Although the latter portion of Part 2 has the potential of being exhaustive, for the purpose of this report, it is simply a brief overview.

PART 3 - CASE STUDIES: CHISASIBI & OUJE-BOUGOUMOU

This section begins with an overview of Quebec's nine Cree communities in the James Bay region, providing information on issues of governance and policy, by focusing on the agreements that they have secured with both provincial and federal governments. The remainder of the report presents two Quebec case studies: (1) the relocation of the Fort George Settlement to Chisasibi, and (2) the new permanent village in Ouje-Bougoumou. The case studies trace both the planning processes and the outcomes, in an attempt to evaluate the participatory exercise applied in each case. Conclusions include an evaluation of the participatory planning process used in each community based on the evaluation criterion that is presented in the final chapter of Part 1.

The report comes to a close with a recap of the case study findings, in an attempt to provide a comparison between the two participatory processes.

PART 1

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN CULTURALLY SENSITIVE CONTEXTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

An understanding of the relationship between the built environment and its users is essential when planning for and designing suitable spaces, because evidence shows that the quality of a built environment is strongly linked to the well-being of its users. It is widely agreed that a built environment should reflect the culture, lifestyle, and values of its inhabitants. On the other hand, the interpretation of the needs of others by professionals is becoming increasingly difficult, especially in an age where diversity and multiculturalism are increasingly prevalent. That said, professionals can no longer rely solely on their own values and beliefs when creating an environment for others, particularly while working in an environment that is different from their own. In recent years, there has been an increase in the involvement of the user in policy and plan-making processes. The participation of the users in the planning process can be viewed as a tool to achieving a proper fit between the users' lifestyle and their built environment.

Public Participation, Public Involvement, and *Public Engagement* are just some of the terms that have been used to refer to the practice of involving members of the public in the decision-making activities related to planning. The concept of inviting the users of a space to participate in its planning emerged in the world of planning in the early 1960s. Sherry Arnstein (1969) was one of the first, and remains, a key contributor to the body of literature that addresses issues of citizen participation. Focusing on America in the 1960s, Arnstein reasoned that *citizen participation* enabled the redistribution of power to the "have-nots" of society – meaning those excluded from the political and economic processes. According to Arnstein (1969) it was a strategy through which society's have-nots joined in determining how information was shared, goals and policies were set, resources were allocated, programs were operated, and benefits were parceled out. In short, it was the means by which the have-nots could share the benefits of the affluent society (Arnstein, 1969).

Today's debates on public participation are centred on the different approaches and strategies that emphasize two-way interaction, or mutual learning, between decision-makers and the public. There is a sense that decision-makers *and* the public have something important to bring to the table, and that both parties can benefit from participation. Increasingly complex decision-making processes, it is argued, requires more informed citizens that have weighed the evidence on the issue, discussed and debated potential decision options and arrived at an agreed upon decision (Abelson, Forest, Eyles, Smith, Martin, & Gauvin, 2003).

A body of literature has addressed the ways in which planning practices have responded to non-western contexts, an increasingly common scenario. For instance, several case studies have explored the application of western development theories in non-western contexts (Hettne, 1990; Mehmet, 1995). Other authors have explored the ways in which diversity and multiculturalism have affected planning policies and strategies (Healey, 1997; Qadeer, 1997; Forester, 1998; Innes & Booher, 1999; Sandercock, 2000; Umemoto, 2001). Some have even put forth "how-to guides" for planning in non-western contexts, including Native communities (Jojola, 1998). These works shine light on the ways that "others" are finding their place within the planning system, and the changes in planning strategies and policies that are occurring in response to them.

Part I begins by exploring the epistemological factors that are a challenge to the participation of "others" in the planning process. Here, the rational planning model is questioned, as is the concept of the public interest. The following chapter looks at questions relating to *why* the user should be implicated in the planning process. The remaining chapters examine how *difference* can be accommodated in non-western contexts. The focus shifts towards public participation "ground rules", including different levels of participation, and specific techniques for user participation in the planning process. Lastly, a re-cap of previous frameworks for evaluating participatory planning strategies are reviewed. This leads into the final chapter of *Part 1*, which sets forth the criterion of evaluation that will be used in this report to assess the planning processes of the two Cree case studies of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou. Although most of this information is pertinent to many non-western contexts, a strong emphasis is placed on participatory planning in Native contexts.

1.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL CHALLENGES FOR PLANNING IN NON-WESTERN CONTEXTS

The practice of planning has gone through various waves of epistemology in the past century. At one time, planners regarded "difference" within a community as an obstacle or threat that was to be rectified by so-called "proper" planning. Fortunately, the fear of difference is no longer viewed as a problem to be solved – or at least not along the lines of contemporary visions of order and control. Rather, it appears as though difference has finally made its mark on the planning agenda – recognition that we can no longer ignore its existence, be it in terms of wealth, ethnicity, religion, or politics (Sandercock, 2000). However, this growing awareness of culture and cultural diversity brings about many planning challenges.

Epistemology, the theory of the nature of knowledge, is perhaps best described as an interpretive lens through which we understands the world, and make meaning of life's events, actions, words, and symbols (Umemoto, 2001). Considerable attention is being paid to questions of epistemology in planning literature (Healy & Hillier, 1996; Sandercock, 1998; Sandercock, 2000; Umemoto, 2001). Perhaps this is because today's planners are increasingly working with communities with distinct cultural identities. Facilitating a planning process that accommodates cultural differences is undoubtedly the most challenging because it forces planners to expand their thinking into other epistemological worlds, or as Umemoto (2001) put it, to "*walk in another's shoes*". Epistemological challenges occur because different worldviews exist. Culturally-specific ways of interpreting the world can impede the participation of distinct groups if not properly understood by the planner (Umemoto, 2001).

The traditional epistemology of planning has been a form of rational planning. "*Rational Choice models*", popular in the 1950s and 1960s, placed the social sciences on the same scientific footing as the natural sciences. In terms of planning, this meant that science and scientific methods were applied to the task of plan and policy-making. Although the rational approach to planning has dominated the planning practice in western democracies, this approach has recently received a great deal of criticism. The rational planning model has been criticized due to its shortcomings in applying science to predict change in a complex, dynamic environmental system. Others have claimed that rational planning is undemocratic, because it leaves questions about resource use and management up to technocrats (Sandercock, 1998; Lane M. , 2001).

The use of the rational planning model becomes even more worrisome when discussing Native planning. Rationality and enlightenment thinking were known for being particularly unreceptive to tradition and to authority based on customs or faith (Young, 2001). Some agree that the dominant epistemology of planning tends to marginalize Native cultural perspectives, by discarding them as "irrational relics of an earlier age" (Lane M. , 2001). Sandercock (1998) echoes these concerns, claiming that there are other ways of getting at certain key information, which are lost when one privileges scientific rationality.

It has been argued that the problem with rational planning has been intensified by the concept of the public interest. Planning's legal framework in the western world addresses democracy as majority rule- in essence, one law for all. According to Sandercock (2000), the values and norms of the dominant culture are often embedded in the legislative framework of planning bylaws and regulations because the legal framework evolved at a time when diversity and multiculturalism were less present in society. Some argue that the values and norms of the dominant culture have become embedded in the behaviours and practices of planners, who have largely adopted the attitude that the dominant culture was a model for "others" to adapt to.

Fortunately, western democracies have undergone significant political changes over the past decades. For instance, there are now increased opportunities for negotiations and bargaining in plan and policy-making. It is now commonplace to give interested citizens an opportunity to comment and provide feedback on larger-scale planning projects. However, this process still has problems in terms of the way in which these opportunities are made available. For example, although opportunities exist, people who face geographic, financial and organizational constraints have difficulty partaking in these opportunities (as is often the case with the Native populations). Nonetheless, newer models of participatory planning provide opportunities to get around some of the constraints of the rational model, and have allowed a greater range of actors to pursue their interests in planning (Lane M. , 2001).

1.3 THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE USERS IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

"Pressure for an expanded role for the public in planning is rooted in both philosophical and pragmatic considerations. The former is related primarily to the general belief in democratic societies that the individual has the right to be informed and consulted and to express his views on matters which affect him personally... Pragmatic considerations cover chiefly the failure of plans and decisions to identify public preferences correctly, and it is in these circumstances that the questioning of the present system has been particularly intense" (Sewell & Coppock, 1977).

The inclusion of the users in the planning process has brought about a considerable amount of debate. Several authors have explored the advantages and disadvantages of user participation in the planning process through a *cost/benefit*-style analysis. Disadvantages, or costs, associated with user participation often relate to the extra time and money the process takes, technical or procedural difficulties, difficulties in identifying or defining who exactly the user is, and difficulties in gaining a consensus amongst all parties involved (Chicoine, 1990). However, the advantages, or benefits, of user participation in the planning process are numerous. Benefits include enhancing the capacity of citizens to cultivate a stronger sense of commitment, increasing user satisfaction, creating realistic expectations of outcomes, and building trust, amongst others. Perhaps most importantly, public participation exercises enable planners and designers to gain access to community expertise and "local knowledge", which have often resulted in better plans and designs (Al-Kodmany, 1999).

Contemporary planning processes are known for being interactive activities, during which the planner engages in a dialogue with numerous actors. That said, the ability for Native people to participate in the dialogue is an important factor in determining whether their interests and priorities are reflected in the planning outcomes that result from the processes. Therefore, factors which impede Native participation in the planning processes are important. Factors such as geographic isolation, a lack of resources, cultural and language barriers, and a lack of familiarity with the western planning and decision-making process, are just some of the potential obstacles to Native participation. These factors have led some to argue that planning can only be considered effective and equitable amongst the Natives if Native participation in the planning process is facilitated by strategies purposefully designed to enhance their ability to do so (Lane M. , 2001).

By empowering the users to participate in the planning process through organizational and resource support, users can be strong actors in the process. This rings particularly true in Native contexts. O'Faircheallaigh (1996) has shown that Native groups, carefully organized and appropriately resourced, have proven themselves capable of effective participation in planning processes. Other cases have also been studied in which the Natives have played a pivotal role in devising solutions to the challenges that contemporary states faced due to Native claims (Feit, 1992).

An added bonus to the inclusion of Natives in the planning process is the improved social relations that will likely result amongst parties with similar concerns. Participatory planning processes often positively affect the relationships between the participants with similar interests. Planning in this manner provides an opportunity for parties to come together in a constructive exercise that involves sharing information, learning about the knowledge, interests, and concerns of other participants, and it generally builds a platform for mutual learning (Lane M. , 2001).

In summary, the capacity of Natives to participate in the planning process can be impeded as a result of geographic, political, economic and cultural obstacles. However, as O'Faircheallaigh (1996) has shown, with appropriate organization and resources, Native groups have proven to be pivotal actors in the planning process.

1.4 LEVELS OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

Public participation can occur through different levels of involvement. At one extreme, professionals can devise a solution themselves based on their expertise, and present the choices to the user, during which the user can choose one, or reject them all. At the other extreme, professionals can refuse to take any decisions themselves on the final outcome. Rather, the professionals' role is to guide the users through the process of determining their needs, and elaborating a final solution. Here, the professional gives advice on the process, rather than the product (Chicoine, 1990).

Several participation models have been developed over the past decades, which outline the roles and the powers of all participants – professional and non-professional. A review of four public participation "frameworks", illustrates the different approaches that can be applied to the concept of public participation (see Table 1).
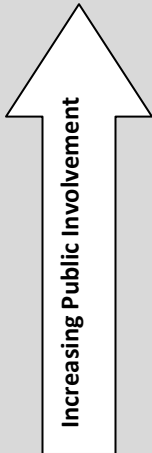
	Arnstein (1969)	Connor (1988)	Wiedmann & Femer (1993)	Dorcey et al. (1994)
General Objectives/ Orientations	**Power Orientation**	**Conflict-Resolution**	**Administration Orientation**	**Planning Process**
Level of Public Involvement *Increasing Public Involvement*	**Degrees of Citizen Power** - Citizen control - Delegated power - Partnership **Degrees of Tokenism** - Placation - Consultation - Informing **Non-participation** - Therapy - Manipulation	**Leaders** - Resolution/ prevention - Litigation - Mediation - Joint planning **General Public** - Consultation - information feedback - Education Increasing Public Involvement or Citizen Control	- Public participation in final decision - Public participation in assessing risks and recommending solutions - Public participation in defining interests and actors and determining agenda - Public right to object - Informing the public - Public right to know	- Ongoing involvement - Seek consensus - Task ideas, seek advice - Consult on reactions - Define issues - Gather information, perspectives - Educate - Inform
Spectrums	Manipulation → Citizen control	Education → Prevention	Education → Joint decision making	Inform →Ongoing Involvement

Table 1: Various Levels of Public Involvement

Perhaps most famous is that of Shelly Arnstein (1969) who proposed a typology of citizen participation that was arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the outcome of the final plan or program. Arnstein's eight-rung ladder of citizen participation serves to illustrate, in a simplified manner, the different gradations or 'types' of citizen participation (see Figure 1).

The bottom rungs of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy*, actually describe levels of "non-participation" and not genuine participation. At this level, the real objective is not to enable the user to participate in planning, but rather to enable those in power to "educate" the other participants. Specifically, (1) *Manipulation* often involves placing citizens on advisory boards for the specific purpose of "educating" them or gaining their support, in the name of citizen participation. (2) *Therapy* is also a masked type of citizen participation, during which citizens are placed in groups and engaged in extensive activity, but the focus of it is on curing them of their "pathology" rather than changing the racism and victimization that created their "pathologies".

Rung 3 and 4 progress to levels that Arnstein refers to as "tokenism", that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice. (3) *Informing* citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation; however, often the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information, from power holders to citizens, with no feedback loop or power for negotiation. (4) *Consultation* is also a step toward full participation, but if it is not combined with other modes of participation this type of participation offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. Rung (5) *Placation* is a higher level tokenism because it allows the have-nots to advise, but the power holders retain the right to decide. It is at this level that citizens begin to have some degree of influence. However, citizens may realize that they have once again extensively "participated" but have not profited beyond the extent the power holders decide to placate them.

Further up the ladder citizens can enter into a (6) *Partnership* that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders. At this level power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Lastly, at the topmost rungs, (7) *Delegated Power* and (8) *Citizen Control*, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power. At the *Delegated Power* level, the citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the program to them. When the citizens achieve *Citizen Control*, they can govern a program or an

institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate their own conditions (Arnstein, 1969).

Nearly two decades after Arnstein, Connor (1988) proposed a *New Ladder of Citizen Participation*. In contrast to Arnstein's framework of citizen power, this ladder of participation framed citizen participation in terms of avoiding or resolving conflicts during public policy decision-making processes. In this new ladder, there are numerous mechanisms or techniques that can be used to resolve public disputes, from education of the general public to preventative activities for leaders. *Consultation, Mediation*, and *Litigation* are other rungs on Connor's ladder. These techniques reinforce the idea that decision-making is confrontational, and that there are many mechanisms that the public could use to resolve their conflicts (Connor, 1988).

Wiedemann and Femers (1993) arrived on the scene a few years after Connor with their alternative ladder of citizen participation. Once again, Wiedemann and Femers' ladder differs from Arnstein's original ladder in the sense that it is focused on public participation processes that are found within larger governmental agencies. In such contexts, public participation in the decision-making process is often required. In this new take on the ladder, Weidemann and Femers examine levels of participation ranging from *education*, which involves minimal direct influence, to *public participation in the final decision* (Wiedmann & Femers, 1993).

The following year Dorcey, et al. (1994) put forth new stages to the planning process. Rather than focusing on separate approaches to public participation, their approach looks at typical stages in many planning processes. For Dorcey et al. (1994) stages of public participation range from informing the public, to ongoing involvement between the public and the decision-makers. Specifically, the stages progress from the general announcement of an issue, to a more involved set of activities as the planning process progresses. Through this approach, it is suggested that certain public participation approaches may be useful at certain points during the process, whereas others may be more appropriate in the final stages of the process (Schlossberg & Shuford, 2005).

1.5 STRATEGIES & TECHNIQUES FOR USER PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

There are dozens of strategies, techniques, and instruments – collectively referred to as *mechanisms*, which have facilitated the involvement of users in the planning process. Various combinations of methods, techniques, and strategies can be used in the same participation process. Judy Rosener (1977) developed a *Technique-Function* matrix to help clarify the decision to employ a participation technique or a combination of techniques (see Figure 1, at the end of this section) (Rosener, 1977). The choice of mechanisms used to facilitate this involvement largely depends on the particular circumstances of the case. The choice of mechanisms is often determined by the nature of the project, the objectives of the parties involved, and the constraints that may be in place. The scale of the project also determines the participatory process. A small-scaled short-term project facilitates the participatory planning process and allows for a more engaged role of the user. As the scale of the project gets larger, user participation becomes increasingly difficult (Chicoine, 1990). Whatever the method, the importance is to gather the required information related to the users' needs and aspirations.

Accommodating and properly addressing difference is a challenge; however, various strategies or forms of planning have resulted in more effective planning, and therefore generate successful outcomes for all parties involved. Questions relating to *how*, in the practical sense, planning can be more effective in non-western contexts have been increasingly discussed in recent years. Although the strategies vary from one to another, most success stories have shown that the best approaches requires the Native people to engage in opportunities to participate, to make their concerns known, and to command an acknowledgement of their Native interests (Feit, 1992; O'Faircheallaigh, 1996).

Culture-Based Planning is a form of planning that is sensitive to differences in epistemology among culturally-defined groups by giving equal treatment to multiple epistemologies. The inclusive nature of this approach provides culturally-defined groups forums to express their visions and preferences in the planning process, while also creating space to question the culturally-based normative assumptions that often underlie the planning structures already in place (Umemoto, 2001). However, there remain numerous challenges to culture-based planning. Specifically, Umemoto (2001) argues that breaking down interpretive frames embedded in culture, history, and collective memory are the number one challenge. Understanding and respecting the languages, cultural protocols, social relationships, and the role of power in cultural translations are just some of the challenges associated with bringing together

multiple epistemologies. Fortunately, there are tactics for dealing with these challenges, notably *community-led* or *community-based planning*.

Community-led planning, in which community members are involved in the design and implementation phases, is a strategy that facilitates dealing with differences because it shifts power to the members of the community. Community-led planning is a planning process that was designed to overcome the problems of Native marginalization and the misinterpretation of perspectives that occurred during traditional planning processes (referred to as *imposed planning*). The key to the success of this form of planning is that it facilitates community development by placing the control of the activity in the hands of the community. For example, the planning activity is instigated, controlled, and conducted at the local community level. The hope is that by putting the control of the activity in the hands of the community, the outcomes will meet the goals of the community (Lane M. , 2001). According to Umemoto (2001) community-led planning has the capability to mobilizing members of the community in a way that an imposed planning process cannot. Moreover, there is less chance for distortions in communication since most of the discourse takes place among members of the community who share the same epistemology.

Several communities have demonstrated that an effective way of addressing marginalization is for the Native people to engage in their own planning, and for them to negotiate directly with government (Feit, 1992; O'Faircheallaigh, 1996). Native communities have shown that they are capable of organizing the appropriate support and local participation to achieve their community-determined objectives. In these circumstances, facilitating a community-led process of setting visions, identifying strategies and achieving goals is more likely to ensure that planning policies are sensitive to local interests.

TECHNIQUE	Identify Attitudes & Opinions	Identify Impacted Groups	Solicite Impacted groups	Facilitate Participation	Clarify Planning Process	Answer Citizen Questions	Disseminate Informations	Generate New Ideas & Alternatives	Facilitate Advocacy	Promote Interation Between Groups	Resolve Conflicts	Plan Program & Policy Review	Change Attitudes towards Government	Develop Support/ Minimize Opposition
Arbitration & Mediation Planning	•							•		•	•			
Charrette	•			•	•	•		•		•	•	•	•	•
Citizen's Advisory Committee	•	•			•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•
Citizen Employment	•		•	•	•	•	•	•					•	•
Citizen Honoraria			•	•	•							•	•	•
Citizen Referendum	•			•							•	•	•	
Citizen Reps. On Policy-Making bodies	•			•	•			•					•	•
Citizen Review Board				•								•		•
Citizen Surveys	•		•											
Citizen Training				•	•				•				•	
Community Technical Assistance	•			•	•			•	•					
Computer-Based Techniques	(Depends of specific technique chosen)													
Coordinator or Coordinator Catalyst				•	•	•				•	•		•	•
Design-In	•	•		•	•	•		•				•		•
Drop-in Centres		•		•	•	•						•	•	•
Fishbowl Planning				•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•
Focused Group Interview	•		•	•		•			•					
Game Simulations				•					•			•		•
Group Dynamics										•	•		•	
Hotline		•		•		•								
Interactive Cable TV	•	•	•	•			•	•				•		
Media-based issue Balloting	•			•		•	•					•		
Meetings - Community Sponsored	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•		•
Meetings- Neighbourhood	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•		•
Meetings- Open Informational			•		•	•	•					•		
Neighbourhood Planning Council	•			•			•	•				•		
Ombudsman		•			•	•	•					•	•	
Open Door Policy		•		•	•	•	•					•	•	
Planning Balance Sheey	•											•		
Policy Capturaing	•													•
Policy Delphi	•							•						
Priority-Setting Committee	•			•								•	•	
Public Hearing		•	•	•		•	•					•		
Public Information Programs				•		•						•	•	
Random-Selection Participation Groups	•		•	•				•	•			•		
Short Conference	•			•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•
Task Forces			•					•				•	•	•
Value Analysis	•			•								•		•
Workshops	•		•	•	•			•		•	•	•	•	•

Figure 1: Rosener's (1977) Technique-Function Matrix

1.6 FRAMEWORKS FOR EVALUATING PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESSES

At the onset of this research paper, a research question was set out which asked whether culturally-sensitive environments could be achieved through *effective* participatory planning processes with the Cree. But what does *effective* mean? There are numerous definitions of the term, however, for the purpose of this research paper this concept refers to the efficiency of the mechanisms used in achieving its intended purpose – whether that is educating the community, gaining a consensus among the community members on a particular design, or other aspects of the process or final outcome (Rowe & Frewer, 2005). According to Rowe & Frewer (2005) the concept of efficiency in public participation refers to "maximizing the relevant information from the maximum number of all relevant sources and transferring it (with minimal information loss) to the other parties, with the efficient processing of that information by the receivers (the sponsors and participants) and the *combining* of it into an accurate composite" (263).

Public participation processes are being used more frequently and the mechanisms used to facilitate it are increasingly diverse. Nonetheless, the efficiency of the process and its techniques are less known. Are they successful? At what level? Are they meeting the objectives laid out at the onset? The answer to these questions requires an evaluation of the participatory process. The objective of this chapter is to discuss the idea of evaluating a participatory process, and to review other evaluation frameworks adopted in previous studies. Based on previous evaluations, Chapter 1.7 will propose a framework for the present study.

As we saw in the previous chapters, there are numerous mechanisms (strategies, techniques, and instruments) that can be used to engage user participation in planning process; however, some are better suited than others at achieving a good end result. By this, we mean that some mechanisms of participatory planning process are more likely to affect the *effectiveness* of planning exercises than others (Rowe & Frewer, 2005).

The effectiveness of a participatory planning process can relate to both structural features of the mechanisms employed, as well as the application of the mechanism in each particular case. For instance, the inclusion of a facilitator in a group process is considered a structural feature of a mechanism: the facilitator can help elicit participant knowledge, and therefore increase the information received from participants; however, the effectiveness of the facilitator largely depends on their skills

and ability to be unbiased. In short, the effectiveness of the participatory process will depend on the chosen mechanism, as well as the way it is applied (Rowe & Frewer, 2005).

Attention has been focused on the merits of participatory planning, and even more so on the efforts to design more informed, effective and legitimate public participation processes. However, less attention has been focused on the means of evaluating the public participation process. To be able to evaluate whether a participatory planning process is effective, it is important to understand what results of a participatory exercise are considered to be good outcomes, and what are the process or mechanisms that contribute towards these (Rowe & Frewer, 2000). Unfortunately, minimal academic research has been devoted to this, therefore, the success of a particular application or particular method remains undetermined. Certain authors have made suggestions on the criteria that need to be satisfied for effective public participation in policy decisions. Others offer evaluations of the advantages and disadvantages of various techniques. However, most of this criteria discussed in the literature looks at what makes for an effective process, rather than how to measure an effective outcome (Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

Luyet (2005) claims that it is difficult to define what exactly "effective" is, and whether a participation process is "successful", because these definitions are often different for each actor involved in the process. Furthermore, what exactly constitutes success? Success can vary in relation to the point of view. For instance, from a social perspective, fairness and the establishment of a dialogue can be considered a success. From a democratic perspective, the representation of actors and the transparency of the process can be considered criteria for defining success. From an economic perspective, the costs of the participatory process, in relation to the advantages gained can be indicators of success (Luyet, 2005).

Given the differences in perspectives on what is considered to be a successful participatory process, it isn't surprising that there are so many different frameworks, benchmarks, criterion and indicators for evaluations. Several authors have devised frameworks for evaluating the participatory component of the planning process:

Vincent Luyet (2005) developed a methodology to evaluate the participatory process that occurs during planning projects that have an impact on landscape imagery. According to Luyet (2005), the main reason for evaluating a participatory process is to gain information on the actors involved in the process, the results of the process, and the ways in which the process can be optimised. Based on this notion, Luyet

(2005) devised an evaluation framework that grouped his criteria into three categories: those concerned with the participatory process, those concerned with the actors involved in the process, and those related to the effects of the participation on the final outcome. In order to evaluate, measure, and quantify the criteria, Luyet (2005) developed indicators that were of a qualitative nature. The indicators took the form of questions (see Table 2).

Critères	Indicateurs (sous forme de question)
Processus de Participation	
Intégration de tous les intérêts	Est-ce que les acteurs du processus sont représentatifs des intérêts liés au problème?
Organisation du processus	Est-ce que la localisation des réunions et leurs horaires sont adaptés aux acteurs? Est-ce que la fréquence et la durée des réunions sont pertinentes? Les acteurs ont ils été présents?
Règles du jeu	Est-ce que les règles du jeu sont définies (objectifs initiaux, rôle de chacun, qui arbitre les conflits, etc.), connues et respectées?
Transparence	Est-ce que le processus est transparent? Est-ce que les responsables du projet ont répondu aux besoins en information des acteurs?
Équité	Est-ce que tous les acteurs peuvent s'exprimer? Ont-ils le même temps de parole? Tous les points ont-ils été pris en compte de la même façon?
Précocité	Quand la participation est-elle introduite?
Modération	Est-ce que la modération est adaptée?
Base légale	Existe-t-il dans la législation une incitation ou une obligation à faire participer certains acteurs?
Soutien institutionnel	Existe-t-il des mécanismes (politiques ou financiers par exemple) pour soutenir la participation?
Acteurs	
Compétence des acteurs	Est-ce que les acteurs communiquent de façon pertinente lors des réunions? Est-ce qu'ils sont compétents dans leur domaine?
Représentativité de l'acteur	Est-ce que l'association reconnait et valide le discours de l'acteur la représentant?
Confiance de l'acteur	Existe-t-il un rapport de confiance entre les acteurs et les responsables du projet? Est-ce que les échanges se sont faits dans le respect?
Apprentissage des acteurs	Est-ce que le processus a produit un effet sur l'acteur (ex: compréhension du problème)?

Satisfaction des acteurs	Est-ce que les acteurs sont satisfaits de la participation? Ont-ils eu l'impression d'être écoutés? Sont-ils frustrés?
Effets de la participation sur le résultat	
Impacts de la participation	Est-ce que le résultat final a tenu compte des avis des acteurs? Quelle a été l'influence de la participation sur le résultat final?

Table 2: Luyet's (2005) Framework of Evaluation

Similarly, Rowe et al. (2000) produced a set of criteria to be used to assess the effectiveness of participation methods. Through working with a number of evaluation criteria, the authors theoretically assessed a variety of formalized methods (or mechanisms). Rowe et al., (2000) divide their evaluation criteria into "acceptance criteria" - which are related to the effective construction and implementation of a procedure, and "process criteria" - which are related to the potential public acceptance of a procedure (see Table 3).

Criteria	Definitions
Acceptance Criteria	
Representativeness	**The public participants should comprise a broadly representative sample of the population of the affected public.** Participants need to be representative of the broader public (or the affected subgroups within the population), rather than simply representing some self-selected subset. Particular caution should be exercised with regard to disenfranchising poorer groups or segments of society.
Independence	**The participation process should be conducted in an independent, unbiased way** Management of the participation process should be unbiased, such that managers and facilitators are not only independent in actuality but are seen to be independent. Likewise, public representatives should be independent of any affiliation to the sponsoring body.
Early Involvement	**The public should be involved as early as possible in the process as soon as value judgments become salient.** Public participation should occur as soon as is reasonably practical.

Influence	**The output of the procedure should have a genuine impact on policy** The output of the procedure should have a genuine impact on policy and be seen to do so. Ensure that there is a clear acceptance beforehand as to how the output will be used and how it might direct policy. Afterwards, inform the general public about the specific ways in which the output has influenced policy would seem beneficial.
Transparency	**The process should be transparent so that the public can see what is going on and how decisions are being made** Transparency ensures that public suspicions about the sponsors and their motives may be allayed. Transparency might involve releasing information on aspects of the procedure, varying from the manner of the selection of the public participants to the way in which a decision is reached to the minutes of meetings.
Process Criteria	
Resource Accessibility	**Public participants should have access to the appropriate resources to enable them to successfully fulfill their brief** Necessary resources include: information resources (summaries of the pertinent facts), human resources (e.g., access to scientists, witnesses, decision analysts), material resources (e.g., overhead projectors/whiteboards), and time resources (participants should have sufficient time to make decisions).
Task Definition	**The nature and scope of the participation task should be clearly defined** Ensure that there is as little confusion and dispute as possible regarding the scope of a participation exercise, its expected output, and the mechanisms of the procedure.
Structured Decision-Making	**The participation exercise should use/provide appropriate mechanisms for structuring and displaying the decision-making process** This enables the underlying reasons behind a decision to be examined, as well as the extent to which a conclusion was well supported, and helps organize the process.
Cost-Effectiveness	**The procedure should be cost-effective** Cost is a key concern to those involved in organizing a participation exercise, and value for money is a significant motivation

Table 3: Rowe & Frewer's (2000) Criteria of Evaluation

Perhaps most pertinent to our study is the evaluation framework devised by Chicoine (1990). Chicoine (1990) developed a framework for evaluating the participatory planning process that occurred in the Cree Village of Ouje-Bougoumou. The planning of Ouje-Bougoumou was done in a cultural and political

context that differed from the typical western context. The criteria and indicators reflect this context (see Table 4).

Critères	Indicateurs (sous forme de question)
La génèse du processus	Qui a initié le processus de consultation, est-ce le spécialiste ou les usagers? Si ce sont les usagers, qui sont-ils?
La représentativité des usagers	Pendant le processus d'aménagement, qui a participé? a quelle(s) étape(s)? et combien on participé?
Le type de participation et le rôle ou le pouvoir des usagers versus les spécialistes	Selon le modèle d'Arnstein (1969), est-ce que l'usager a réellement participé au processus d'aménagement et à quelles étapes? Quel niveau de contrôle l'usager a-t-il eu sur le ou les produits? Jusqu'à quel point le spécialiste a-t-il imposé ses propres vus sur les résultats présentés aux usagers?
L'éfficacité des (ou de la) méthodes de consultation	Quelles sont les (ou la) méthodes de consultation utilisées? Est-ce-que le spécialiste a imposé ses propres vus? Et jusqu'à quel point les (ou la) méthodes de consultation ont été efficaces pour atteindre les buts (contenu, cueillette des données, interprétation des données)? Est-ce que les résultats sont concluants en relation avec la méthode? Quelles autres méthodes auraient pu être utilisées?
Le temps accordé à chacune des étapes du processus	Est-ce que le temps accorde a chacune des étapes du processus a été suffisant pour que les usagers communiquent vraiment leur préoccupations?
La représentativité culturelle	Jusqu'à quel point le ou les produits élaborés par les spécialistes sont représentatifs de la culture autochtone? Est-ce que des changements socioculturels sont à appréhender suite à la construction du village?
Le rapport coût/bénéfice du processus	Est-ce que le processus de planification partagée fut une méthode avantageuse dans le cas étudié ou les coûts sont disproportionnés par rapport aux résultats obtenus?

Table 4: Chicoine's (1990) Framework of Evaluation

1.7 FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING THE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Based strongly on the works of Luyet (2005), Rowe et al. (2000) and Chicoine (1990), this paper proposes a framework for evaluating the participatory process in the Cree communities of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou. Indicators have been defined to evaluate, measure, and quantify the criteria. The indicators are of a qualitative nature, and take the form of questions.

The evaluation will be carried out by the author of this report based on a review of the literature, previous case studies, as well as interviews with the actors who had some form of involvement in the planning process of the communities. The evaluation criteria are as follows:

Criteria	Indicators
1. Initiation of the Process	• Who initiated the process (the specialist or the users)? • If it was the users, who were they?
2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels	• During the planning process, who participated? • What level of control did the user have on the outcome? • To what extent did the output of the participatory planning exercise have an impact on policy?
3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanism(s)	• What were the mechanisms (strategies, techniques, and instruments) used during the participation process? • To what extent were the mechanisms efficient in attaining the goals that were established at the onset of the participation process?
4. Cultural Representation	• To what extent were the products elaborated by the specialists' representative of the Cree's cultural needs?
5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process	• Was the participatory planning process an advantageous method when comparing the costs to the advantages?

1. Initiation of the Process

This criterion examines who initiated the planning process, or in other words, whether the specialists or the users of the space instigated the process. In many cases it is the specialists who take the initiative, with the agreement of their client, rather than the users of the space.

2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels

This criterion establishes who participated in the planning process and at which steps during the process. The literature indicates that public participants should form a relatively representative sample of the population of the affected public. True representation would include members of all affected communities. However, there are many obstacles in obtaining representation: political difficulties may impede reliable levels of representativeness; practical difficulties may result due to the difficulties of managing large groups; and financial limitations may hinder gaining a representative sample. Proper representation will ensure that the outputs of the exercise are credible (Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

In relation to questions concerning the stage at which the public should become involved in the planning process, the literature recommends involving the public as early as possible in the planning process, or as soon as reasonably practical. For instance, the public may not need to be involved in making decisions on highly technical planning issues; however, the public should be consulted as soon as a stage is reached where value judgements become important. Rowe et al. (2000) warn that caution needs to be exercised in the application of this criterion. Too much involvement of all standpoints (technical, economic, social, political, ethical, and public) might result in confusion over aims and judgments, participation burnout, and hinder decision-making.

It is also interesting to look at the extent to which the user's participation had an impact on policy. One of the common complaints about participation exercises is that participants feel that the process was ineffectual, and was undertaken to give an appearance of consultation without there being any intent of acting upon the recommendations that were generated from the exercise. In order to avoid such sentiments, there should be clear instructions on exactly how the output will be used, and how it may affect policy.

3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanism(s)

This criterion examines what mechanism (strategies, techniques, and instruments) were used during the participation process. From previous chapters we have learnt that certain mechanisms are more suitable in some cases than others. A good test of the suitability of the mechanisms used is to examine to what extent the mechanisms were capable of attaining the goals that were established at the onset of the participation exercise.

4. Cultural Representation

This criterion relates specifically to planning in Native contexts. It explores the extent to which the products elaborated by the specialists' are representative of the user's specific cultural needs? In the case of the Cree, we are interested in determining to what extent the Native way of life was taken into account in the planning of their modern settlements.

5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process

Lastly, this criterion evaluates whether the participatory planning process was an advantageous method, by comparing the costs of the exercise to the benefits derived from the process. Cost is always a main concern of those involved in organising a participation exercise. Therefore, prior to conducting the participation exercise, it is important to tally the potential costs of alternative methods (time and money), and to consider the extent to which they can fulfil the required goals and aims. It is difficult to "measure" most costs and benefits (apart from monetary costs), but a vague weighing of procedures should be done.

Based on the above seven criteria, and associated indicators, the Quebec Cree communities of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou will be evaluated in terms of the participatory planning process that occurred during the planning of these recent settlements.

1.8 CONCLUSION

In order to successfully deal with difference, today's planners need to gain expertise and talents that were not previously in the repertoire of planners. Sandercock (2002) claims that planners should be educated in establishing a set of skills that might be required explicitly in cross-cultural contexts, such as storytelling, listening, and interpreting visual and body language. Author Umemoto (2001) stresses that exploring one's thinking into other epistemological worlds, dubbed "walking in another's shoes", is a skill seldom emphasized in planner's professional training. In light of the shift in focus from the unitary concepts of the "public interest" to a more tolerable and encompassing approach, planners have gained, and will continue to gain, new skills and tactics in managing difference.

The past chapters have focused on the importance of bringing the users of the environment into the planning process and the use of mechanisms to ensure that their aspirations, needs, and objectives are met. However, there is also an important ethical role for the planner in the process, which seems to have attracted less attention in the literature. Although epistemologies have drawn a lot of interest, the role of ethics is equally important.

The Canadian Institute of Planner's (CIP) *Statement of Values* emphasizes that planners work for the public good, and therefore must be accountable to their clients, the public *and* future generations. Planning includes a concern for health, aesthetics, equity and efficiency. Also, planning respects the land as a community resource, it contributes to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and it promotes healthy communities and improvements to quality of life (Canadian Institute of Planners, www.cip-icu.ca).

Specifically, only one of eight values of the CIP is for the planner to: "foster public participation [through] meaningful public participation by all individuals and groups and seek to articulate the needs of those whose interests have not been represented". However, planners must also address the remaining seven planning values, which relate to respecting and integrating the needs of future generations, valuing the natural and cultural environment by balancing preservation and sustainable development, and protecting diversity in values, cultures, economies, ecosystems, built environments and distinct places, etc.

In summary, the ultimate planning process places an importance on two-way interaction, or mutual learning, between decision-makers and the public. There is a need to strike a balance between the input of the public and the power of the decision-makers, so that both parties can benefit from collaboration.

PART 2

THE NATIVE CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Canada's Native populations are unique in terms of the traditional lifestyles that many of them continue to practice today. However, the James Bay Cree are also distinctive due to factors associated with their remote northern location in Quebec. This section serves to situate Quebec's Native populations within the greater context of Quebec and Canada. The first chapter explores the demographic, cultural, and economic factors unique to northern Quebec and the implication of such factors on the settlement patterns of Quebec's northern populations. Secondly, the focus of the report narrows to provide an overview of both the traditional and modern types of communities within the James Bay Cree. Here, the social, spiritual, physical, and economic community structures of the James Bay Cree are examined, with a particular emphasis on the implications of these communities on settlement patterns.

2.2 THE UNIQUENESS OF NORTHERN QUEBEC AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

It has been well documented that policy development and the design and provision of accommodations for Quebec's northern dwellers have repeatedly responded unsuccessfully to northern circumstances. The problems with the policies and programs have often been attributed to attempts to apply Quebec's southern policies and programs in a northern context (Carter, 1987). The continual attempt to apply national and provincial housing programs to northern areas stems from the fact that those responsible for policy development often consider the Quebec's northern areas as simple extensions of mainstream Quebec. This approach fails to recognize that the majority of the north is very different from its southern counterpart due in part to climatic, environmental, demographic, cultural, and economic factors.

The characterization of the northern area of Quebec as "north" does not imply that there is homogeneity within these regions. Rather, there are variations within regions in the area, and these are significant for planning purposes. However, there are some factors, apart from its geographic location and associated climate, which set the north apart from the rest of the province.

For the purpose of comparison between the northern region of Quebec and the province as a whole, an administrative region called *Nord-du-Québec* will be used in this chapter. Nord-du-Québec is the largest administration region in the province, located between the 49th parallel and the northern limit of Québec. This is an area of approximately 750 000 km^2, or 55% of Québec's surface area, bordered to the east by Labrador and the Côte-Nord, to the south by Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean, Mauricie and Abitibi-Témiscamingue and to the west by the Ontario border (Ministère des Transports, 2003).
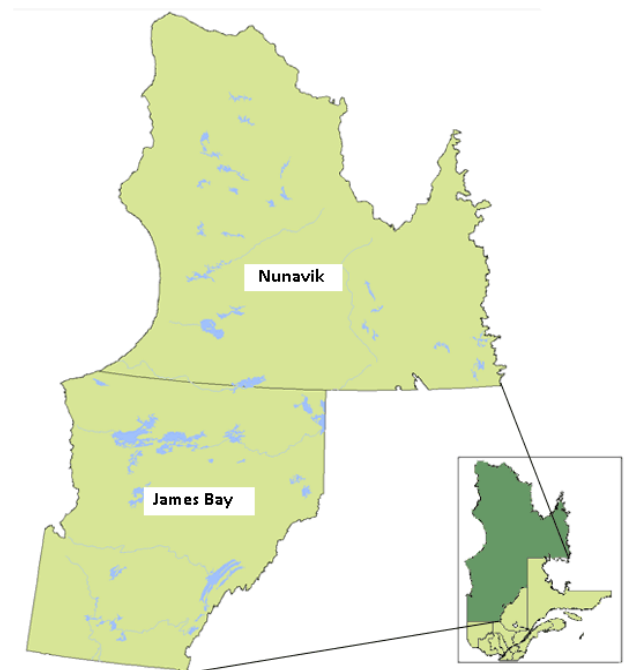
Figure 2: Nord-du-Québec Region, Quebec : Nunvik & James Bay

Interestingly, the Nord-du-Québec region contains two distinct territories. North of the 55th parallel is the Nunavik territory, extending approximately 400,000 km^2, and containing fourteen Inuit municipalities, and the Cree village of Whapmagoostui. However, what is of interest for this research is the James Bay territory of the Nord-du-Québec, an area of 350,000 km^2 between the 49th and 55th parallel. This territory is further divided into two sectors: the Jamésie and the James Bay Cree lands. Jamésie contains municipalities that are populated largely by non-aboriginals (or Jamesians), whereas the James Bay Cree lands are made up of eight Cree communities: Chisasibi, Wemindji, Eastmain, Nemaska, Waskaganish, Mistissini, Waswanipi, and Ouje-Bougoumou.

The northern location and associated climate of these communities complicates the planning of the Nord-du-Québec region. Moreover, the convergence of several communities with very different demographic, social, cultural and economic characteristics adds to this complexity. The following section serves to further explore the factors that make settlement circumstances in Quebec's north different from mainstream Quebec.

Figure 3: Nord-du-Québec Region, Quebec
Sources: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Environnement

2.2.1 Demographic Factors

Quebec's northern regions are sparsely populated. With a land area of 747 157 square kilometres and a total population of 39 817 people, the Nord-du-Quebec's population density per square kilometre is 0.1, in comparison to the province's density of 5.6. Nord-du Quebec's population represents 0.5% of Québec's total population of 7 546 131 (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Despite the low density, there has been a continual population growth over the past decade, which is very different from what is happening in southern Quebec. According to Statistics Canada's 1991 census, the total Nord-du-Québec population was 36 310. The 1996 census indicated that the population increased to 38 395, a population growth of 5.7 % in five years. By 2001, the population reached 38 575, and most recently the 2006 census reported the total population to be 39 817, representing a population growth of 9.7 % between 1991 and 2006.

In comparison to Quebec as a whole, Nord-du-Quebec is characterized by a very young population. The median age in Nord-du-Quebec is 28, whereas this age rises to 41 in the province as a whole. Approximately 29% of the population is under 15 years of age, compared to 16% for the province (see Figures 4, 5 & 6). Furthermore, areas with high proportions of people of Native origin have an even younger profile: it is common for these areas of the north to have over 50% of their population under 15 years of age. Within Native communities, the population is increasing very rapidly, as birth rates amongst Natives are much higher than those of white origin. The young population profile of the Native communities implies that these areas of the north will continue to experience substantial population growth in the coming years.

Through assessing the region at a smaller scale, the differences between the aboriginal and the non-aboriginal become even more apparent. If we look specifically at the James Bay territory of Nord-du-Québec and in particular the differences between the Jamesians and the James Bay Cree, the statistics become even more interesting. Despite a birth rate above the Québec average, the Jamesian population decreased by 16.2% between 1986 and 1996. During the same period, the Aboriginal population increased by approximately 40% (Emploi-Quebec, 2001). Moreover, with the end of the large-scale hydroelectric projects and the closing of several mines, the decline of the Jamesian population continued, decreasing by 11% between 1996 and 2001. However, in the same period of time,

there is an opposite trend for the aboriginals, with an approximate increase of 11% in the Cree population (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Nord-du-Québec Population
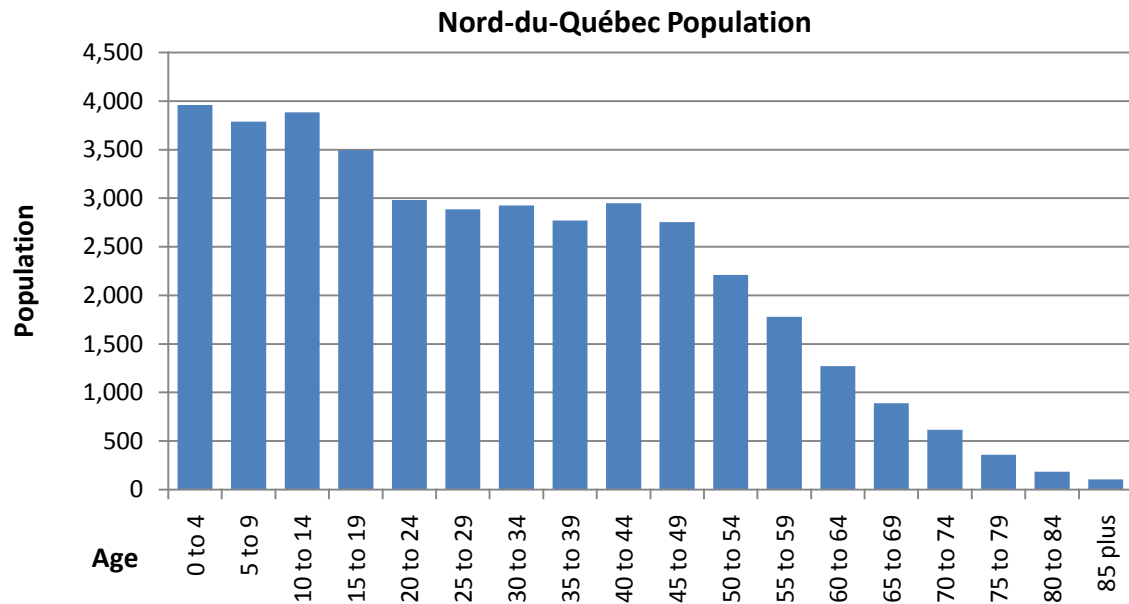
Figure 4: Nord-du-Québec Age Characteristics
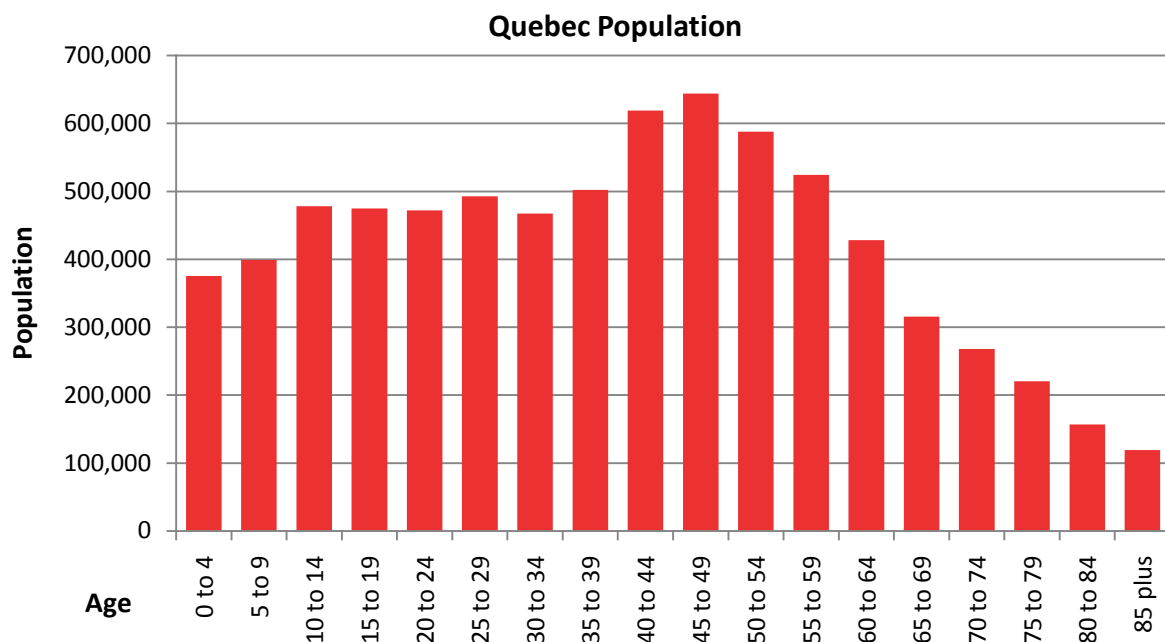
Quebec Population

Figure 5: Quebec Age Characteristics

Nord-du-Québec vs. Quebec Populations
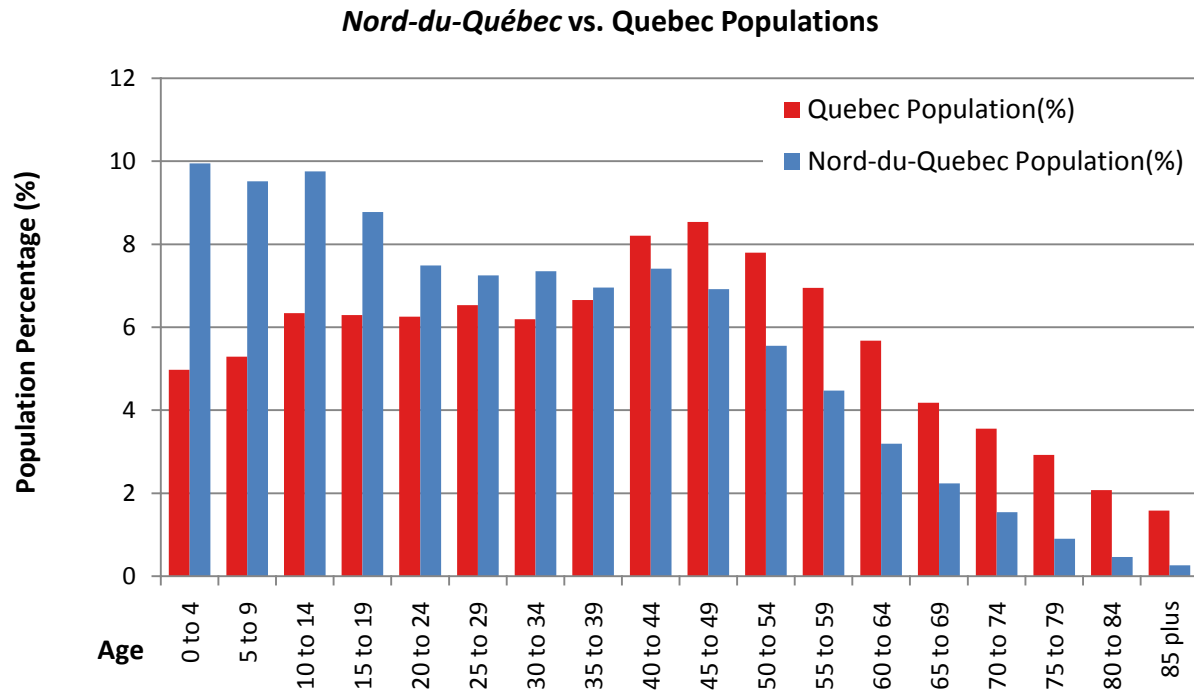
Figure 6: Nord-du-Québec vs. Quebec Age Characteristics
Sources: Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2006

In terms of implications for planning, it is evident that the continual population growth within the Native communities places increasing pressure on an already strained housing demand. The rapid population growth and housing demand it generates sets the stage for a problematic scenario under any circumstance. However, given the additional factors to be overcome in the north, the scenario becomes even more difficult (Carter, 1987). It is important to highlight that the substantial population growth that is occurring in Quebec's north means that even more "planning" is required, in comparison to the south, particularly in terms of roadway and housing-related infrastructures required per year.

2.2.2 Cultural Factors

Northern Quebec can be characterized as being culturally different from mainstream Quebec, due to the large aboriginal population it hosts. Although northern Quebec contains a small proportion of the Quebec's total population, it hosts a high proportion of Quebec's aboriginals. Specifically, 108 425 people are of aboriginal identity in Quebec (1.4% of Quebec's population of 7 546 131). Of these, 23 530 reside in Nord-du-Quebec, representing 59% of the Nord-du-Quebec region's total population (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The majority of the Indian and Inuit population have experienced a geographic shift in the past decades. This population has relocated from small scattered hunting villages to larger centres associated with resource industries, administrative, service, and transportation functions. Not all aboriginal peoples participate in the economy of the newer centres, but they have taken up permanent residence in these centres, often accessing services, such as health and education. The Indian and Inuit populations have experienced difficulty adjusting to the western society, largely due to an economy and way of life that differs tremendously from their traditional lifestyles (Carter, 1987). The mismatch or transition between one way of life and another brings with it issues that complicate planning programs and policies.

2.2.3 Economic Factors

Northern Quebec's economy is structurally different from the remainder of the province. According to a survey conducted in 1999 by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) on the characteristics of the James Bay labour force, approximately 56% of the jobs were related to tertiary activities, including 18% in the public administrations and 39% in private activities associated with a resource-based economy (commerce, transport, business services). The secondary sector accounted for approximately 24% of the jobs and the primary sector for 20%. In comparison to the rest of Québec, the James Bay employment structure differs by the importance of private services as well as by the primary and secondary sector-based activities (Ministère des Transports, 2003)(See Figures 7, 8 & 9).

In terms of the Cree employment structure in particular, more than 75% of the jobs in the communities are related to the public and private activities of the tertiary sector and close to 20% to secondary sector activities. Economic activities are generally found in commerce and services, tourism, handicraft, forest

harvesting, mining and construction, while hunting, fishing and trapping remain important sustenance activities for the Cree (Ministère des Régions, 2001).

Nord-du-Québec Industry
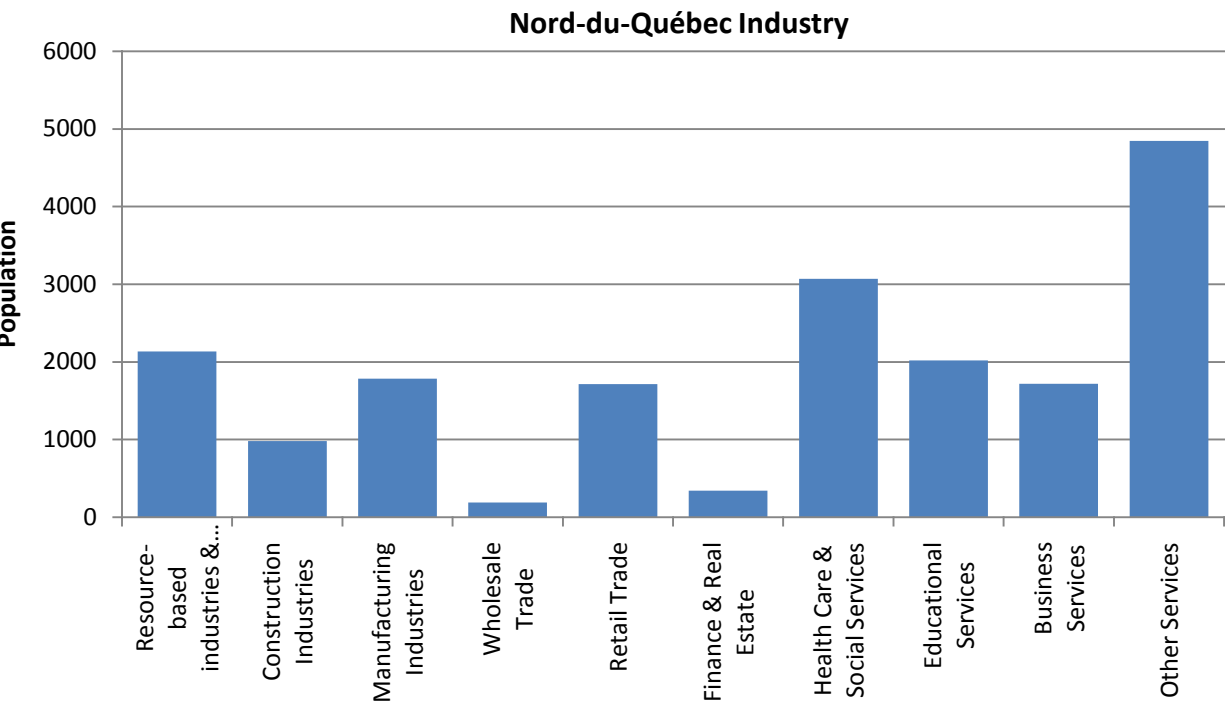
Figure 7: Nord-du-Québec Industry
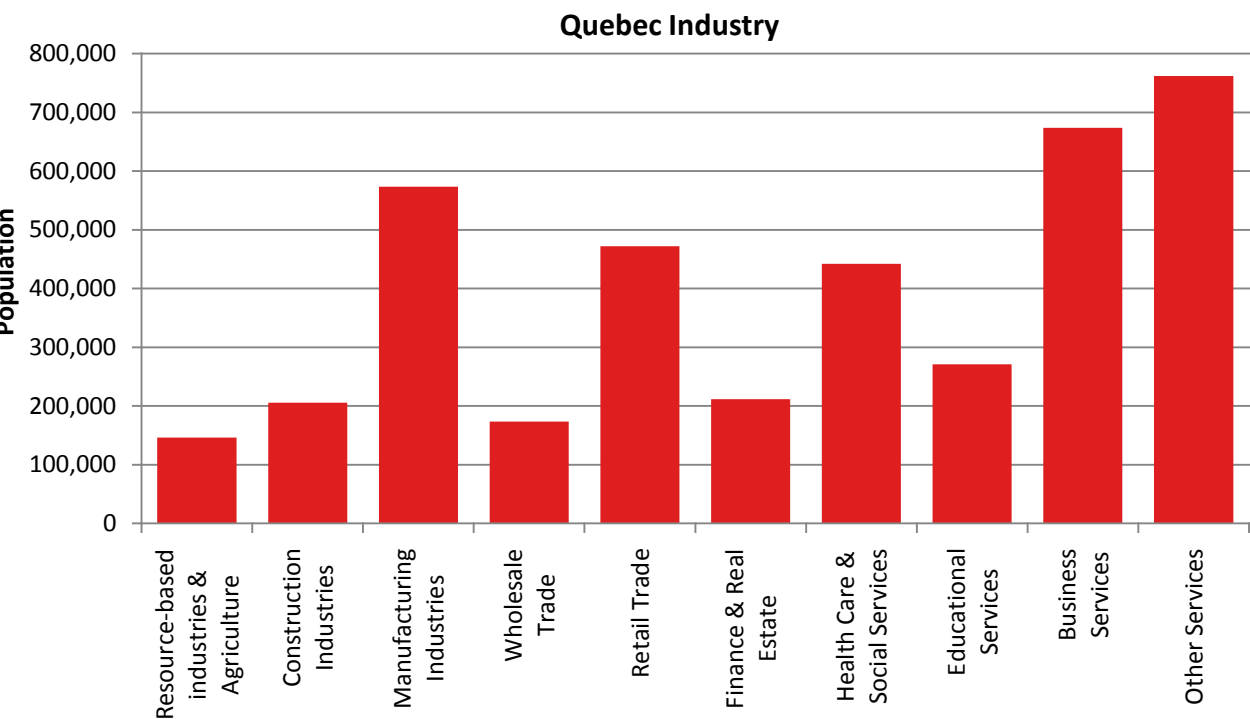
Quebec Industry

Figure 8: Quebec Industry

Nord-du-Quebec vs. Quebec Industry
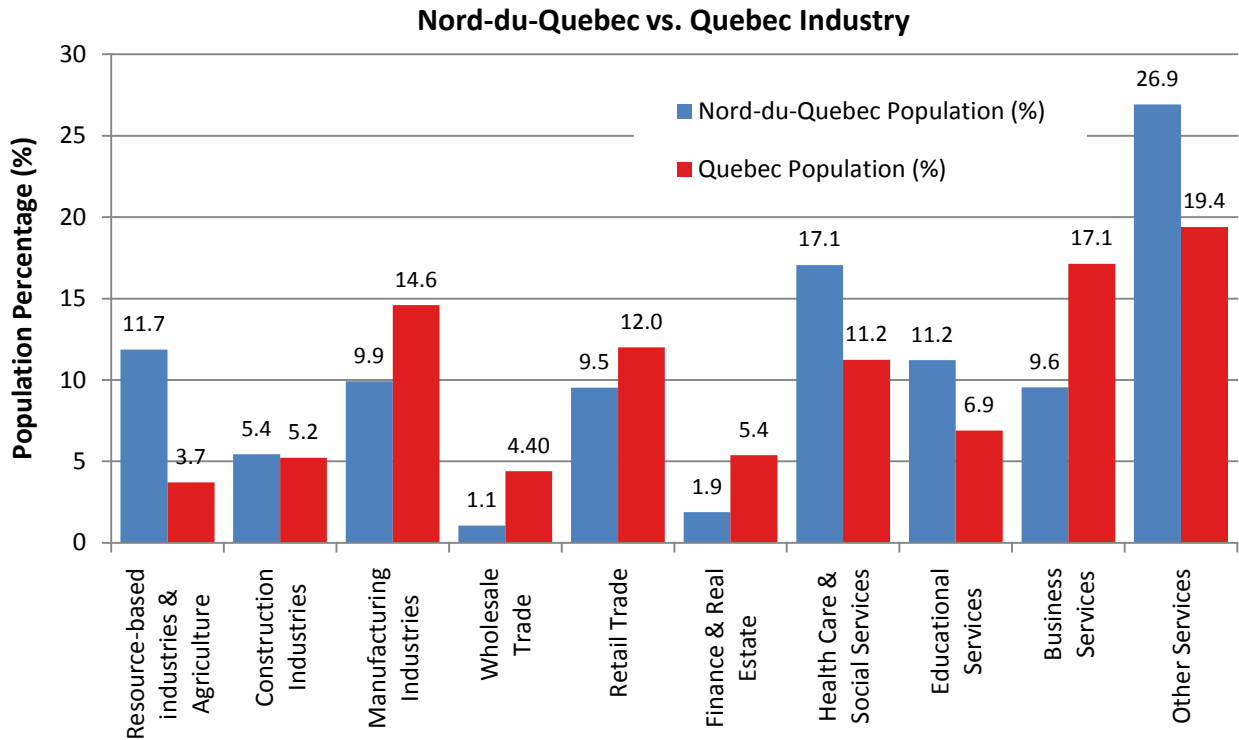
Figure 9: Nord-du-Québec vs. Quebec Industry
Source: Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2006

The Nord-du-Quebec economy is far less diversified than the province as a whole, making it more delicate and prone to cyclical performances. A cyclical and seasonal economy means that it is difficult to achieve income stability and that these economies result in fewer long term jobs, and much higher seasonal employment and unemployment (Carter, 1987). In 2006, the Nord-du-Quebec showed an unemployment rate of 14.2% compared to 7% for Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2006). The unstable employment conditions have the effect of reducing the overall income in the area.

The unstable employment conditions, coupled with the north's higher than average costs associated the climate, transportation costs, and construction costs, means that the ability for households to pay for shelter is compromised. When one considers the Native population within the context of this economy, the problem becomes even more intensified. The Natives' lower levels of education and marketable skills greatly compromise their ability to earn enough to meet their housing needs (Carter, 1987).

The factors outlined above are all challenges that make planning and policy-making in Quebec's north different from mainstream Quebec. The implications of disregarding the differences between the north

of Quebec and its southern counterpart are major. Logsdon (1987) attests to this, claiming that to date inappropriate programs have been introduced in the north, despite the good intentions of policy-makers. Future planning policies and programs need to recognize and address the differences in demographics, culture, and economy found within Quebec in order for them to be successful.

2.3 CREE CONCEPTS OF COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPACTS ON SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN NORTHERN QUEBEC

The mainstream Canadian concept of "community" is primarily one of a physical group of structures in a particular locality (Reid, 1988; Simon et.al., 1984). Specifically, this concept of community refers mainly to a collection of people living in a particular area, most often used to refer to a physical network, such as a town or village.

Evidently, there are physical and conceptual meanings to the term "community". The conceptual significance of a community really comes forth when discussing the traditional Native concept of a community. In Native settlements, the term "community" is most often used to refer to people, and not the built form. Here, physical proximity between community members is not as important as social or spiritual connections. Social ties, such as kinship linkages and family structures greatly determine the Native lifestyle.

If professionals want to properly address planning issues within Native settlements, it is necessary for them to understand the concept of community amongst Natives, and how it differs from its usual reference in mainstream Canada. The intent of this section is to present information on traditional Cree communities and the impact it has on the settlement patterns of the Cree in Northern Quebec. Specifically, the social, spiritual, physical, and economic communities will be considered, as these are the four main types of communities in Native settlements. For a successful plan in a contemporary Native settlement, planners need to use this information as one of the "inputs" into the design process.

2.3.1 Social Communities

The social structures within Native settlements highly influence the physical structure. An understanding of the social "rules" and family and kinship structures within Native communities can help professionals design modern communities to be more responsive to traditional Native lifestyles.

Traditional Native family structures were based upon kinship, mainly due to the nature of hunting and trapping societies. Nomadic migratory Native groups lived independently in hunting groups made up of one to two families, and operated as autonomous political units. Due to the structure of hunting and gathering societies, sharing was imperative for the survival of the group as a whole. Following a hunt, it was practice for all hunters to gather in a lodge to share their game, because it was the Band Council's

responsibility to ensure that no one in the community went hungry (Afshari-Mirak, 1994). The notion of sharing remains prevalent in contemporary communities; therefore communal facilities are still customary. The kinship ties formed the base of the social and spatial organizations of the families. Intermarriage served as a method of sustaining a kinship network throughout a geographical area, and land was distributed to each family so that each band had its own territory (Reid, 1988).

In relation to gender roles, Cree women played an important role in the life of their community. They shared their duties with their husbands and were considered as equals. Their responsibilities included not only the domestic tasks in the household, but also the education of the children and teaching of cultural identity. In general, women represented the centre of the family (Chagny, 1998).

Today, the concept of the social community is weak in Cree communities because western influences brought about major changes to the social life of the Cree. Perhaps the largest change was the Cree's transition from a nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary one, largely provoked by government interventions that provided fully-equipped homes that had little to do with the traditional living patterns of the Cree community or family structure. In addition, as government interventions increased in the 1950s, the structure of the social community became less important. For instance, the traditional responsibilities of Cree leaders were lessened, because band members who were in need of assistance now went directly to government representatives or the welfare office, rather than to the members of their own community. Government regulations and residential schools have also weakened the family clan systems as the base unit of the social order in Native societies. Native women's social status has also worn: women slowly became subordinate to men, a status similar to the non-Native Canadian women of that time. With the construction of houses being directed by the Department of Indian Affairs, women were excluded from the designing and building process of their homes although they were- and continue to be, responsible for the domestic tasks (Chagny, 1998).

 In summary, the meaning of community as it existed in the traditional Native settlements has rarely been maintained in contemporary Native settlements, often destroying the nature and structure of Native communal life.

2.3.2 Spiritual Communities

Traditional Cree community life is closely connected to their spiritual practices. For instance, the everyday hunt involved a ritualization and conceptualization of the Cree's religious beliefs. Specifically, the Cree's perception of geographic spaces consisted of a concentric model with the camp space in the centre, surrounded by geographic space that is the forest and lakes, inhabited by wildlife, at the farthest point at which were located spiritual entities with natural forces. This ritualization of space determined the domestic and geographic spheres, and allowed the hunter to learn about the natural world (Chagny, 1998).

Today, everyday life and religion remain bound to one another. For instance, the concept of a universal power, or a Supreme Being, is present in all aspects of existence and is evident in the interactions between people and their environment. This spiritual power or presence remains most evident in the practice of hunting. Successful hunting is thought to be related to the respect paid to the spirit associated with the prey. An *animal guardian* ("a supernatural ruler whose function is to exercise stewardship over the wild animals") is said to have the power to control the food supply in accordance with the respect given by the hunter (Davis, 2008).

Practices that recognize and celebrate the interconnection between land and people, such as *Renewal* and *Thanksgiving* ceremonies, enhance the Cree's opportunities to converse with the environment. The Cree community ceremony known as *Walking-Out (Wiiwiitahaausuunaanuu)* originates from a complex system of affirmations of the continuing relationship between the land and what the people consider to be a universal principle or power. This ceremony is an acknowledgement and re-enactment of what are perceived as the spiritual elements (Davis, 2008).

Religious symbolism amongst the Cree of James Bay serves to bring cohesion to the life and culture of the people inhabiting the land. These symbols are thought to promote the formation of character, and the re-enactment of rituals such as the Walking-Out confirms the cultural heritage. Today, religious teachings remain where character formation takes place in Cree communities (Davis, 2008).

2.3.3 Physical Communities

In traditional Native life, most choices were made in relation to the natural environment in order to ensure the community's survival. Site planning in Cree settlements was based on access to nature and preserving sacred sites. Settlements were established in locations that had easy access to rivers and hunting grounds. Setting up camp became ritual behaviour for the Cree, as hunters were nomadic due to the scarcity of resources in Quebec's north. Families moved at least every other year, during which they would build a new camp and new dwellings. Many factors played into the location and layout of the new communities: the orientation of the dwelling always followed the rising of the sun and was located in front of a body of water that provided the camp with its access route. Sacred sites were also a strong factor in the selection of settlement locations and layouts. Rivers and bridges were considered to be holy places, and trees and stones were thought to have a power through which the Natives could connect to their past (Chagny, 1998; Afshari-Mirak, 1994).

Traditional Canadian Native settlement patterns took the form of four layouts (scattered, linear, cluster, and compact), as opposed to the predominant western grid or row pattern. The scattered or split layout was the most common settlement style in Canadian traditional settlements, and is still preferred today. The preference for this settlement layout is due to the privacy it provides. Afshari-Mirak (1994) provided a good example of proof for this preference, through his research on the Fort George Settlement in northern Quebec, a reserve in which most of the housing was designed and built by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) in the 1950s and 1960s. Interestingly, aerial photos from the late 1970s showed that new tepees, shacks, and housing were built in a dispersed pattern, and pedestrian pathways and roads were added by the residents. This example demonstrated that the Cree would make alterations to their settlements if it wasn't well-suited for their lifestyles.

In relation to the domestic space, hunting groups formed by Cree families settled into single units or gathered in communal lodges, depending on the season. Nonetheless, the spatial organizations within communal dwellings and single units followed the same rules. In general, the fire was near the centre, the door was on one side of the fire, and the living area was opposite of the door opening (Chagny, 1998). Interestingly, the dwelling activity was organized according to one's social position within the community. The Cree leader's section was generally at the centre rear of the dwelling. The other sections were arranged at the perimeter of the dwelling, according to social status: the lower one's

social status, the farther away from the leader's section. Living was for the most part a communal experience (Reid, 1988).

As mentioned, the new fully-equipped houses that were provided for the Cree were more closely related to the Canadian suburban homes and had little to do with the traditional living patterns (Chagny, 1998). In *"A Homeland for the Cree"* Salisbury (1986) provided a very clear description of the new Cree villages, emphasizing the changes that had occurred:

> As one approached the villages, however, dramatic changes appear, with roads upgraded and even paved. Entering any villages there is an immediate sense of affluence, of almost every house being new, [...] of confidence and activity in band offices and of people who are busy and involved in matters of personal concern. Few signs of traditional way appear outwardly in the villages – no dogs or teepees, the old HBC store has given way to modern construction of supermarket type, and few if any furs are to be seen, stretching on the drying frames outside the new houses (Salisbury, 1986, pg 63-64).

2.3.4 Economic Communities

The Cree in northern Quebec managed to sustain their traditional economic activities of fishing and hunting for some time, despite the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century. Although the fur trade allowed the Cree to improve their material conditions (such as new cutting tools and stronger kettles), generally their way of life remained as it was prior to the arrival of the Europeans (Chagny, 1998).

In the mid-1960s, Quebec's Cree lived part of the year in their Native reserves, while the rest of the year, the staples of their economic subsistence consisted of fur, fish, and game. However, the fur trade began to decline and the Cree had difficulty surviving on that commerce. Incapable of purchasing primary goods, the Cree had to accept Euro-Canadian economic rules, and therefore started to lose the autonomy they had maintained for centuries (Chagny, 1998).

Around the same time, Canada began to consider the land and water used by the Cree in terms of its economic potential: marketable wood, minerals, and hydroelectric power. The impact of these economic developments on the Cree was drastic. Chance & Conklin (n.d.) tell the tale of the changes the new economy brought about on the village of Waswanipi, in northern Quebec. Here, a major Canadian pulp and paper company began construction of a mill and town near the Waswanipi village, and

recruited a labour force of over 1,300 from southern Québec. New roads cut through old Cree trapping grounds, and towns like Chibougamou and Chapais replaced the place of earlier Cree encampments. In 1964, after the closing of the local Hudson Bay Post, the entire population of the Waswanipi band was forced to move off their reserve in search of jobs in nearby mills and mines. Some families clustered in small groupings along the new gravel roads that linked the new frontier towns, while others searched for work in towns farther to the south (Chance & Conklin, no date).

In short, many young men and women moved off the reserve in search of economic and social solutions; however, the older generations of Cree tried to avoid the search for jobs elsewhere, and remained in favour of their traditional economic pursuits (Chance & Conklin, n.d.). For instance, in the village of Mistissini, more than half of the men continued trapping as their primary occupation. Of the younger men, few spent winters in the bush, and those who did often found their earnings insufficient to buy the consumer goods they needed. This was due both to fluctuating fur prices and rising economic aspirations. As pulp and paper, mining, and hydroelectric ventures expanded into the region, family trapping grounds were increasingly threatened (Chance & Conklin, n.d.).

It was without question that the new economy posed a threat to the Cree's economic and cultural survival. To make matters worse, even if the Cree wanted to remain on their reserves and develop their own resources, government policies didn't allow for this. In fact the Cree reserves in the region were allocated as residential settlements only, a policy that hampered commercial development. Some employment was available on or near the Cree reserves through commercial fishing and lumber yards, but these jobs were scarce and the Cree labour force was expanding (Chance & Conklin, n.d.).

Fortunately, eventual land claims negotiations and other recent provincial and federal agreements, as well as stronger political organization, allowed the Cree to become more active in shaping their own futures. Nonetheless, the economic and cultural impacts of the past events remain. Today, men participate in jobs related to traditional activities and physical tasks, such as fishing, forestry, and mining, assembling and repairing, construction, transport, and material handling. Women, on the other hand, participate in the labour market largely in the form of community-related jobs, such as teaching, medicine and health, social science, clerical, and sales (Chagny, 1998).

2.4 CONCLUSION

The relationship between the built environment and one's identity has been acknowledged for some time by scholars, such as anthropologists and ethnographers (Rapoport, 1969; Skinner 1987; Hamdi, 1991). However, it is only in the past 30 years or so that planners have taken this research into consideration. Fortunately, the prevailing idea that western theories and technologies can be applied in broad brush strokes is fading, as the effects of applying western planning concepts in Native communities are surfacing (McDowell, 1989; Simon et al., 1984).

However, it seems as though a major hurdle in translating the needs of the Cree into a reality is the planner's tendency to address settlements problems in terms of physical and financial aspects. Additionally, a lack of awareness of the complexity of the Cree society and the rules governing their communities prior to western influences has also been cited as a major problem:

> The challenge to Native communities is to design community, political, economic, health and social service, legal and cultural structures that will move from the paternalistic structures that were imposed upon them [...]. There is a way out but it must include participation of whole communities. All must be involved in the planning and healing in order to create a new infrastructure that will wipe away the pain and give control and strength to the people so that they become self-determining (Christensen, 1995, pp. 24-26).

Professionals' roles in designing modern settlements for the Natives should be as facilitators in translating the goals of the Cree into community layouts that comply with the Native lifestyle, both traditional and modern. However, it is difficult for non-Native planners and architects to create a built form that incorporates the Native peoples' heritage and needs. In light of this, community participation is becoming increasingly relevant in today's planning process, as it enables professionals to express the Native people's desires, needs and aspirations in a modern environment (Chagny, 1998).

PART 3

CASE STUDIES: CHISASIBI & OUJE-BOUGOUMOU

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past decades, the James Bay Cree have been subject to two "forces" that have had an impact on their modern Quebec settlements: a diminishing cultural past and an increasing presence of "western" mainstream values (Shaw, 1982).

The importance of traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and trapping have been highlighted in the negotiations to stop the James Bay Hydroelectric Project and the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement terms, in which the rights to continue the activities have been at the forefront.

On the other hand, the influences of Canada's mainstream values on the Native way of life cannot be ignored: improved transportation and communication networks have *opened the world* to the Native people by increasing their contact and allowing for ease of mobility within their own environments as well; employment opportunities and government assistance have reduced the Native's dependence on traditional economic activities; and better access to health services has improved the health and longevity of the Native populations.

Both traditional and modern influences have had an impact on the expectations, needs, and goals of the Native communities. There has been a movement away from the lifestyle and values of the nomadic hunting and gathering people, towards values and lifestyles more in sync with those of mainstream Canada (Shaw, 1982).

The following two case studies serve to illustrate the planning process of two modern Cree settlements in Quebec. The planning context and processes will be described, with the aim of evaluating the planning exercise in terms of the extent and nature of the participation of the Cree. The examination and evaluation of the process will also serve to determine whether the objectives, standards and design criteria arrived at by the town planning consultants were successful in fulfilling the needs and aspirations of the Native people for their new settlements.

3.2 CREE VILLAGES IN THE JAMES BAY REGION

The James Bay Cree have been present in the James Bay and Hudson Bay regions for more than 5,000 years. Their territory, situated in the north-west part of Quebec, is a land area of 240,000 km². Until the past few decades, the James Bay Cree have lived a semi-nomadic lifestyle. However, this regional population of approximately 15,000 has settled into nine communities: Whapmagoostui, Chisasibi, Wemindji, Eastmain, Waskaganish, Nemaska, Mistissini, Ouje-Bougoumou, and Waswanipi.
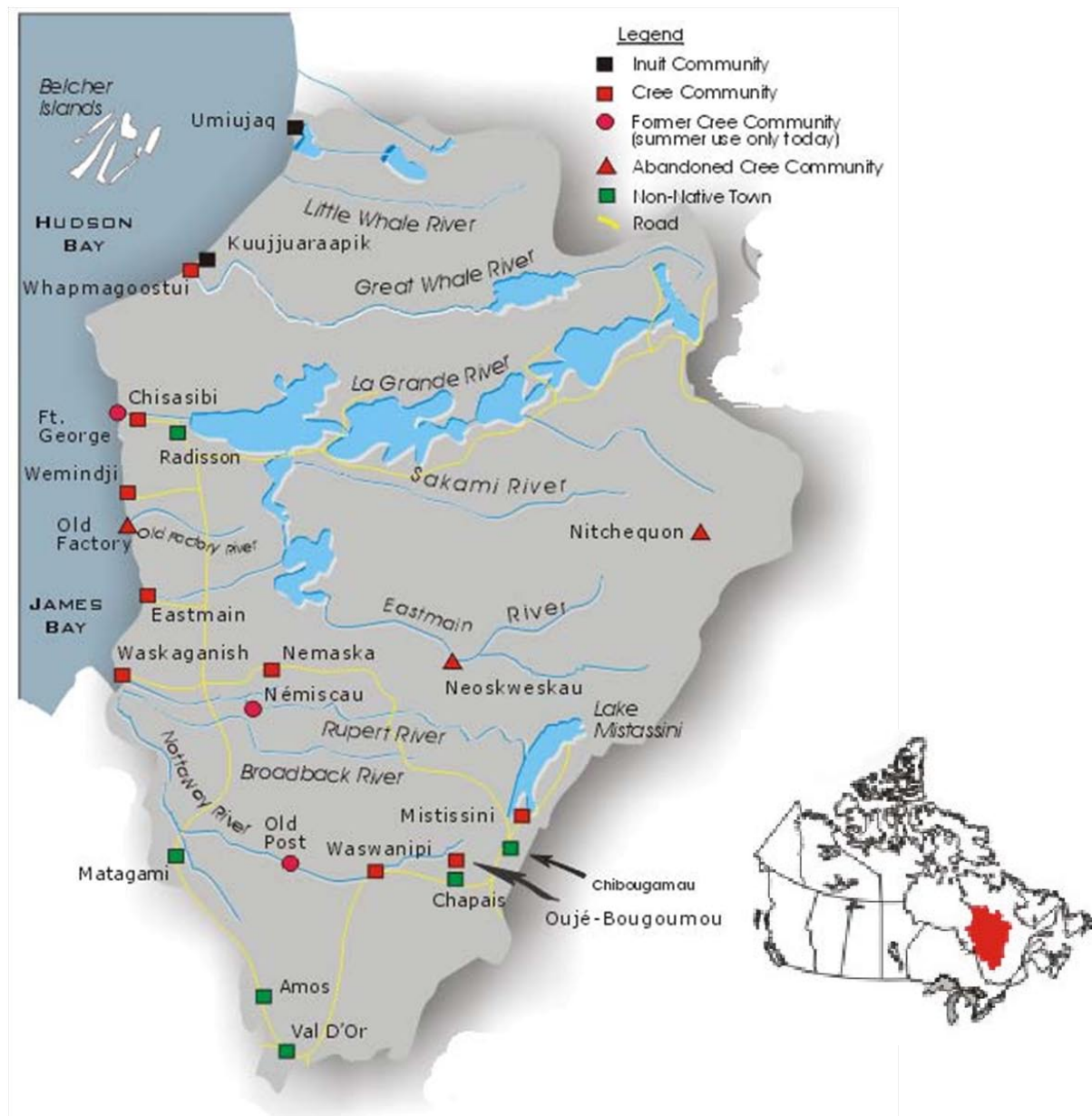
Figure 10: The Communities in the James Bay Region of Northern Quebec
Source: www.ecojustice.net
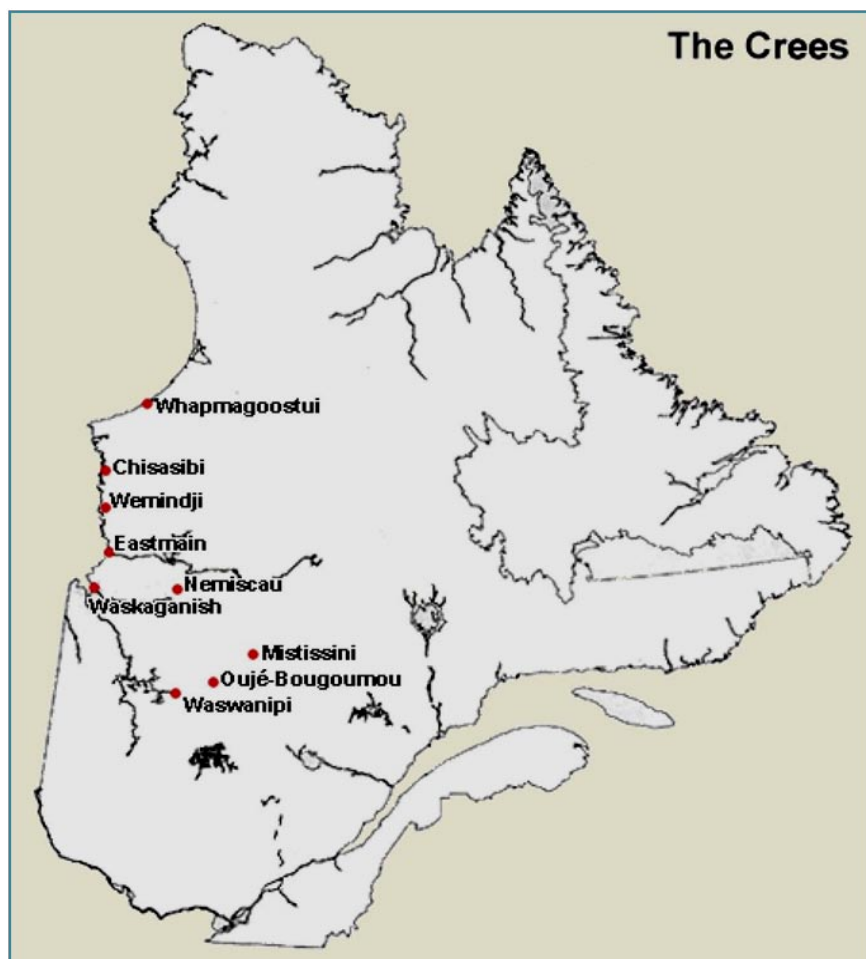
Figure 11: The Cree Communities of Northern Quebec

Community	Band	Territorial unit	Area (hectares)	Resident population	Total population
Chisasibi	Cree Nation of Chisasibi	Category I lands	80 500	3 759	3 892
Eastmain	Eastmain	Category I lands	15 460	640	679
Mistissini	Mistissini	Category I lands	85 434	3 567	4 089
Nemaska	Nemaska	Category I lands	974	633	651
Ouje-Bougoumou	Undetermined	Indian settlement	27	600	709
Waskaganish	Waskaganish	Category I lands	4 925	2 060	2 450
Waswanipi	Waswanipi	Category I lands	36 451	1 420	1 819
Wemindji	Cree Nation of Wemindji	Category I lands	3 266	1 266	1 385
Whapmagoostui	Whapmagoostui First Nation	Category I lands	20 465	817	827

Table 2: Cree Community Information
Source: Indian Registry, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), December 2008

Governance and Policy Relating to the James Bay Cree

In order to understand today's conditions in Quebec's northern communities, it is important to be aware of the governance and policy contexts in which these communities have come to be. Through the Indian Act of 1868-1869, and its resulting reserve system, the Federal Government adopted a paternalistic attitude towards Canada's Native people. Through the Indian Act and its associated policies, the "uncivilized" nomadic lifestyle of the Native people was discouraged. The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company's trading posts encouraged the James Bay Cree to set up summer camps, which eventually evolved into more permanent settlements (Salisbury, 1986). The permanency of these settlements was further encouraged by the Federal Government's policy decisions to provide food rations, clothing allowances in the 1940s, and the mission schools (Panagiotaraku, 2002). According to one Ontario Indian Agent, John McIntyre, in 1885 "the Indian would be gradually and permanently advanced to the scale of civil society; his migratory habits, and fondness for roaming, would be cured, and an interesting class of our fellow men rescued from degradation" (cited in McDowell, 1989).

During the 1960s, decisions relating to the location or design of a community were made based on the least-cost-criteria, rather than proper engineering, and community considerations. Fortunately, in the decades that followed, a more holistic approach to planning was adopted, which was much more responsive to community needs. This approach came as a result of the political struggles of the Native groups who demanded for greater autonomy and control over their community-level affaires (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

The announcement in 1971 of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project was a pivotal point in the history of the James Bay Cree. The project, initiated as part of the Premier Robert Bourassa's Quebec development plan, involved the damming and flooding of vast areas of Northern Quebec for the purpose of generating hydro power. In 1971, Bill 50 was passed, creating the James Bay Development Corporation (J.B.D.C), which was given the green light to exploit the natural resources within the James Bay municipality. The James Bay Energy Corporation (J.B.E.C.) was created as a subsidiary of the J.B.D.C., to manage the project (Shaw, 1982).

A lack of environmental assessments and consultation with the Cree and Inuit caused strong opposition to the project from these northern dwellers. The Cree and Inuit filed an injunction with the Quebec

Superior Court in 1972, which led to a ruling in their favour in 1973. However, the Quebec Court of Appeal reversed the decision in 1974, forcing the Cree and Inuit leaders to engage in negotiations.

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was a negotiated settlement concerning the ownership and the use of the land in the James Bay territory in Quebec. The parties involved in the agreement were the James Bay Cree, the Inuit, and the Governments of Canada and Quebec. The signing of the JBNQA in 1974 meant that the Cree gave up their Native territorial claims in return for $155 million and rights over specified lands (referred to as Category I, II, and III lands). In addition, the Cree were promised greater levels of self-government and greater control over community development and planning, funding for programs, and other benefits (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

As a result of the JBNQA, the Cree Regional Authority (CRA) was established in 1978 to oversee the Category 1 lands. This administrative body co-ordinated all programs in the Cree villages. The James Bay Hydroelectric Project and its subsequent legal battles also resulted in the establishment of the Grand Council of the Crees (GCC), a political organization for the governance of the Cree people (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

Panagiotaraku (2002) provides a chronology of the evolution of policies relating to housing and community planning in Quebec's northern Native communities over the past half century (see Table 3).

Year	Program Type	Objectives	Criticism	Political Climate
1950-1969	Pre-fabricated, low cost row-housing units. Infrastructure in the way of roads, electricity, indoor plumbing, and sewage disposal	Eradicate poverty in Native communities.	Houses ill-suited for cold climate, overcrowdings, culturally insensitive planning. No consultation with Natives. Planning was project specific and developed in isolation from service-providing agencies.	Expansion of Indians Affairs Branch in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Increasing political activism by Indian groups demanding greater levels of participation in decision-making.
1969-1981	CMHC awards contracts to private developers. Housing/community planning based on "suburban design". Houses clustered in cyclical arrangements around community buildings or greenery.	To improve existing housing stock and to create housing and community planning that was culturally and socially sensible.	Failure to stimulate local economy by the creation of local jobs. Inadequate consultation with Band Councils and residents.	Failure of DIAND to eradicate poverty in Native villages. Continuing growth of Native organizations with a sophisticated range of political activities.
1981-1986	Comprehensive community planning. DIAND funds training courses on community planning for Indian students, and supports community planning workshops for Chiefs and project development administrators.	Facilitate Indian Band control over the planning process.	Low levels of funding to the program; lack of Native planners; inadequate preparation of non-Indian planners; lack of preparedness of communities themselves. Failure to provide adequate space for culturally specific activities.	Calls for Band Councils to take control of community planning process. Calls for aboriginal self-government. Signing of JBNQA in 1974.
1986-1996	Comprehensive community planning is cancelled. Planning is devolved to Band and Tribal Councils. First Nation given responsibility for developing community policies. Bands hire their own planners directly. Training and hiring of local workforce in community projects. Home-ownership incentives	To encourage self-sufficiency at individual and community level.	Inadequate government funding to ensure supply of houses to meet high demand. Aboriginal governments constrained by the administrative criteria and process set out by DIAND and CMHC.	Constitutional amendments of 1982. Oka Crisis. Advent of the aboriginal self-government.
1996-present	First Nations develop own policies and programs designed to respond to local needs and opportunities.	Community control and decision-making. Capacity development/self-sufficiency ; shared responsibility; improved access to investment	Inadequate funding to meet growing demand	Publication of Royal Commission Report in 1996.

Table 3: Historic Timetable of Housing and Community Planning in Quebec's Native Villages
Source: Panagiotaraku, 2002

3.3 CASE STUDY: THE RELOCATION OF FORT GEORGE COMMUNITY TO CHISASIBI, QUEBEC

Chisasibi was a new settlement that was built for a population of 2000, Native and non-Native, who were relocated from the Fort George Settlement in northern Quebec in 1980. The development of the Chisasibi Native settlement was an exception to the usual settlement patterns that had been occurring in the Native communities in Quebec in the late 20th century. Chisasibi was considered to be an exceptional planning process because it was a rare example of town planning that took into consideration the Native way of life.

From the onset, the idea to relocate the Fort George Settlement was initiated and developed by the Cree community, rather than by outsiders or professionals. This idea led to the establishment of the *Fort George Relocation Corporation (F.G.R.C.)*, a body that was responsible for the relocation of the Fort George village and the planning and construction of the new settlement at Chisasibi.

The *Fort George Relocation Corporation* mandated town planning consultants *Daniel Arbour and Associates* (D.A.A.I.) to plan for the relocation and the development of Chisasibi in consultation with and participation from the Native communities involved. In addition, the town planning consultants were given the responsibility of project management, meaning that they were to coordinate engineers, architects, and the construction of the town plan.

The approximate $60 million budget for the relocation of the Fort George Settlement and the planning and construction of Chisasibi allowed the town planners to develop innovative planning methods, which facilitated the consultation and participation of the Native people in the planning process. Through innovative methods, the planning consultants hoped to create a new settlement that would meet the needs and aspirations of the Fort George Native people.

The new Chisasibi settlement aimed to offer new opportunities for Fort George's Native people, such as new or upgraded housing equipped with potable water and sanitary sewage connections, as well as adaptations to the northern climate and Native way of life; housing opportunities to live adjacent to family and friends; centrally-located community facilities; sufficient land for future expansions; and direct road access to LG-2 and southern locations, while maintaining access to La Grande River and the James Bay (Shaw, 1982).

3.3.1 The Fort George Settlement

The Fort George Settlement was situated on the northern part of Fort George Island, an 8 km² island located at the mouth of La Grande River in northern Quebec. The settlement was 110 km west of Radisson and LG-2, the new settlements built for the James Bay Hydroelectric projects, and 1 115 km northwest of Montreal.

Fort George Island was first settled in 1803 by the *Company of the North West* who set up a trading post on the island to buy furs from the Cree hunters in the James Bay region and to intercept the *Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)* post further south, at Eastmain. The *Hudson's Bay Company* set up a rival post on the Island of Fort George in the same year. In the early 1820s the *Company of the North West* disbanded, and the *Hudson's Bay Company* left the Island. The *Hudson's Bay Company* returned in the late 1830s and set up its main post on the Island, continuing the fur trade with the coastal Cree and Inuit.

During this century, the James Bay Cree abandoned their nomadic lifestyle and settled permanently in communities, often to be closer to the trading posts. The Cree populations had experienced natural cycles of abundance and famine in the past, often due to the migration patterns of the caribou; however, in the early 1900s the caribou nearly disappeared and there was a sharp decline in the beaver population. These factors forced the Cree population to spend longer periods of the year in the Fort George Settlement. By the 1930s the Hudson's Bay Company closed its posts in the inland areas of the James Bay region, forcing the Native inlanders to go to their main post at Fort George.

In the latter half of the 20th century, the government played a more active role in the region. For example, in 1948 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.) began to distribute food to those in need, putting an end to the Native people's heavy reliance on the Hudson's Bay Company. The federal government also increased its role by supplying housing and other facilities and services up until the 1970s. The establishment of federal and provincial government offices, health, education, and commercial services made Fort George a major regional centre. The Quebec government also played an active role in Fort George, setting up the Direction Générale du Nouveau-Québec (D.G.N.Q.) in 1964.

However, in the mid 1960s the Federal government responded to the demands of the Native people for increased control over their own affairs, and placed the responsibility for community-level affairs in the hands of the Fort George Band Council.

Demographics

The population of Fort George was under 2000 in 1976 (1558 Cree Indians, 150 non-status Indians (Métis), 53 Inuit, and 200 whites), making it the largest coastal community in the James Bay region. The Cree population was originally divided amongst coasters and inlanders: the coasters lived, trapped, and hunted on the coast for centuries, whereas the inlanders relocated their hunting and trapping grounds to Fort George after the Hudson's Bay Company settled on the Island. The coasters and inlanders originally had a physical bog separating their housing areas; however, the bog was filled in prior to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's housing programs of the early 1970s, lessening the distinction between the two groups. The Inuit in Fort George were also coastal dwellers, the majority of which were relocated to Fort George from Cape Hope Island by the Federal Government in the 1950s. Fort George's white population was also divided into two groups: The French-speaking residents who worked for the Catholic Mission or the Provincial Government, and the English-speaking residents who worked in the Federal schools, Anglican Mission, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The age and sex structure of Fort George's Cree population are presented below (see Figure 12 and Table 4). The male-to-female ratios by age group were quite even, although the total female population (758) was slightly larger than the total male population (745). However, what is of even greater importance is the large percentage of the population below the age of 15 years, which accounted for 45.8 % of the total Fort George Cree population.

In relation to family sizes, in 1975, Fort George had a large amount of two-person families (32.6%), most of which were young households without any children yet. The total population of 1,524 was grouped into 285 families, averaging out to a family size of 5.4 persons.

Cree was the main language spoken in Fort George, used by all Indian populations. English was the main language of the school systems, also spoken by most young people Cree, and some older. Very few Native people spoke French.

Cree Population of Fort George, 1974 Age Pyramid
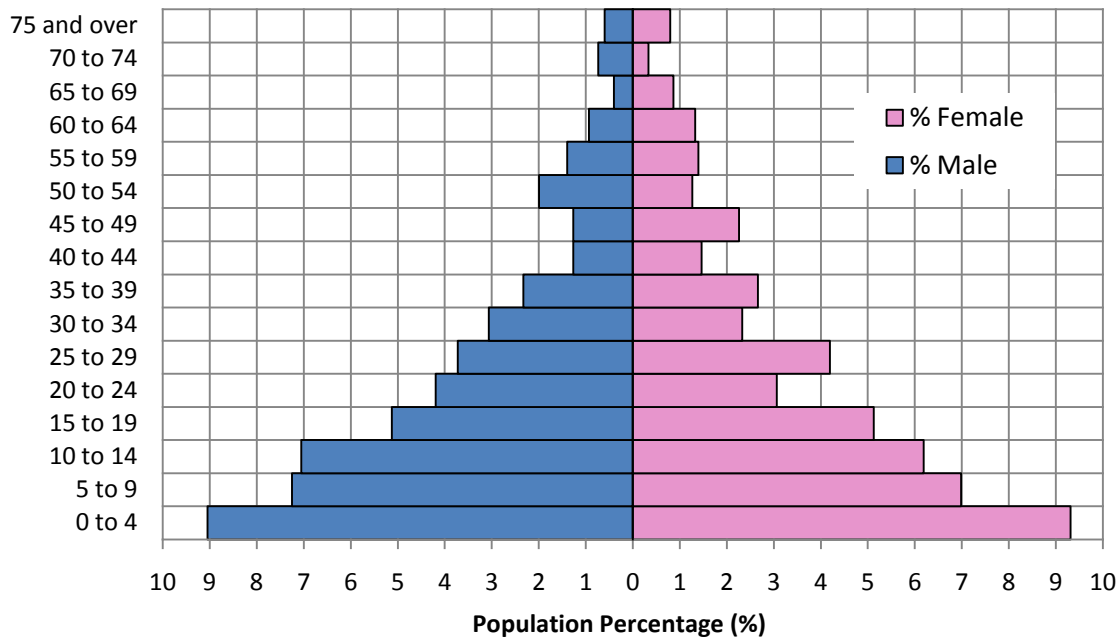
Figure 12: Fort George Age-Sex Pyramid, 1974
Source: D.I.A.N.D. in Shaw, 1982

Fort George Population, 1974					
Age	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Male**	**% Female**
0 to 4	136	140	276	9.05	9.31
5 to 9	109	105	214	7.25	6.99
10 to 14	106	93	199	7.05	6.19
15 to 19	77	77	154	5.12	5.12
20 to 24	63	46	109	4.19	3.06
25 to 29	56	63	119	3.73	4.19
30 to 34	46	35	81	3.06	2.33
35 to 39	35	40	75	2.33	2.66
40 to 44	19	22	41	1.26	1.46
45 to 49	19	34	53	1.26	2.26
50 to 54	30	19	49	2.00	1.26
55 to 59	21	21	42	1.40	1.40
60 to 64	14	20	34	0.93	1.33
65 to 69	6	13	19	0.40	0.86
70 to 74	11	5	16	0.73	0.33
75 and Over	9	12	21	0.60	0.80
Total Population	758	745	1503	50.43	49.57

Table 4: Fort George Population, 1974
Source: D.I.A.N.D. in Shaw, 1982

The Physical Community

The Fort George Settlement had both planned and unplanned areas. The newer parts of the community, such as the Native housing areas, were developed in a modified grid pattern by Indian Affairs, while the older houses, facilities, institutions and commercial establishments were scattered around the settlement, though they tended to be adjacent to the river. The Cree houses were located in the southern area, while the Inuit and non-status Indian (Métis) houses were located mostly in the north-west. Non-native housing was generally in the west end of the village (see Figure 13).

There were 249 Native homes, 207 of which had been built since the 1970s, mostly by Indian Affairs. These houses had been arranged in a grid pattern so that they could be easily serviced with water and sewer connections at a later date. The standard Native house had three bedrooms (71.4 m² or 768 ft²), which was too small for the large Native families (1,761 Native people lived in 249 houses, averaging out to 7 persons per house). The houses were also of low quality with inadequate facilities: no water and sewage connections, poorly insulated, no cold porch, etc. In short, they were not designed to meet the needs of their Native inhabitants. An additional 6 Cree houses were built by the Anglican Mission, and 22 non-status Indians houses were built by the *Waskagegan Corporation*. The remaining Native houses were older structures that had been built by their occupants. Tepees were also often set up behind or adjacent to the Native houses in the summer months. These structures were used for cooking and smoking food.

Fort George's non-Native housing consisted of single-family homes, apartments, and mobile homes – all with water and sewage connections. For the most part, Fort-George's non-Native populations lived in houses provided by their employers (often the Federal or Provincial Governments), which were of better quality than Native housing.

Fort George was home to several Government and institutional buildings, including: a hospital, a community clinic, two regional schools, the Anglican and Catholic Missions, the Sureté du Québec, Social Aid, a Post Office, the Administration Office, Manpower Office (Federal Government), and Ministère du Travail et Main-d'Oœuvre (Quebec Government). The commercial services included the Hudson's Bay Store, a cooperative, a Native-owned store, a gas station, a hotel, and a bank. The airport, its airline company offices, and a hotel-restaurant were located on the periphery of the community.

Fort George's municipal services included piped chlorinated water, which was supplied only to the community institutional facilities, such as the hospitals and schools, and to the non-Native housing. The water for this service was taken from La Grande River, and nine hydrants and four public water outlets were connected to this system. The Native households who were not connected to the system via pipes had to get their water from the public water outlets (with the exception of those who had makeshift connections). The lack of water connections meant that water had to be carried by bucket from the water outlets to the houses (Shaw, 1982).

Sewage pipes were also only connected to the community's institutional facilities and non-Native housing. Sewage disposal was done through septic tanks that were, however, not well-suited for Fort George's high water table.

All buildings in Fort George had electrical connections, with the exception of some older Native houses and less used buildings. Electricity was provided by two Hydro Quebec diesel generators.

Transportation in Fort George was limited to a few vehicles and many snowmobiles. The construction of the LG-2 road and the linking of the mainland in summer by barge and in winter by ice bridge, increased the amount of vehicles in the community. Nonetheless, the roadways remained undrained and unpaved, and lacked maintenance. In terms of air transportation, Fort George was considered to be the regional airport before the construction of a new airport at LG-2 in 1972; however, with the LG-2 airport, the number of aircraft movements in Fort George decreased significantly.

Fort George was considered to be well-equipped with facilities and services. This was due in part to Fort George's large size in comparison to other Indian communities, which had populations of less than 1000 persons.

Figure 13: The Fort George Settlement Prior to the Relocation
Sources: Bhatt & Chagny, 2001 (plan); www.shingwauk.auc.ca (photographs)

3.3.2 The Fort George Relocation Study

By 1976, the Fort George community was facing numerous problems and constraints to further development. For example, the Fort George Island was facing severe erosion problems. Although the *James Bay Energy Corporation* (J.B.E.C.) had agreed to repair any erosion caused by the change in the river's flow due to the Hydro project, their obligations did not cover normal river erosion. The Native residents were also unhappy with the size and quality of the houses supplied by Indian Affairs. Also, water connections were to be installed at a later date; however, finding a suitable supply of water proved to be difficult because none of the wells drilled on the island had produced a good source. Additionally, the roadways were not paved, drained or equipped with sidewalks, making them difficult to manoeuvre, particularly for pedestrians.

Although the James Bay Agreement stipulated that provisions would be provided for the upgrading of the Fort George settlement, concerns over the long term and future potential development of the settlement led the Cree to believe that an upgrading would not solve certain problems with the existing community. A general dissatisfaction with the existing village's available facilities and physical structure made the community consider the possibility of relocating Fort George to a new settlement on the mainland.

A Task Force was formed on the initiative of the Fort George Band Council to study the potential relocation of the community. The Task Force was composed of representatives of the following:

- The Fort George Band Council
- The Grand Council of the Cree
- The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.)
- The Direction Générale du Nouveau-Québec (D.G.N.Q.)
- The Department of Natural Resources
- The James Bay Energy Corporation (J.B.E.C.)
- The James Bay Development Corporation (J.B.D.C.)

The Grand Council of the Cree hired town planning consultants *Daniel Arbour and Associates (D.A.A.I.)* to prepare a cost estimate for the relocation. Although several town planning consultants were approached, *Daniel Arbour and Associates* was selected based on the methodology they proposed to follow in conducting the relocations study.

The Fort George Relocation Study involved community consultations, gathering information on the Fort George community, potential site selections for the new village, the establishment of design criteria, and lastly, logistics, cost estimates, and scheduling.

Community consultations were initiated at the beginning of the relocation study to establish a rapport with the community, and to help with the community analysis and site selection. Perhaps most important were the consultations on matters concerning the establishment of design criteria for the new settlement. Here, residents of Fort George, representatives of the Department of Indian Affairs and planning officers who worked at both provincial and national levels were consulted.

Information was then gathered on the Fort George Settlement, including demographic and labour force characteristics. An inventory of existing community facilities was compiled, along with an assessment of their relocation potential.

In relation to site selection criteria, several site characteristics required for the new settlement were established through consultations with the Band Council, and site visits by the planning consultants. Key characteristics included:

- Proximity to James Bay: Over half the Fort George Cree considered themselves as "coasters", meaning their ancestors engaged in fishing and trapping, making living within a short distance of the bay important;
- Access to La Grande River: for the same reasons as above, as well as its traditional function as a transportation artery;
- Proximity and Linkages to Fort George – LG-2 Access Road: Easy access to this road allowed for travel to La Grande airport, employment sites, and other southern points;
- Natural factors such as water supply, suitable topography, good soil, and favourable climate conditions were essential;
- Aesthetic factors, such as the presence of trees, were strongly desirable;
- Space requirements: Based on projections of the highest probable growth rate, space requirements were established. An area of land of at least 162 hectares (400 acres) was required.

Based on the above criteria, the Fort George Band Council proposed several suitable sites to the planning consultants. Further consultations with the Band Council and helicopter examinations

narrowed the choice to three zones situated between La Grande River and the LG-2 Fort George Road, and seven potential sites within the three zones. Photo interpretation, topographic plans, soil tests, and cost-benefit analysis were prepared by the planning consultants for each of the seven sites. Site 1-C, considered most favourable by the consultants, was chosen by the Band Council and the Task Force (see Figure 14).

The Relocation Study then established design criteria for the new settlement, based on the needs and aspirations of the Fort George Native people. Research on past town planning for Native people and the traditional way in which Native communities were organized was prepared. Extensive consultation was conducted with the Fort George residents. The establishment of design criteria were done on three scales: the individual family and their house, the grouping of housing based on extended family, friendships, and other reasonably sized groups, and lastly, the community level, where general interaction amongst groups was taken into consideration, and the functioning of the community as a whole. Preliminary concept plans were drawn up based on the established design criteria.

Lastly, the planning consultants prepared the logistics, cost estimates, and relocation schedule. Interestingly, this final step was initially the only part requested by the community; however, the planning consultants convinced the community of the importance of carrying out the previous steps. In summary, the Relocation Study found the relocation feasible, but expensive. The cost of the relocation was estimated at more than $45 million in 1978, far more than the $12 million that was available from the Federal Government and the James Bay Energy Corporation's (J.B.E.C.) earlier commitments. Fortunately, the community of Fort George found a way to gain the balance: during the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* (J.B.N.Q.A.) negotiations, Fort George was successful in having the LG-1 site relocated from Mile 23 rapids on La Grande River to Mile 54. The desire of J.B.E.C. to return to LG-1 site to Mile 23 (and, of course, their willingness to provide the additional funds for Fort George to relocate) made the relocation possible[1].

In April of 1974 the "Chisasibi Agreement" was signed by a member of the community (most likely the Chief) and the Task Force. This document stipulated the terms for the relocation of the community of Fort George to the new settlement of Chisasibi, as well as the monetary contributions that were to come

[1] It is interesting to note that J.B.E.C. agreed to pay to build Chisasibi and assumed that they would do the construction. However, the Cree insisted that they be in charge of spending the funds and then hired D.A.A.I. as project managers. This was the start of the example for all the other Cree communities to follow.

from the James Bay Energy Corporation (J.B.E.C.) and the Federal Government. The Chisasibi Agreement also required the formation of the Fort George Relocation Corporation, a non-profit corporation that had the following objectives: to improve the social community of Fort George, the construction of Chisasibi, and the relocation of the Fort George Cree to the Chisasibi Village. The Board of directors of the Fort George Relocation Corporation contained:

- Seven Fort George Cree members;
- Three non-Native auxiliary members;
- Five institutional members (one representative from the Government of Canada, the Government of Quebec, the James Bay Energy Corporation, the James Bay Development Corporation, and the Grand Council of the Cree);
- Five Relocation Committee members (Cree band members);
- Four officers: President (Cree Band member), Executive Vice-President (non-Native), Secretary (non-Native), and Assistant Secretary (non-Native).
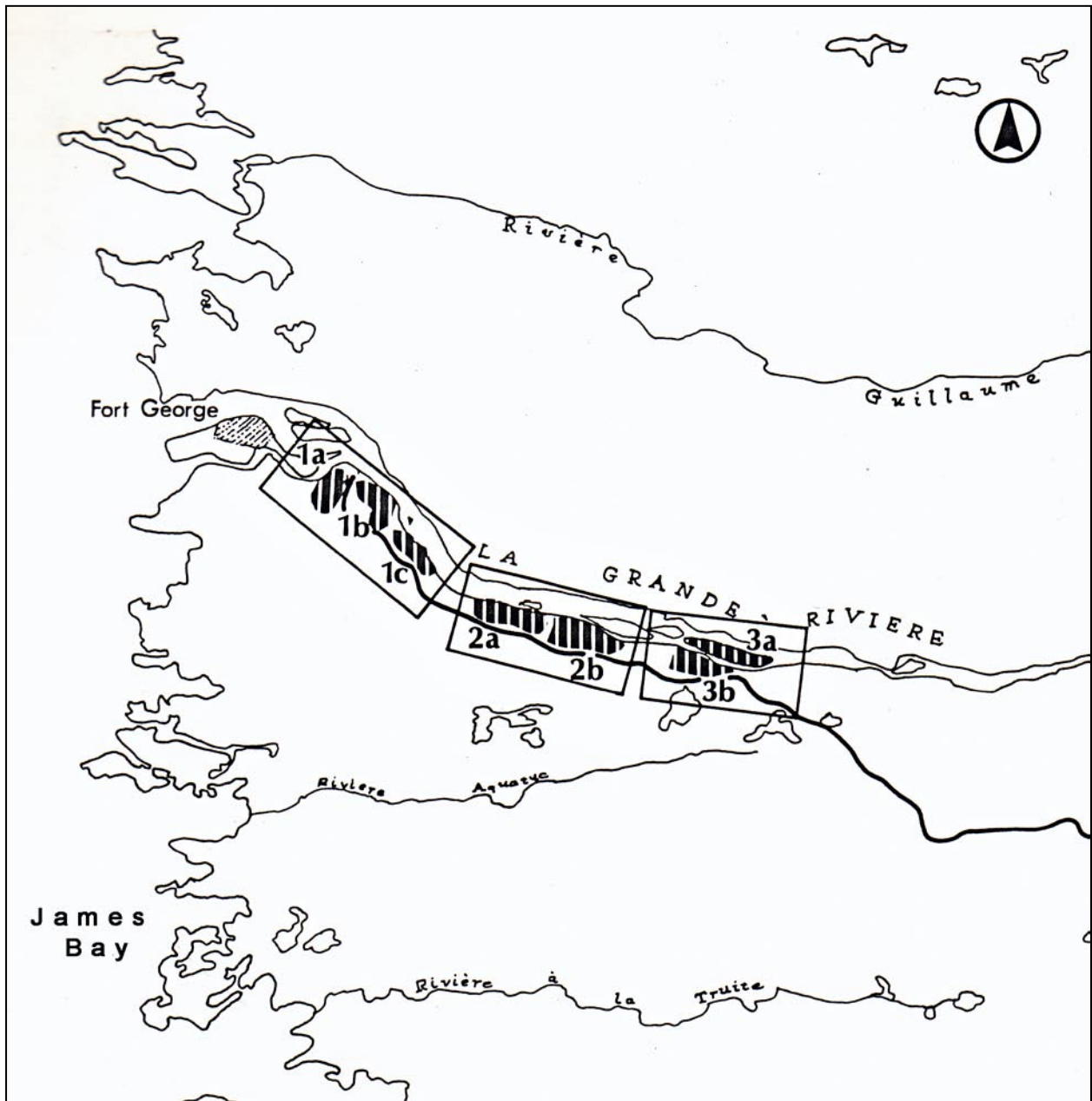
Figure 14: Site Selections for New Chisasibi Village
Source: Shaw, 1982

3.3.3 The Planning Process of the New Chisasibi Village

As mentioned, the planning process for Chisasibi began with the 1976 Fort George Relocation Study, during which the Fort George Relocation Corporation was formed. Ideas, requirements, and priorities were established through frequent discussions and consultations between the corporation and community members.

Preliminary studies on different aspects of the planning of Chisasibi began in August 1977. This entailed extensive community consultation, periods of reflection, and periods of study – all completed by 1979. By this time, the final versions of the plans for housing, the community, the village centre and infrastructures were complete, although adjustments to these plans continued until the end of construction. Construction occurred between the summer of 1979 and the end of 1981.

Although there are several reports that document the detailed specifications, timelines, and actions of the entire planning endeavour, this report will focus on the details concerning the consultation and participation of the Native population. Specifically, details concerning the participatory process related to housing, community facilities, the village plan and site services will be examined.

It is important to note that the methods of consultation and participation developed by planning consultant D.A.A.I had three main objectives:

1. To identify the concerns, needs and aspirations of the Fort George Native people;
2. To develop solutions for the Fort George Native people;
3. To supply information on the range of options and solutions to the Fort George Native people.

This methodology was intended to allow the community to make its own decisions.

A detailed list of the main periods of community consultation and participation with the Fort George Natives is included on the following page. This chronology serves to set the stage for the summary of the participatory processes that are to follow.

Date	Purpose of Consultation or Participation
June-October 1976	• The Fort George Relocation Study
August 1977	• Preliminary community consultation • Household survey (housing requirements, community facility requirements, and neighbour and site preferences) • Housing group design sessions
May 1978	• Meeting with Fort George community, Government, and Hudson's Bay Company representatives to establish facility requirements
July 1978	• Community consultations on community facility options • Presentation of preliminary housing group lists to the community
July- September 1978	• Period of housing group list adjustments
August 1978	• New and upgraded housing plans submitted to the community
September 1978	• Community consultations on general village plan options • Community facilities implementation study submitted to community
December 1978	• Preliminary village plan options presented to the community
January 1979	• Planning consultant visit to Fort George for the evaluation and consultation on the model housing program
February 1979	• Village plan presented to the community
March 1979	• Approval of the Band Council of the general layout of the houses

Table 5: Periods of Major Consultation and Participation with the Fort George Native Population
Source: Shaw, 1982

Housing

Housing conditions were the greatest concern of the Fort George Natives, in particular for the Cree who had been in the lowest quality of housing for some time. For this reason, planners and architects dedicated more than two years between community consultations on housing needs and the constructions and relocation of the existing houses (1977-1979).

A survey of the 255 households in Fort George was carried out in August of 1977. This survey aimed at determining existing and desirable housing conditions in the three Native groups (Cree, Non-Status Indians, and Inuit). 34 of the 255 households (13%) did not respond to the survey for various reasons. D.A.A.I reports that non-responses were due to the Native people's "disgust with their existing housing, their mistrust of the white man, and their firm belief that all surveys were an exercise in futility" (pg.12).

The results of the survey indicated that the Cree were the most in need of improved housing conditions, followed by the Inuit and the non-status Indians. Satisfaction levels of with existing housing were 25.2%, 43%, and 57.7%, respectfully. The results of the survey were used to set the standards for both new and upgraded houses.

Following consultations with the community, the development and evaluation of alternatives for the modification of the existing houses to be relocated began. 209 of Fort George's 285 Native houses were considered suitable for relocation. 98 of the houses were of a suitable size (as long as the second family in a house would receive their own house) and 111 houses needed to be enlarged and modified.

100 new houses were required in the new Chisasibi settlement. These houses were intended to overcome the deficiencies of the existing housing in Fort George. Nonetheless, the new houses were to have similar layouts, facilities, standards, and materials as the upgraded houses.

Perhaps most interesting was the Model Housing Program that was developed to gain feedback on alternative models of housing. Following previous consultations, three model houses were built in Fort George (one new home and two of which were upgrades of existing housing). The community members were invited to visit and propose modifications to the houses, and one family also lived in each model house to assess their daily use. Characteristics such as housing temperatures and fuel consumptions were also monitored. Interviews with the occupants and residents of Fort George also provided the planning consultants with feedback on qualitative characteristics of the home (functionality and liveability). In January of 1979 a meeting was held to evaluate models and propose housing designs,

based on comments and feedback received, as well as technical data on housing performance (see Figures 15, 16 & 17).
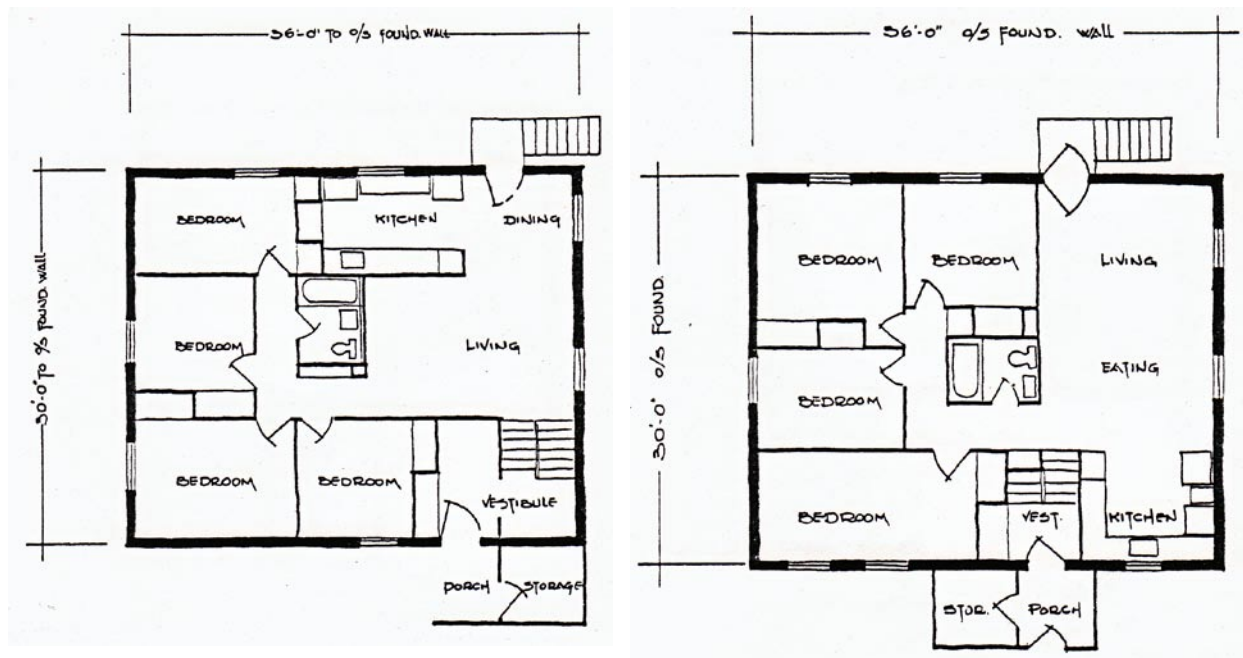
Figure 15: Model "A" House, Original vs. Revised Plans
Source: Shaw, 1982
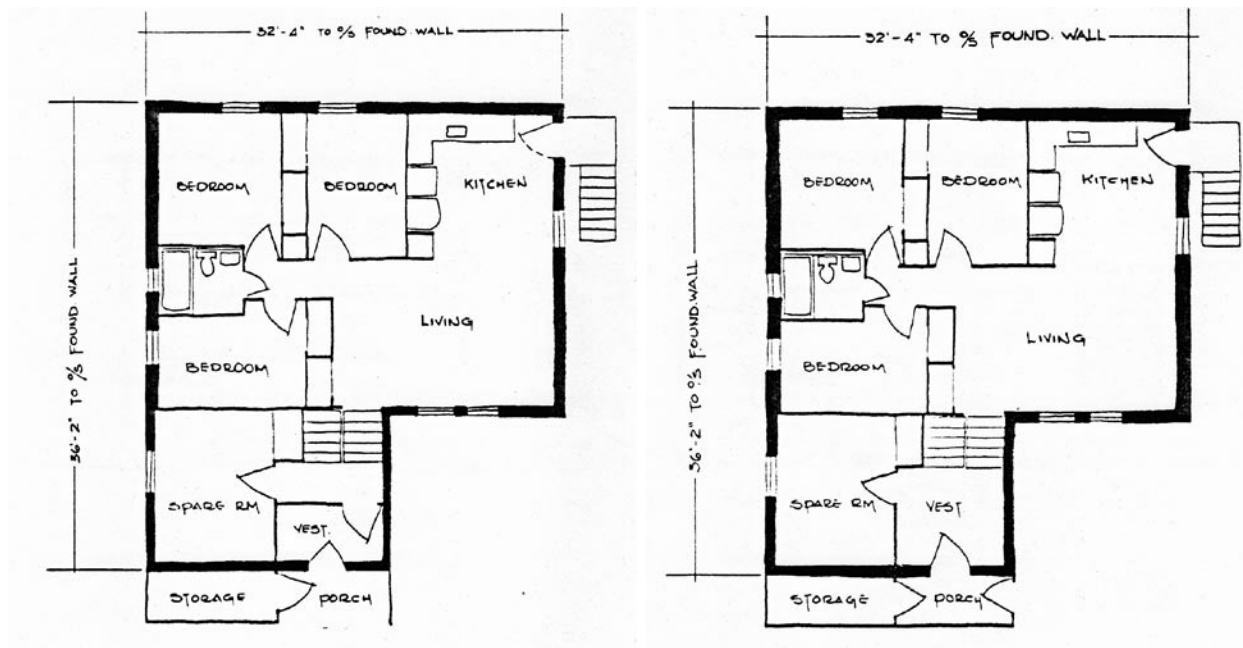
Figure 16: Cedar House, Original vs. Revised Plan
Source: Shaw, 1982
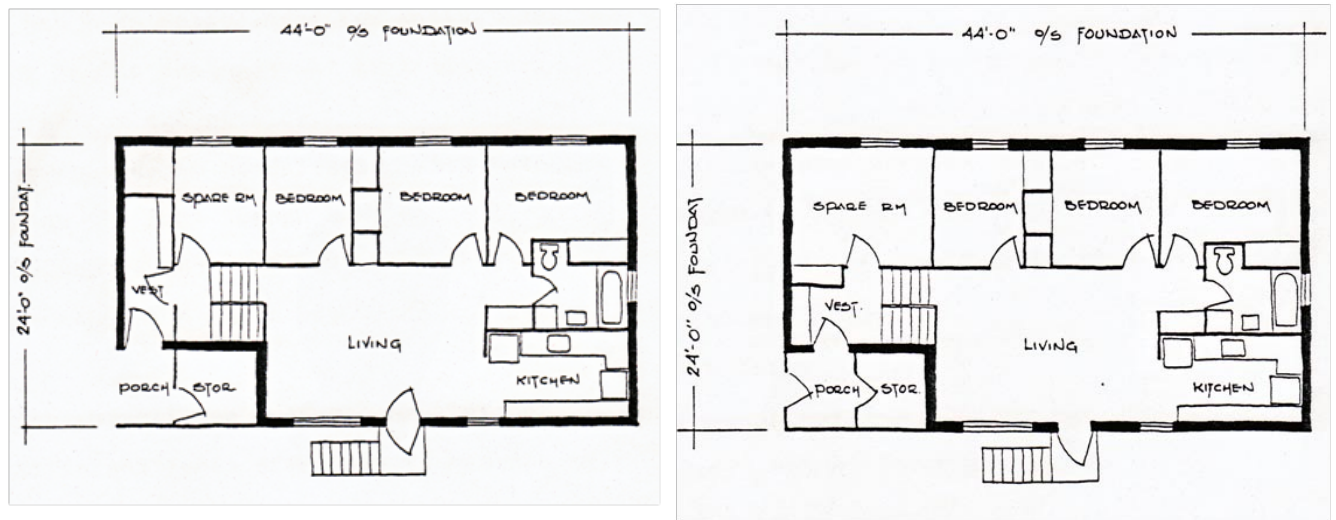
Figure 17: D.I.N.A. House: Original vs. Revised Plan
Source: Shaw, 1982

Housing Groups

During the Fort George Relocation Study in 1976, the Band Council and community members informed the planning consultants that they were unhappy with the gridiron layout of their housing units. The community proposed a layout that was closer to a traditional Native housing set up, in which Native people lived in small groups of four to five families or acquaintances. The consultants were willing to move forward with the idea, however, they were very cautious about the assignment of members to groups because of their awareness of problems that had occurred with this style of layout in previous communities (such as in Mistissini, where hostility and rivalry occurred amongst sub-groups).

Consultations and participation on aspects relating to housing group formation, designs, and locations took place over four weeks in August of 1977.

The planning for housing groups began with a door-to-door survey of the Native households (see *Appendix 1*). The survey asked the Native people questions about neighbour and site preferences. Based on the survey, the consultants formed 35 housing groups which were open to discussion through consultation and active participation with the Fort George community. These groups continued to change until July of 1978. The preliminary groups were formed by the planning consultant based on the

survey; however, due to the delicate nature of the exercise, the final groups were created by the Fort George Relocation Committee.

In terms of site choices, a question on site requirements was included in the 1977 survey. The survey asked for each family's preferences on being "near" or "away from" the river, the canoe site, the school, the hospital, or the shops. Site preference was found to be less important than neighbour selections, so group formation was based on neighbour selections.

Design and layout ideas for the housing groups were discussed with the community, and a design session was held with a dozen community members, grouped into 4 teams. Each group came up with a conceptual physical layout plan (Figure 18).
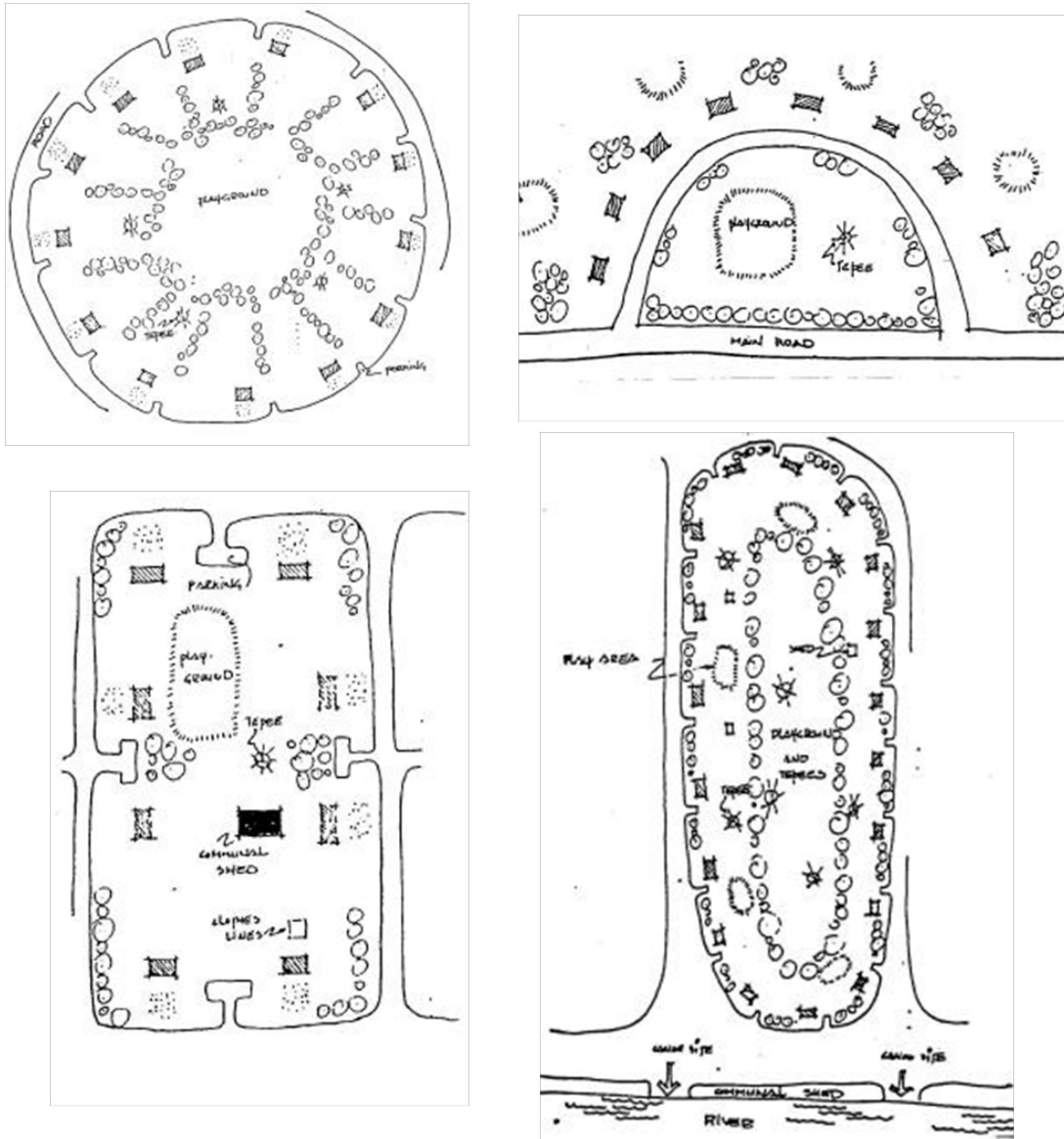
Figure 18: Design Session Group Propositions
Source: D.A.A.I. in Shaw, 1982

The consultants established the design characteristics for the housing groups based on an evaluation of the concept and physical layout plans that were generated through the design session. Specifications included the following:

- A minimum of 30 meters of wooded area between each "cluster" to provide wind protection and a visual screen;

- Sufficient space for a 10-wheel semi-trailer on the "cluster";

- An open area in the centre of the "cluster" for group activities;

- The orientation of houses in a manner that protects against the north-westerly wind;

- 7.5 to 9 meters minimum between houses, depending on their placement along the circle;

- Vacant sites within most clusters to allow new households to locate near friends and relatives in the future.

Lastly, technical considerations and limitations to the design of housing groups were then considered. These dealt largely with the provision of site services. The final plan took the form of 32 "clusters" grouping 15 to 20 homes on cul-de-sacs (Figure 19 & 20).
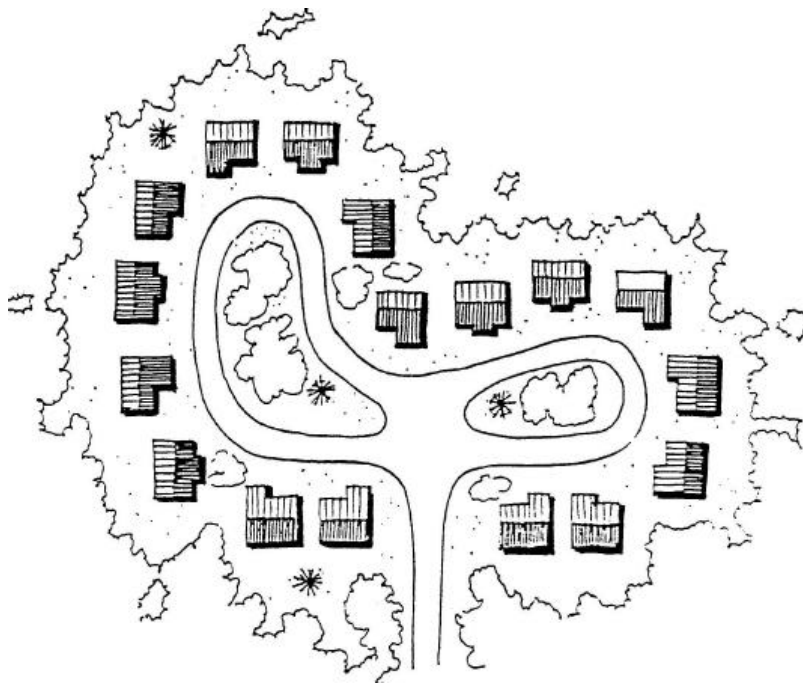
Figure 19: One "cluster" of the Final Plan
Source: D.A.A.I., in Bhatt & Chagny, 2001
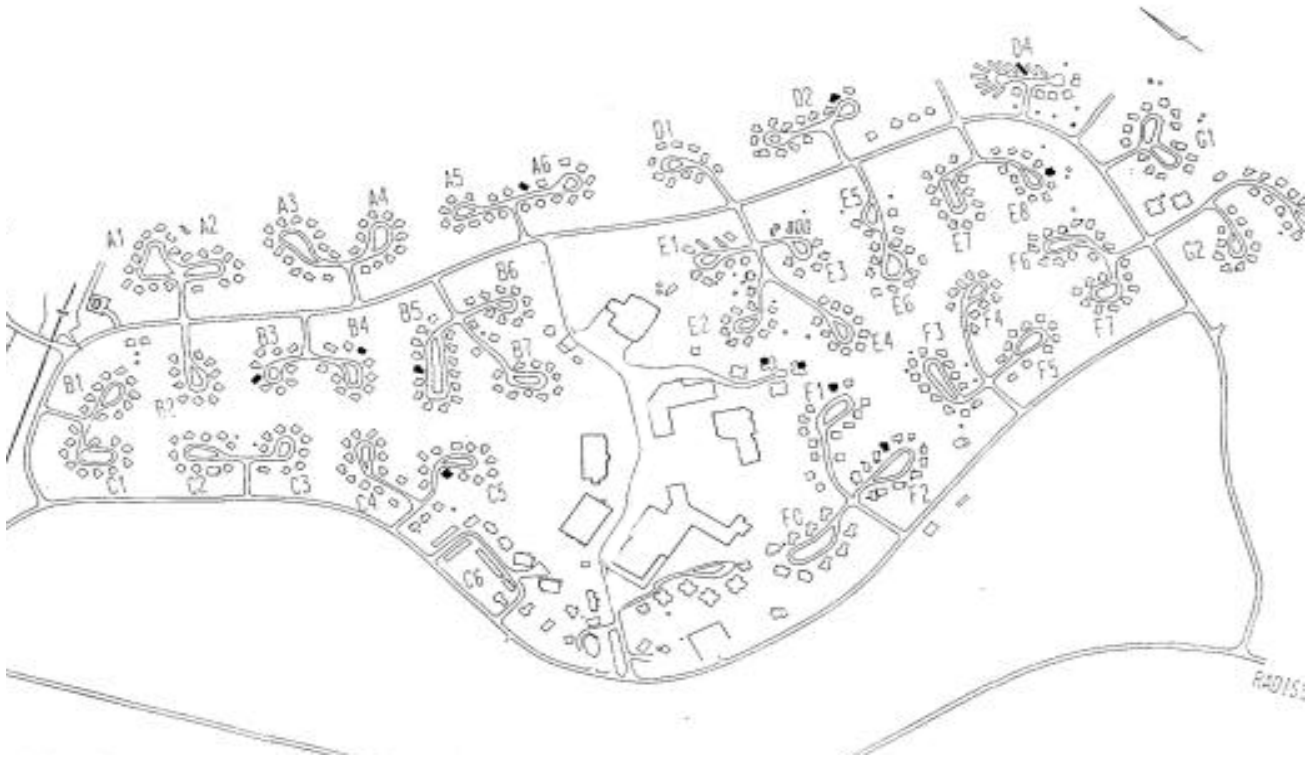
Figure 20: The Final Plan
Source: D.A.A.I., in Bhatt & Chagny, 2001

Community Facilities

A major problem of the Fort George settlement was the lack of community facilities and their dispersion throughout the community. The Fort George Relocation Study consultations demonstrated that a more compact village centre was desirable by the community. It was decided during consultations in July of 1978 that the community facilities should be grouped in a common area, with the exception of maintenance and industrial buildings.

The planning process for community facilities began with the determination of the community's needs. This consisted of an assessment of the current facilities in Fort George and the requirements for such facilities in Chisasibi. A 1977 survey of households established the additional facilities and services that would be needed in Chisasibi. Respondents were asked to identify which facilities they felt would upgrade the community and make life more pleasant for the Native people. Interesting, the most

popular answer was the installation of a water and sewage system; however, these facilities were considered to be part of the housing requirements. Some 50 different suggestions were made on ways to improve the community through facilities, services, and design features.

Facility requirements were also discussed in a series of meetings held in May of 1978 with representatives from the Band Council, the Fort George Relocation Corporation, the Cree Health Board, the Cree School Board, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Planning objectives and criteria were also determined during the May 1978 meetings, through discussions between the planning consultants, the Native community and its representatives. The planning objectives included:

- Provision of public facilities required by the community;
- Provision of specific facilities for teenagers;
- Creation of meeting and action places;
- Creation of an appropriate milieu for each of the facilities;
- Provision of proper pedestrian and vehicular access to the facilities;
- Response to environmental potentials and constraints;
- Provision for long term facility requirements;
- Optimization of the use of spaces and services;
- Best use of available funds;
- Ease of jurisdiction

A series of guidelines were developed based on the above objectives. These guidelines became the planning criteria for the physical plan of the village.

Work on the analysis of community facilities, space requirements, physical concepts, layout and groupings followed. Certain functional relationships were established between facilities, potentially allowing for the grouping of facilities into larger units.

In June of 1978 the planning consultants organized two trips for members of the Fort George Relocation Committee to visit seven northern Canadian communities that had various examples of grouping and organizations of community facilities. These examples were intended to help the Fort George Relocation Committee evaluate the village centre alternatives.

A community facilities report was presented to the Band Council and the community in July of 1978. The report included graphic materials, such as drawings, slides, and maps, to help the consultants demonstrate alternative concepts.

This report, further refined and modified by the planning consultants, served as the model for the design and construction of the Chisasibi village centre.

The Village Plan

As mentioned in earlier chapters, the Fort George Relocation Study dealt extensively with the site selection of the new settlement. The new site's location on a riverbank raised some concerns about the stability of the site. These concerns were calmed with a site stability study conducted by the James Bay Energy Corporation. Further reports on site analysis by the planning consultants entailed soil and ecology studies.

Like the previous exercises, the design criteria for the village layout were developed in consultation with the community. The criteria were established as guidelines for the development of options for the village plan. The planning criteria were based on general planning principles, and site and environmental opportunities and constraints[2]. The design criteria were as follows:

- Short walking distances to the village centre;
- Minimization of conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles;
- Provision of pedestrian paths;
- Presence of trees in the village;
- Good road access to housing;
- Good access to the river

Conceptual layouts for the village plan were developed by the planning consultants, based on the chosen location of the village centre, the space requirements of various facilities in the community, and the selected village road network.

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[2] Oddly, it seems as though the "ease of expansion" of the village plan was overlooked, and a clear plan for future expansion was not considered.

In September of 1978, three alternatives for the village plan were presented to the Band Council and the community for their selection. The planning consultants indicated their preference for a certain plan that had grouped the facilities in the centre of the village. The preferred plan was accepted by the Band Council and community as the Chisasibi concept plan.

In December of 1978, the Relocation Committee presented the two village options at a community council meeting. Although one model was presented as the planning consultant's preferred model, the community selected the alternative village plan, due to some concern over the proximity of the commercial centre and the school.

The first version of the village plan was made public in February, 1979. Many refinements and modifications were made to the plan between this date and final version in late 1980.

Site Services

The planning of water and sewage systems involved developing and evaluating a series of options, based on an analysis of the conditions of the site and design considerations. The options were evaluated in terms of their capital cost, ease of construction, ease of maintenance, reliability of supply and environmental damage. Site drainage plans were drawn up based on soils tests and drainage analysis. Electricity was provided and paid for by the James Bay Energy Corporation (J.B.E.C.).

The highly technical nature of the infrastructure did not allow for much participation from the community during the development of Chisasibi's site service plans. Although the community was consulted on what services would be provided, no consultations took place with the community during the development of site service plans. Community representatives were involved in the evaluation of the alternatives developed for each service, and the Fort George Relocation Committee supervised the planning and development of the infrastructure on behalf of the community.

3.3.4 Evaluation of the Planning Process

The Fort George Native population was heavily involved in the planning process of their new settlement. The Native people participated through various means, and their influence on the conception of objectives, design criteria, standards, and the outcome of the planning exercises varied from task to task.

Shaw (1982) examined the relocation process very early in the game, assessing the process within the first two years of the relocation. According to Shaw (1982), the Fort George relocation was difficult to assess, due to several pieces of missing information. For example, the major community consultations and participations were properly documented in the planning consultant's reports; however, the meetings between the planning consultants and the community representatives were not documented, nor were the activities of the Fort George Relocation Committee's Montreal liaison member. In light of this, this report will assess the community's involvement in the planning process based on the activities that occurred in Fort George.

In order to evaluate the planning process, the evaluation criteria discussed in Part 1 is applied below, as follows:

1. Initiation of the Process

2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels

3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanisms

4. Cultural Representation

5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process

1. Initiation of the Process

The idea to relocate the Fort George Settlement was initiated and developed by the Cree community, rather than by outsiders or professionals. This idea led to the establishment of the Fort George Relocation Corporation (F.G.R.C.), the body that was responsible for the relocation of the Fort George village and the planning and construction of the new settlement at Chisasibi. A Task Force was also formed on the initiative of the Fort George Band Council to study the potential relocation of Fort George. The Task Force was composed of representatives from the Fort George Band Council, the Grand Council of the Cree (G.C.C.), the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.),

the Direction Générale du Nouveau-Québec (D.G.N.Q.), the Department of Natural Resource, the James Bay Energy Corporation (S.E.B.J.) and the James Bay Development Corporation (S.D.B.J.).

Unfortunately, it is unknown whether the Terms of Reference for Chisasibi called for consultation, or whether D.A.A.I added this to the Terms of Reference. In other words, it would be interesting to know to what extent the consultation process was suggested by the consultant, and what was expected by the client. It could be suspected that the client said that they would like to be involved, and then the consultants proposed the process.

2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels

The records show that the community was heavily involved in the planning of housing in the new Chisasibi settlement. For example, the community was involved in identifying the shortcomings of the existing housing, proposing design objectives and criteria (which were established prior to the development of plans), the Model House Program, the formation of housing groups, and the allocation of the houses to each family.

However, the housing sizes, and layouts of the clusters were based on technical and economic factors, rather than community input. Also, the decision to relocate the recently built houses from Fort George to the Chisasibi was intended to cut back on housing costs; however, it limited the range of design options for the new houses, because the new houses had to have similar features, such as layouts, styles, materials, and amenities. Housing group designs were also affected by this choice, because the design of each grouping of houses had to allow for the manoeuvring of a large truck carrying a house.

Unfortunately, evidence indicates that the group design session had limited impacts on the final design. Three of the four designs produced during the housing group session placed the access road on the outside of the cluster, making the groups into an island. These in turn created large inner spaces meant to be used as common space (see Figure 18). However, the final design placed the road inside the cluster, making for a very small central area. It seemed as though technical, economic, and environmental factors limited the possibility of using the housing group designs generated from the design session.

In terms of facilities, Shaw (1982) noted that the proposal to develop a village centre in Chisasibi and to separate it from the residential areas originated from the Fort George Relocation Study; however, the

extent of the community's involvement in the genesis of this concept is difficult to assess, because there is no reference to consultations on the village centre idea. The community did, however, have a strong involvement in the planning of the village centre, particularly concerning its requirements, objectives, criteria, and layout.

The community was involved in the development of the village plan design criteria, but they had little involvement in the development of village plan alternatives. The community did, however, choose the site and layout of the village centre. The village plan was considered to be far sighted, because it included 85 vacant spaces in existing housing clusters, allowing for a 28% increase. Additionally, because the spaces were quite large and included usable basement living space, it was thought that eventually two families may choose to live in one home. Based on population growth predictions, the community was said to have sufficient growth space on existing clusters and housing for community expansions until the year 2000[3].

In relation to site services, the community was involved in the identification of required services, but they had minimal involvement in the development of the site service plan, due to the technical nature of the plans.

In summary, the Fort George Band Council and community were informed of the advantages and disadvantages of each range of planning options after each planning stage, allowing the community to make an informed choice. As mentioned, the planning consultants even brought the Fort George Relocation Committee to visit other Canadian communities with similar facilities, to help them decide on alternative models.

Shaw (1982) concluded that the manner in which the consultants closely managed the relocation was understandable, given that their job as consultants was to guide the planning and development to a satisfactory outcome, while also serving the interests of the community, *and* staying within budget. The technical and economic dimensions of the relocation project were the primary considerations in the decision to relocate the existing Fort George houses. However, politics also played a role, in the sense that D.I.A.N.D. did not want a precedent created in which their recently built houses were to be torn down. In turn, this decision had major implications on design options, the configuration of the clustered

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[3] History has shown that this population projection was off the mark. The community doubled in size from 1980 to 2000, due to an approximate +/- 3% population increase per year, and a high rate of family formation. Expansion areas outside of the ring road had to be planned in the late 1980s – early 1990s.

housing groups, the design and material choice for the village centre buildings, and the development of the site services plan.

3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanisms

Numerous strategies, techniques, and instruments were used during the participation planning process of the relocation. For example, frequent meetings between the planning consultants and the representatives from the Fort George community dealt with strategies for achieving the community's goals, and clarifications to the objectives and priorities that the community put forth. The planning consultants also spent one month in Fort George to gather information, observe community life, and discuss needs and objectives. In addition, the Fort George Relocation Committee's Montreal liaison person worked in D.A.A.I.'s office during the period when the plans for the Chisasibi settlement were being drawn up. This person served as a contact between the planning team and the community, and ensured that the plans were being developed with the Native community in mind.

In terms of specific instruments, a door-to-door survey was used to gathered information on housing and facility requirements, location and neighbour preferences, and community design aspects. The survey of the 255 households in Fort George aimed at determining existing and desirable housing conditions in the three Native groups (Cree, Non-Status Indians, and Inuit). Only 34 of the 255 households (13%) did not respond to the survey, indicating quite a participation rate of 87% (Shaw, 1982).

Models, maps, diagrams and other information regarding the plans developed by D.A.A.I. were left on display in Fort George during the planning process, to allow community participants to consult them when needed. The Model House Program was developed to showcase three houses as examples of what could be built in Chisasibi. Feedback on the designs were incorporated in the final design. Lastly, information bulletins in Cree and English were distributed to the community periodically, which served to provide the community with updates on the planning process, and important information such as the decisions concerning the housing group members and locations.

4. Cultural Representation

Perhaps the most obvious representation of the accommodation of the Native's cultural needs in their new settlement can be found in the village layout, which took on a unique form of houses grouped into "clusters". This layout came about at the request of the community members, who wanted a more traditional layout form for their new village, rather than the typical North-American grid pattern. This request was met through the creation of a layout that placed housing groups into clusters. However, due to the large population of the community and the high costs of water and sewage infrastructure, the housing groups had up to 15 houses per cluster, rather than the traditional 4 or 5.

In relation to the design and construction of culturally representative housing styles, the planners and consultants conducted research on previous strategies. Specifically, the planners and architects used two Quebec research projects on Native housing: *Le Projet Nunaturliq* by architect Leo Zrudlo and anthropologist Gilles Larochelle, which examined Inuit housing, and *Le Projet d'Habitation des Indiens du Quebec* by architect Brian McCloskey in the communities of Pointe-Bleue, Mistissini and Waswanipi. The authors of *Le Projet Nunaturliq* proposed six objectives to be followed when designing and constructing Native housing, which touched on socio-cultural needs of the Natives, patterns of activities, and construction methods to overcome technical problems. During the housing design and construction in Chisasibi, every one of the objectives devised by the authors of *Le Projet Nunaturliq* was used.

> Le projet de Chisasibi répond point par point les objectifs de ces deux projets […]. De plus, pour la première fois, la planification et la gestion sont aux mains des Indiens. Le spécialiste est utilisé comme expert-conseil et n'est pas l'initiateur du projet. Enfin, la maison n'est pas considérée comme un élément isolé mais est intégrée à la planification d'un village cri (as cited in Shaw, 1982).

Unfortunately, the decision to relocate the Fort George houses to Chisasibi limited the range of possible design options, for both the relocated houses and the new houses, because both had to have similar features and components, including dimensions, materials, windows, doors, number of floors, etc. Therefore, although the planners and architects had good intentions by studying the two research projects that dealt with Native housing, the decision to relocate the existing housing hindered these objectives.

5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process

The cost-effectiveness of the planning process is difficult to assess, because it includes both monetary and non-monetary factors. For instance, although the final cost of the relocation and construction of the new village amounted to approximately $60 million, it is uncertain how much of the budget was dedicated towards developing innovative planning methods to facilitate the consultation and participation of the Fort George population in the planning and development process. According to Shaw (1982), there was a cost overrun of approximately $15 million (original budget was $45 million) and almost $11 million of the $15 million was due to additional construction costs. Furthermore, Shaw (1982) claims that three aspects of the consultation and participation led to some of the cost overrun: the additional time needed to complete the village plan; the fact that most of the workers were Native residents of Fort George; and the selection of more expensive options, at times, through the consultation (an example of this is the cost of site services and construction for the village centre, due to the disaggregate form, built at the insistence of the community) (Shaw, 1982).

Apart from the monetary costs of the planning process, non-monetary "costs" could relate to the extra time the process took, and the procedural difficulties of having to generate innovative methods to encourage participation.

However, the advantages/benefits of user participation in the planning process have proven to be numerous. Certainly, the community gained a strong sense of commitment and user satisfaction, through having been able to effectively develop objectives and criteria, and see their visions transformed into concrete plans, all under their control. Through their active involvement, there was a mutual learning process between the consultants – who brought their repertoire of skills to the table, and the community participants – who shared their expertise and "local knowledge". Surely, this collaborative process resulted in better plans and designs.

3.3.5 Conclusion: Post-Relocation Assessment

Although it is interesting to evaluate the planning process immediately after its application, it is perhaps more important to assess the process *down the road*, to see if opinions and results of the exercise change over the long term. This final chapter on the Fort George relocation case study examines whether the planning process has stood the test of time, and gathers reactions on the process and the results nearly 30 years after the relocation.

Bhatt & Chagny (2001) conducted a research project that focused on the Chisasibi resident's opinions on the Chisasibi village, 20 years after the Fort George relocation. Their research revealed the shortcomings of the project, through examining the aspects of the project that did not fully take into account the Fort George population's needs and aspirations. The research indicates that there are feelings of frustration and discontent towards the "cluster" layout, and the participatory process in particular.

Reactions to the Village Layout & Infrastructure

In general, the Chisasibi people consider the clusters to be inadequate, mainly because of a lack of distance between homes, the near-complete saturation of housing, noise and increasing numbers of cars in their cul-de-sacs:

> Houses are too cluttered; my house or entrance to house is right beside the road. Cluster is too small (…); less space; the houses are too close, in case of fire, the fire could catch the next houses. Other emergencies could occur; clusters not suitable for big vehicles, buses or transport trucks, hardly any space for parking our own cars (Bhatt & Chagny, 2001, pg. 106).

The majority of the residents felt that the design proposals that were generated by the Fort George residents through the design session in 1980 were appropriate; however, the final design did not correspond very well with the proposals (according to the planning consultants, the minimal distances between the houses were due to the high cost of infrastructure). The final design left residents feelings frustrated and dissatisfied with the layout. Despite the disappointing experience, most residents claimed to be interested in exploring different urban layouts.

It seems as though the layouts of Chisasibi's two expansion areas, built in 1994 and 2000, are more popular with residents. The studies by Bhatt & Chagny (2001) indicate that residents favour the

modified grid pattern that was present in Fort George, due to its large amounts of space, vegetation, dispersion of schools, hospitals, and shops (as opposed to Chisasibi's village centre). An equal amount of respondents preferred the narrow grid pattern of the Chisasibi expansion area referred to as "China Town" (see Figure 21).

Figure 21 (from left to right): Fort George's modified grid, Chisasibi's "cluster", and Chisasibi's "China Town" narrow grid patterns
Source: Bhatt & Chagny, 2001

In relation to housing, the original relocated houses from Fort George have all gradually been replaced. However, housing renovations remain a major problem, because families have never shown an interest in maintaining the housing stock. A substantial number of reconstructions and renovations have occurred in part due to the quality of materials originally used and the quality of the workmanship, but also because of the carelessness towards the upkeep of the housing.

Reaction to Participatory Process

Perhaps most relevant for this report are the current residents' views on the community's participation in the planning process of Chisasibi. Interesting, Bhatt & Chagny's (2001) research revealed that opinions on the community's participation in the relocation of Fort George to Chisasibi were, on the whole, either negative or non-existent. For example, it was common to hear that the people felt that they really had no choice but to move. Some respondents claimed that the people did not want to participate because they did not agree on the relocation, or that they were too young at the time to participate directly in the relocation project. Still others claimed that they had no recollection of any such process:

No, I asked my aunts, uncles, grandmother. They do not recall such a process. To them it did not exist. They felt they had no choice but to move. You were forced to move, you did not have much to say, we were bribed if we did not want to move to the mainland. We would have no running water, no electricity, no phones, no TV. Pierre Elliot Trudeau came one spring before the move; he said everyone was entitled to have TV, phones, running water etc. However, we were still forced (Bhatt & Chagny, 2001, pg. 105).

Interestingly, only one respondent of the survey had positive memories of the participation process, claiming: "participation was really good, everybody was involved, children, adults, yes I used to help" (Bhatt & Chagny, 2001, pg. 105).

The results of the discussions on the subject of participation indicate that there was a feeling of powerlessness against the relocations. Often, people express their surprise at the existence of this participatory project. Did they actually participate in the project and at what level? Perhaps more active participation would have influenced their future actions and opinions towards the Chisasibi settlement.

Interestingly, records from the Ouje-Bougoumou village construction consultation process in October of 1989 indicated that perhaps not *all* members of the community were represented in the participation process. In fact, according to James Bobbish, the Chief of Chisasibi in 1989:

Only Band employees were involved in planning the relocation, we didn't consult the youth or the elders, and in the process, we lost the participation of the leaders. As a result of not involving the youth, they have defaced the new buildings for they have never felt as if they belonged. Both the youth and the elders felt that the old Fort George was their town (as cited in Chicoine, 1990).

In short, the residents felt that participation from the community was essential, allowing for a better understanding of their culture's needs:

The people of the community of Chisasibi have to be included where it concerns them. In order to achieve this, every one has to come together and decide as a community, because our culture has changed over the years. My age group (late 40s) were the last generation to see the Eeyou (Cree) life style, we need to educate our youth and children in order to reinforce the spiritual and cultural aspects of Native communities (Bhatt & Chagny, 2001, pg. 106).

It is unfortunate that some residents believe that new planning in a new location is what it will take to rectify the current situation. In general, there is as sense of frustration because those relocated from

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Fort George had not had the opportunity to choose the type, the interior layout, or the size of their homes (because it was for the most part social housing, which they were given at no cost). Some feel that a new plan should allow the construction of larger homes that can accommodate entire families and grandparents. Fortunately, today private home ownership is coming, where families can choose and pay for their homes.

As for the physical layout of the development, some want a gridiron design similar to that of Fort George. Others believe that the cluster was designed to respond to the cultural of the Native people, but the limitations imposed on the housing styles nullified this effort. It can be said that today's Chisasibi has many suggestions concerning ways to strengthen the cultural and spiritual identity of the community. This is reflected in the design of the new expansion area, which is not the typical "cluster" or "China Town" layouts known to Chisasibi, but rather a more standard "u" shape.

To conclude, Chisasibi was the first large-scale attempt at public participation in a rather unique project, involving picking up a whole village and moving to a new location at one time. It was also the first time the Crees were asked to decide on something.

It seems as though the planning process was good, but that the technical aspects of the plan were poor. For instance, the planners may have overlooked the "lifestyle" changes that were to occur in the future, such as an increase in car ownership and larger vehicles (school buses, trucks). It can be said that there were good ideas (such as the family clustering), but several design problems in Chisasibi (partially due to a lack of foresight on the part of the planners in predicting the needs of the community for the future).

Another explanation for the problems currently facing Chisasibi, is the fact that the same "cluster" concept was applied to the entire village at one time, without a trial and error grace (such as building one cluster of 20 houses one year, and seeing how it goes, and making corrections to it the following year). Because 34 clusters of 20 houses were built all at once, the errors that were made are compounded to a certain extent. Today, expansions are slower, and errors can be corrected.

Certainly, participation has not solved the problems of the Cree having to adapt to tremendous cultural changes in a very short period. However, surely it gave them a feeling of being more in control of their permanent settlements.

Figure 22: Aerial View of Chisasibi in 2004
Source: I.N.A.C.

Figure 23: Chisasibi Village
Source: Bhatt & Chagny, 2001

3.4 CASE STUDY: A NEW PERMANENT VILLAGE IN OUJE-BOUGOUMOU, QUEBEC

Ouje-Bougoumou is a village that was founded by six family groups that make up the Ouje-Bougoumou people. Constructed in between 1990-1992, the Ouje-Bougoumou village has gained fame for its planning process, which had high user-participation rates, involving extensive consultation between the Band Council and members and the architecture and planning consultants. The comprehensive planning approach resulted in high quality infrastructure, interesting Native architecture, as well as a circular, centralized village plan, making it a pedestrian-friendly village. The community is also known for its environmentally-friendly features, such as its award-winning biomass heating system, which received the Canada Mortgages and Housing Award in 1994, the Global Citizen Award in 1995, the United Nation's "We are the Peoples Award" in 1995, and the Habitat II: Best Practices Award in 1996.

In short, the Ouje-Bougoumou planning process represents a sharp departure from community planning in the past (Chicoine, 1990; Reid-Acland and Stevens, 1999). The national and international community concurs, designating Ouje-Bougoumou as a model for future Native town planning.

Similarly to the Chisasibi example, this case study provides a brief history of the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree, including background information on their population and economy. The planning process of the new village is traced, with a strong focus on the participatory process and its resulting outcomes. The final chapter provides an evaluation of the planning process, through the application of the evaluation criterion established in Part 1 of this report.

3.4.1 History of the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree

The Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou is the most recent First Nation to gain recognition by the provincial and federal governments. Through amending the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1984, nearly 10 years after its signing in 1975, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree officially became the ninth Cree Nation in Quebec.

Originally associated with the Mistissini Cree Nation, but forming a distinct social group, the Ouje-Bougoumou community was traditionally linked to the Chibougamou region.

Like the Chisasibi Cree, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree's lifestyle was significantly altered by the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, during which a new economic system based on fur trading began in the late 19th century. Due to the presence of the Cree in the area, the Hudson's Bay Company set up two trading posts close to Lake Chibougamou.

During this same time period, Lake Chibougamou's richness in minerals started attracting the interests of outsiders. The presence of the mineral deposits and the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company (who hired the Cree to transport their merchandise) attracted the Cree to settle around Lake Chibougamou. In the 1920s, several families settled in the area, and formed a distinct band. They called themselves the *Oujegogamau Innu*, meaning "the people of Lake Chibougamou".

Beginning in the 1920s, the Cree were relocated due to the discovery of mineral deposits in their hunting territories. As mining activities expanded, the Cree were continually relocated. More than 20 mines were established in the area, forcing the Ouje-Bougoumou community to relocate 8 times between 1929 and 1989. (Chicoine, 1990).

Settlement Location	Relocation Years
1. Hudson's Bay Post	1914-1929
2. Chibougamou Post	1929-1942
3. Cedar Bay	1943-1951
4. Campbell Point	1943-1951
5. Hamel Island	1952-1957
6. Swampy Point	1952-1962
7. Dore lake	1962-1974
8. Six Camp Location	1974-1989
9. Lake Opemiska	1989-present

Table 6: The Relocations of the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree
Source: Chicoine, 1990

In the early 1980's, the Ouje-Bougoumou people engaged in vigorous tactics to obtain government cooperation in addressing their concerns. Intensive discussions were begun with representatives of the province of Quebec in 1984, and after several years of these discussions and negotiations an agreement was reached in 1989 whereby Quebec agreed to contribute financially toward the construction of a new village, while also acknowledging a degree of local jurisdiction over a portion of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree traditional territory. The recognition of the Ouje-Bougoumou people as a distinct band overturned the previous misclassification by the Department of Indian Affairs of the Ouje-Bougoumou people as part of the Mistissini Band. Along with official recognition came $25 million for a new village from the Quebec government.

A second round of negotiations began in 1990 to secure the financial participation of the federal government in the construction of a new permanent village. These negotiations were concluded when Oujé-Bougoumou and Canada signed the *Oujé-Bougoumou/Canada Agreement* in May 1992, which came with a financial contribution of $75 million for a new village from the federal government. These negotiations allowed for the construction of a new permanent village in a location of their choice (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

Demographics

In 1989, the Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou was made up of 471 members who came, for the most part, from the Chibougamou region and from the Mistassini reserve. The population of Ouje-Bougoumou was very young, with 53.7% of its members below 20 years of age. This situation was, and remains, typical of northern Quebec's Cree populations, in which there is a large percentage of the population below the age of 40 (80.6%), compared to that of Quebec (62.4%). The division between the males and females in the community is similar than Quebec, at 47.1% and 52.9%, respectively. The community is made up of 128 household, averaging out to a family size of 3.7 persons, much higher than the province's average of 2.7% in 1986 (Chicoine, 1990).

Ouje-Bougoumou, 1989						
Age	Male	%	Fem.	%	Total	%
0 to 4	25	5.31	24	5.10	49	10.41
5 to 9	29	6.16	30	6.37	59	12.53
10 to 14	34	7.22	43	9.13	77	16.35
15 to 19	36	7.64	32	6.79	68	14.43
20 to 24	23	4.88	31	6.58	54	11.46
25 to 29	17	3.61	14	2.97	31	6.58
30 to 34	14	2.97	22	4.67	36	7.64
35 to 39	7	1.49	10	2.12	17	3.61
40 to 44	8	1.70	12	2.55	20	4.25
45 to 49	5	1.06	4	0.85	9	1.91
50 to 54	3	0.64	6	1.27	9	1.91
55 to 59	4	0.85	6	1.27	10	2.12
60 to 64	3	0.64	3	0.64	6	1.28
65 +	14	2.97	12	2.55	26	5.52
TOTAL	222	47.14	249	52.86	471	100

Table 7: Ouje-Bougoumou Population, 1989
Source: Surba Conseil in Chicoine, 1990

Cree Population of Ouje-Bougoumou, 1989 Age Pyramid
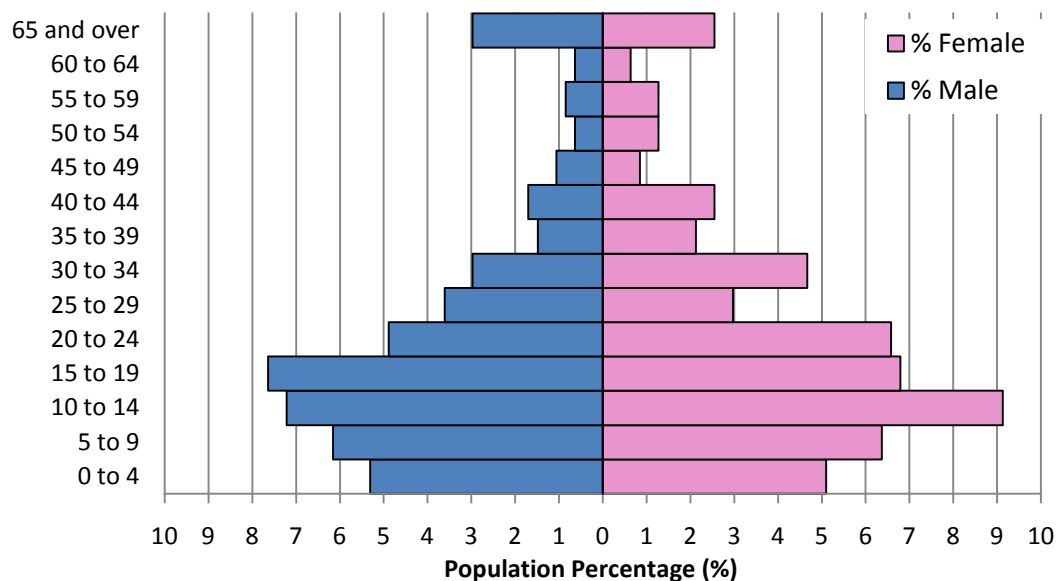
Figure 24: Ouje-Bougoumou Age-Sex Pyramid

3.4.2 The Planning Process of the New Permanent Village

The Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou wished to re-create the well-being of their traditional way of life to the fullest extent in the context of modern facilities and institutions. The Oujé-Bougoumou community emphasized that in their traditional way of life, there were no formal distinctions between work and play, between teaching and learning, between healing and daily life, nor between the richness of family ties and the establishment of specific roles for people. In essence, daily life was permeated with elements of learning, healing, play and a rich network of social relationships.

The Oujé-Bougoumou community hoped that by planning a village in a manner in which all components were integrated, they would create a "sustainable communities" and provide a practical, small-scale expression of sustainable development. To achieve this, three major objectives were defined:

1. The village had to be constructed in harmony with the environment and with the traditional Cree philosophy of conservation;
2. The village had to provide for the long-term financial requirements of the Ouje-Bougoumou people. They needed to avoid development that could quickly become a "welfare enclave";
3. The village had to reflect the Cree culture in its physical appearance and in its functions. The Ouje-Bougoumou people were unwilling to simply import a non-Cree version of a village to their territory.

The planning process of the new Ouje-Bougoumou community has been considered a combination of direct democracy, architectural creativity, financial considerations, and an attempt to provide a community environment that applies the traditional concepts of community living, as much as possible (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

An *Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee* was established, through assembling representatives from the Youth Council, the Elders, former Chief Abel Bosum, Legal Council, an advisor (anthropologist Paul Wertman), and the Christian Fundamental Pentecostal Church. Additionally, input was also received from other Cree communities, in particular Nemaska, which had a comparable population size.

For matters concerning the architectural designs of public buildings and housing, the *Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee* hired Douglas J. Cardinal Ltd., a Canadian Métis architect who designed Ottawa's Museum of Civilization and the National Museum of the American Indian for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Cardinal is known for using Native symbolism in his architecture. Workshops,

questionnaires, and interviews with elders were also conducted by Cardinal, to determine their preferences. Although this is an important feature of the final plan, this report will concentrate on the consultation process and its effect on the community master plan.

Site Selection

The Federal Government originally suggested that the proposed site for the new Ouje-Bougoumou village be at an abandoned army base near Chibougamou. However, the community rejected this site because they were in search of a place with agreeable conditions for a new community.

The site selection began with a long consultation process with the community members in 1986. The consultation process was initiated and directed by the Band Council who tried to involve as many members of the community as possible. Interestingly, the services of outside specialists or consultants were not required for this process. There are no reports indicating the participation rate of the community, or the method of the consultation, but based on word of mouth, the assembly was held in a democratic manner with a good participation level (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

The site selection was based on the following criteria (in order of importance):

- The availability of potable drinking water;
- The quality of the soil and bedrock;
- A land area large enough to a accommodate population projections;
- Accessibility to the existing road network;
- Economic development potentials, such as traditional hunting and trapping activities commerce, and tourism;
- A site with all Categories of land (Category I, II & III);
- Aesthetic qualities;
- The availability of wood resources for heating;
- Sufficient distance from other existing non-Native villages;
- A possibility to maintain their cultural identity;
- Availability of fishable waters;
- Proximity to the usual navigable routes used by the community

Six pre-selected sites were evaluated by the members of the community. In order of preference, they were: Lake Opataca, Lake Opemiska, Lake Michwacho, Lake Scott, and Brock River. Although Lake Opataca was the preferred location, factors relating to interventions by the environmental and natural resources ministers made this location unobtainable. Therefore, Lake Opemiska was chosen as the future site of the Ouje-Bougoumou village (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

Located on the north shore of Lake Opemiska, some 70 km to the west of Chibougamou, and 35 km north of Chapais, the site is located on a little peninsula on the north-east part of Lake Opemiska. Specifically, the site is 167 km² of Category I & II lands, and 145 km² of Category II lands.

At the time of the decision, the site had 24 houses for the members of the band, with communal sanitary infrastructure.

In August of 1988, the Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou mandated the Legault-Politech consortium to create a master plan for their future village. This consortium was made up of Montreal-based planning and architecture firm Surba Conseil, the architecture firm Tremblay and Associates, and the engineering firm Polytech Inc. Their mandate involved conducting the initial planning exercises, such as the distribution of questionnaires and the development of workshops to determine local housing and community needs. The chart indicates that the planning process was divided into three phases:

I.   **Needs Assessment**

This phase involved the establishment of the needs of the Ouje-Bougoumou people, through a large-scaled consultation process, built around the theme "*Rise up and Build*". This was an important step for the Ouje-Bougoumou people, because it was the first time that they sat down as a community to discuss their future village in a concrete manner.

II. **Layout Options**

This phase involved the drafting of design and layout options, which were used to generate discussion amongst the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee. Each group was given the task of studying one specific element of the overall development plan. It is only after this step that the programming of the different components of the village was finalized. New development alternatives were elaborated upon by the consultants and presented to the community members.

III.   **Final Master Plan**

Lastly, the consultants finalized the master plan by modifying the option chosen by the community and providing much more details.

The following sections will explore these three phases in further detail.

I. Needs Assessment

An extensive consultation process was held in October of 1988 to determining the needs of the Ouje-Bougoumou community in their future village. Under the theme "Rise Up and Build", the consultation process intended on engaging each community member in the discussions. At the same time, these consultations were meant to build a momentum at the local level, while the political negotiations were still in the works.

The consultation programme was decided upon by the Band Council and submitted to the consultants so that they could develop the proper tools and have the right human resources and technical necessities on hand.

The Chiefs of the Cree communities of Nemaska, Waswanipi, Chisasibi, and Mistissini were invited to share their past experiences. According to Ouje-Bougoumou Chief Abel Bosum on October 19th 1988:

> It is our judgement that there are many sources from which we can learn and which we can gain assistance in entering this next phase. Perhaps there is no better source for such information than other Cree communities who have either had similar experiences or whose own experiences can shed some light on the kinds of things we will need to be aware of as we begin building our new village [...]. If we listen carefully we should be able to gain valuable lessons about what we should keep in mind and perhaps also some of the problems we may want to avoid (as cited in Chicoine, 1990).

A three-day workshop was mediated by the planning consultants. Approximately 140 people participated in the workshops each day, which represents nearly 50% of Ouje-Bougoumou's population over the age of 15 (those younger than 15 didn't show an interest in participating in the questionnaires, but did often help their parents). In order to encourage the largest possible amount of participants, the Band Council organized a daycare, dismissed children from class, and provided transportation for all

participants. Lastly, those who did not want to participate were invited to follow the process on television.

The main consultation tool was the questionnaire, which was developed by Surba Conseil, with the help of the information gathered from the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee, and subject to approval from the same committee as well. The two-part questionnaire was based on two larger themes: residential areas and community facilities (see Appendix 2).

The first part of the questionnaire focused on the following housing issues: the location of housing; the relationship between the house and its occupants; the accommodations of elders; the type of housing units; the outdoor space; storage space; the road and sidewalk networks; parking spaces; and the interior layouts.

The second part of the questionnaire focused on the following issues: the types and location of services and facilities, the importance of services and facilities, the arrangement of services and facilities in the same building, recreational facilities, and the storage of boating and water-related equipment.

The participants were broken down into four groups of about 35 people, in order to facilitate participation. Groups were not formed based on age or gender. One or two moderators were assigned to each group. Their role was to ensure that each participant discussed each question. The moderators were students from McGill University who were studying in planning, and expressed an interest in the project.

Participants were offered two methods of answering the questionnaire: orally or in writing. The questionnaire was in English and some of the elderly participants only spoke and wrote in Cree; however, this was not a problem because an Ouje-Bougoumou translator was on hand.

A large-scale model of the site was also placed in the consultation room.

The questionnaires were administered during the morning, and the results were tabulated in the evening, allowing the consultants to discuss the preliminary results the following morning. This served to gain more reactions, and to incite new discussions.

Lastly, the consultants presented the preliminary results of their interpretations through sketches and plans.

The goal of the questionnaire was to evaluate the level of interest, importance, or preference related to a particular component or activity in the future village. Indicators were developed to tabulate the responses. For each question, an indicator was attributed based on the amount of responses obtained, in relation to the number of potential responds (or the number or respondents). Indicators ranged from 0 to 4 or from a "very weak" to "very strong" level of interest, importance, or preference. The results of the questionnaire are presented in Appendix 2.

Based on the needs assessment activities and the results of the questionnaire, the following general design guidelines were established:

In relation to the layout of the community:

- An administrative/institutional/commercial node would be created at the centre of the village;
- The housing for the older community members (aged 50 and above) would be located around the village centre;
- The recreational facilities should be located near the school;
- The placement of housing should allow the maximum amount of residents to have a view of the Lake Opemiska;
- The road network should be planned in a way to reduce the speed of the vehicles near the housing.

In relation to community facilities and services:

- The Ouje-Bougoumou administrative office, the clinic, the church, the community centre, and the businesses should be located in the village centre;
- The cemetery could be located on the outskirts of the community;
- There is no preference towards the location of the police station, the fire station, or the school;
- The recreational facilities and the student housing should be located close to the school and the lake;
- The walking and cycling paths and the outdoor meeting spaces should be located close to the lake;
- The Ouje-Bougoumou administrative office, the clinic, the community centre, the school, the police office and the fire hall should be in buildings that are easily identifiable;
- The Ouje-Bougoumou administrative office should be the first visible building when entering the village.

In relation to the residential space:

- Almost all residents preferred single family single housing units;

- A private, fenced yard with a shed is of importance;

- A private entrance for the vehicle is essential;

- The housing units need to have a basement that allows for the installation of a laundry room and a wood stove;

- The community members need to have the choice between a one and a two-storey house;

- The porch needs to be outside of the house;

- The kitchen needs to be big, and its windows should be oriented towards the rising sun in the morning. It also needs to have a view on the lake;

- The living room needs to be separate from the kitchen, and have a fireplace.
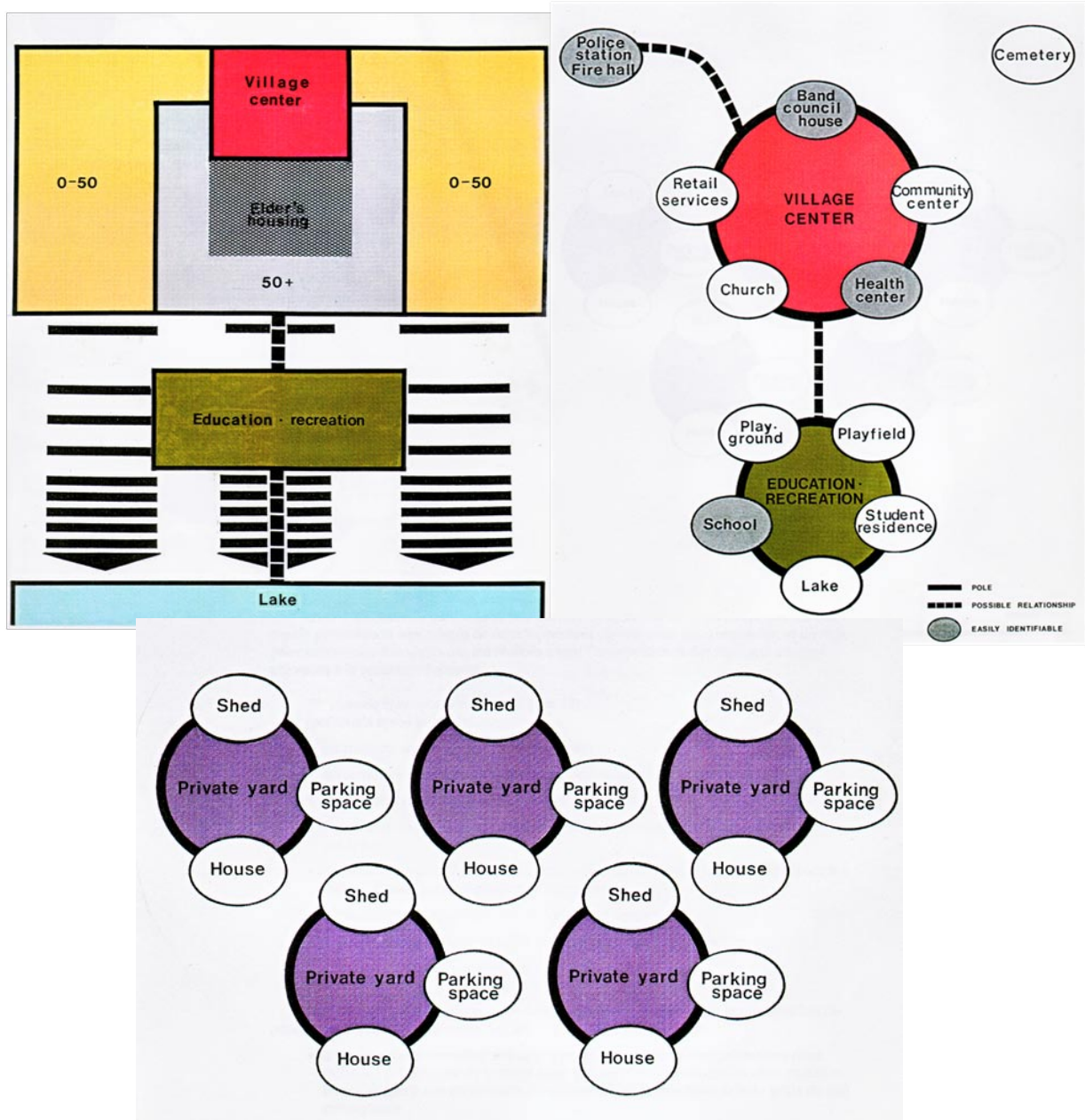
Figure 25: Concept Plans of the Village Layout, the Community Facilities, and the Residential Areas
Source: Surba Conseil in Chicoine, 1990

II. Layout Options

The second stage of the planning process involved the establishment of layout and design options for the future village. The general design guidelines that were discussed in the previous section were further refined in January of 1989, three months after the *Rise Up and Build* consultation, through a small-scaled consultation process with the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee.

The Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee broke into six groups, and each studied one of the following community dimensions: housing, education, economic development, health, recreation, and hunting.

Seven village layout options were presented by the consultants to each of the group members, and they were asked to evaluate the options, based on their concerns. Questions related to the form of the village were commented on by all group members.

The meetings were conducted mostly by the Ouje-Bougoumou Band Council. The consultants answered questions or stimulated discussions when necessary. The discussions amongst the Cree were often carried on in Cree, which meant that the consultants had to be provided with a recap afterwards.

The following final design guidelines were established through the consultations:

1. *The Creation of Village Centre*

    An easily accessible, central community facilities and services pole was necessary, particularly for the elderly. Ideally, this pole would be built in the centre of the village, and would group the administrative and community services, such as the Ouje-Bougoumou administration building, the church, and the community centre. The schools, recreational facilities, clinic and the rental housing would be located close to the village centre.

2. *Economic Development*

    An easily accessible Commercial Zone, grouping a motel, boutiques, and a service station – amongst others, should be located close to the entrance of the village. Specifications also indicate that the commercial zone should be far from the school, to avoid temptation. Also, the zone should have lots of space for expansion, because economic development is a community priority.

An Industrial Zone should also be located at the entrance to the village, on a relatively flat terrain, far from the residences. This zone would contain the municipal warehouse and garage, and should also allow space for future expansion.

A Tourist Zone should be developed near the waters' edge, but distanced from the village centre. Temporary shelters would be moved to this zone, and space would be made available for camping.

3. *Cultural Development*

A Cultural Zone should be located close to the Tourist Zone and the community's recreational spaces. This zone could promote the Cree culture, and serve as an artisanal museum to showcase the five different types of temporary Cree structures (such as the tepee). This zone could help promote the economic development of the community and the Cree culture.

4. *Greenspaces*

Primary recreational spaces would be located on flat terrain (most likely below the hill), and would be host to sports fields, a picnic area, and nature paths. Also, green pathways should connect the backyards of each house to the centre of the community, to promote walking to the community facilities. These greenspaces could also serve as spaces to play, to prepare and cook traditional foods, and will also help to stabilization the slopes and hills throughout the community (vegetation prevents run-off).

5. *Housing*

The majority of housing units should be single-family detached units. The 30 m x 50 m lots should be private fenced spaces, with individual sheds and driveways. The houses should be positioned in a way that maximizes the view of the lake. The houses should also to be placed along the length of the roadway, rather than in groupings (not like Chisasibi's "cluster" layout). The four rental housing buildings should each group 4 units. These could be located close to the village centre. Student residences should also be located close to the village centre, to ensure that students have easy access to the school and the recreational facilities. The rental, student, and elderly units are the only housing units that are not detached.

6. *The Village Form*

Of all the village layouts presented to the community members, there was a strong preference for geometric layouts.

Following the establishment of the above design guidelines, a second round consultation was done with the community members. Two detailed layout plans were presented in this consultation stage (see Figure 26). The two final detailed layout plans were produced by Surba Conseil following consultations with members of the planning committee. The plans present similar organizations of space, because they were both based on the same guiding design principles. The differences in the two options are mainly in the organization of the village centre.

- Option I presents a linear development of the community buildings, based on a main axis that crosses the entire village.
- Option II presents a radial concept, with a central village centre, and a stronger division between the buildings offering community services and those used for economic activities.

Option II was shown to be preferred, through a majority vote of the community members. The preference for Option II was because the main access to the community was located at the periphery of the village, bordered by the industrial and economic poles, while still leading directly into the heart of the village.

Figure 26: Village Layout Option I & Option II
Source: Surba Conseil in Chicoine, 1990

III. Final Master Plan

The final master plan of the Ouje-Bougoumou village was developed around a circular town centre, which grouped the community buildings. The community members were able to access the town centre by strips of greenery that were to be developed into walking, bicycle, cross-country skiing and skidoo pathways. A progression of community buildings ranging from those related to economic development activities to those that directly serve the community, form a pathway from the entrance of the village towards the direction of the Lake. Specifically, the industrial zone, the arena, the commercial centre, the administrative centre, the school, and the recreational spaces are all strongly linked. The clinic is located at the highest point of the village, just outside of the village centre, and in close proximity to the elders and nurses residences (Figures 27 & 28).

Contrary to the other steps in the planning processes of the new village, the final drawing of the master plan was done by the consultants, without the participation of the community members or the planning committee. Only the chief supervised from a distance.

The village was constructed between 1990 and 1992.
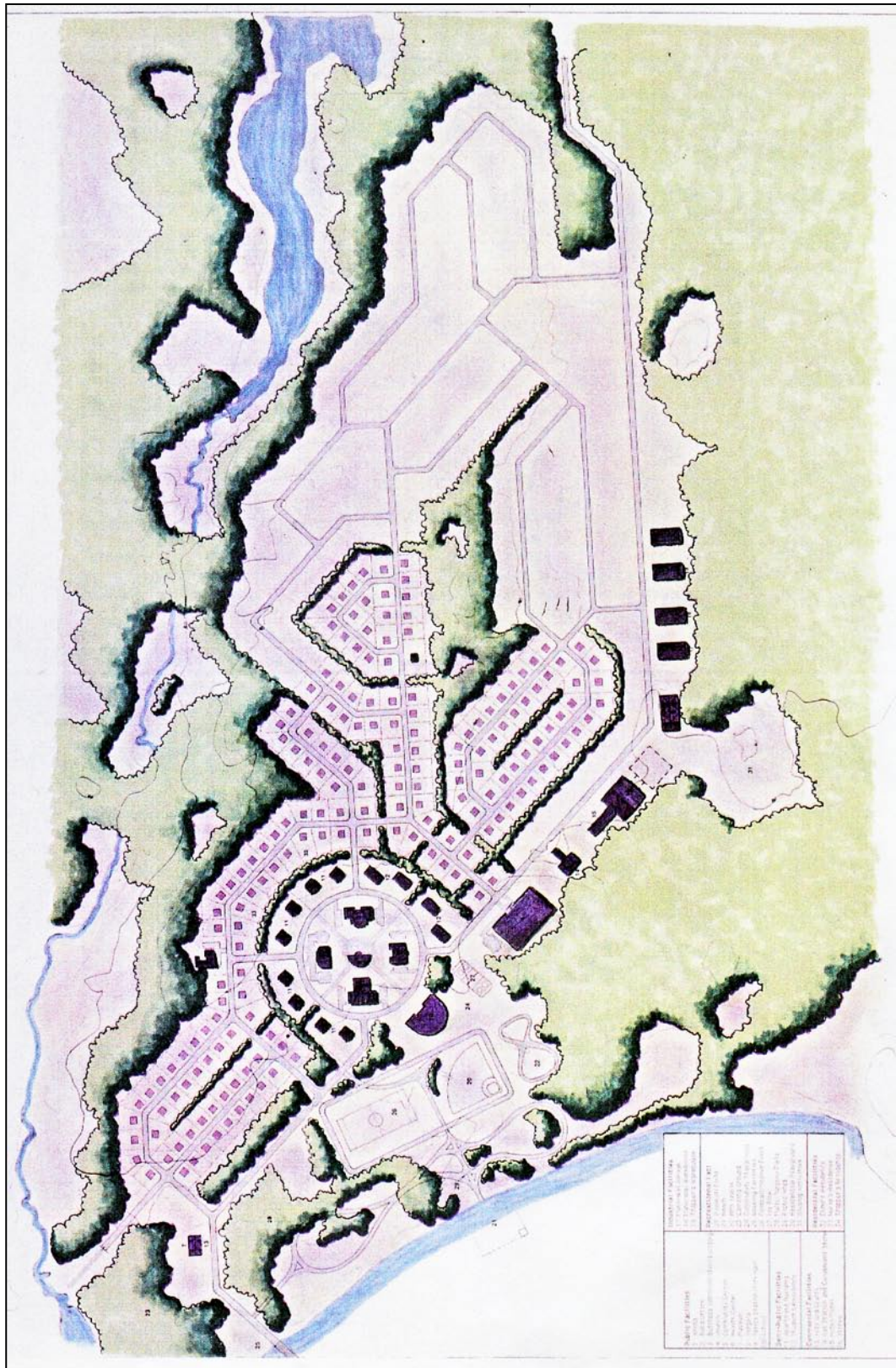
Figure 27: Master Plan of the Ouje-Bougoumou Village
Source: Surba Conseil in Chicoine, 1990
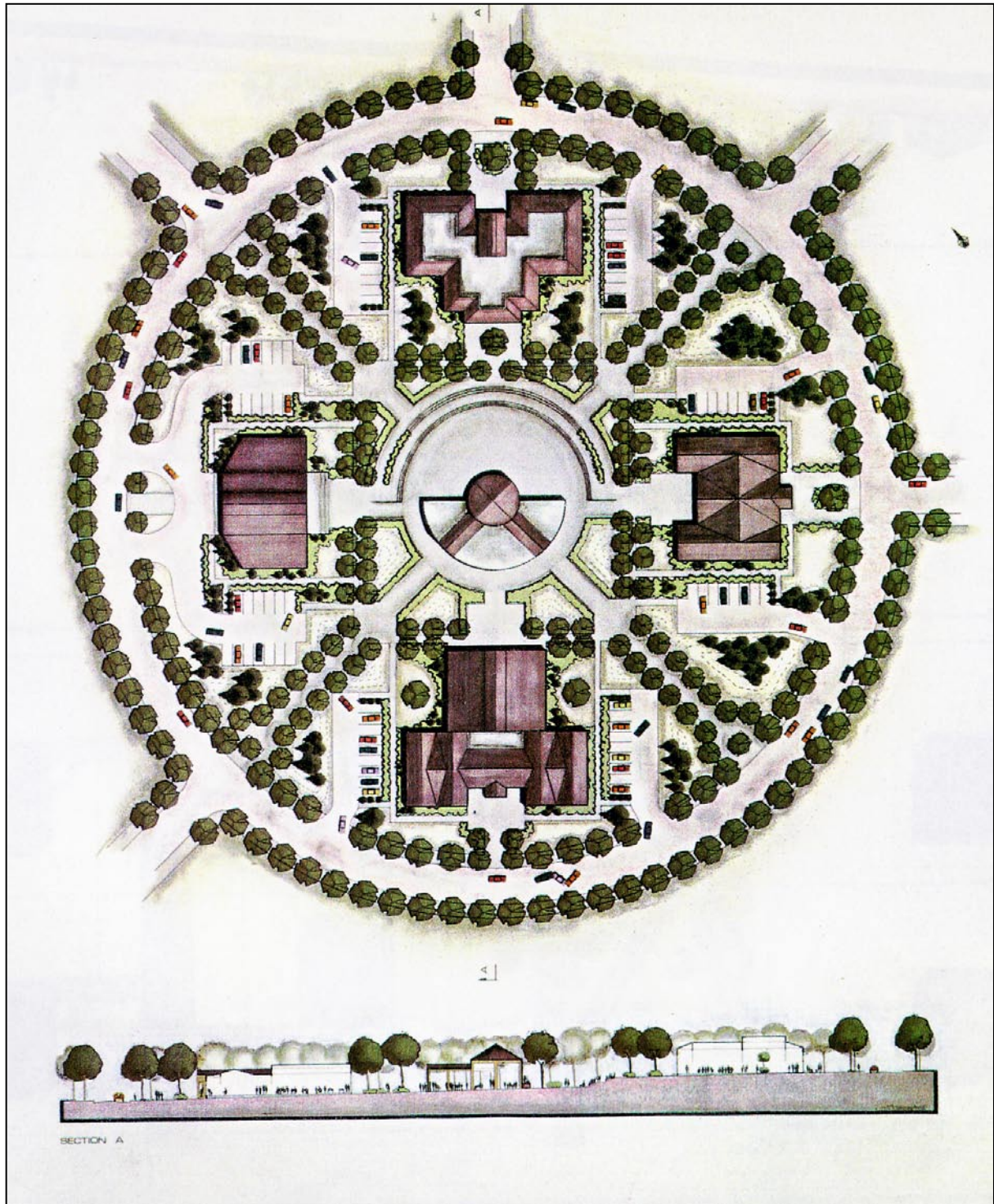
Figure 28: Village Centre Plan
Source: Surba Conseil in Chicoine, 1990

Figure 29: Ouje-Bougoumou Village in 2008
Source: Photographs taken by Lisa Kastelberger

3.4.3. Evaluation of the Planning Process

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the planning of the Ouje-Bougoumou village was a result of collaboration between the community members and the specialists. Although the participation levels where highest in the earlier phases of the planning process, the community's vision and objectives were the drive for the project, from start to finish.

In order to evaluate the planning process, the evaluation criteria discussed in Part 1 is applied below, as follows:

1. Initiation of the Process

2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels

3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanisms

4. Cultural Representation

5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process

1. Initiation of the Process

The *Rise up and Build* consultation was initiated by the Ouje-Bougoumou community and in particular the Band Council and the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee. Both the consultation programme and the method (questionnaire) were initiated by the Band Council. The role of the consultant was to supply the tools and the human resources to meet the objective of the consultation. According to participants, the consultant's mandate was to produce a summary of the results of the questionnaires, as well as new concepts for organizing the village. It seems as though their work was satisfactory:

> The planners worked strenuously to hear what the people had to say. They obviously took very seriously instructions that they were not to impose their own views on the people but rather to translate the wishes of the people into design concepts (as cited in Chicoine, 1990).

The *Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee* was well organised and had a vision and objectives to be met well in advance. The Ouje-Bougoumou community also took advice and input from other Cree community leaders who had gone through similar experiences, which facilitated their planning approach.

2. Representation of Users & Participation Levels

The first phase of the planning process, which involved assessing the needs of the community, was based on the majority opinion of the community. The entire community was invited to participate in the *Rise Up and Build* consultation, and nearly 50% of the population did, indicating that a good representation of the users was achieved. Special services were also put in place to increase participation levels, including a daycare and transportation services. The Band Council and Planning Committee ensured that all participants were able to express themselves, either orally of written, and translators were also present.

However, the second and third phases of the planning process, during which the layout options were presented and the final master plan was drawn up, had fewer opportunities for Band members to participate. In fact, only the Planning Committee participated. In a way, it is understandable, because the Planning Committee was the most aware of the various issues involved. Also, when the two final options were presented to the community, the plans appeared as though they were very advanced, and too finalized to be commented upon. In fact, the community simply chose an option, and then the Planning Committee put forth a few modifications.

Lastly, the drawing up of the final master plan involved no participation on the behalf of the community, the Band Council or the Planning Committee. The Chief supervised the development of the master plan from a distance.

In relation to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, it can be said that the Ouje-Bougoumou people truly participated in the drawing up of the final product. Even though the specialists created the questionnaire and did the first round of interpretations, the participants had the power to modify, improve, or simple veto any elements that were not completely meeting their needs and aspirations. In terms of the user participation levels in the second and third phases, the Ouje-Bougoumou people were not the creators of the plan, but rather limited themselves to commenting and critiquing the plans that were drawn up by the consultants based on their objectives. Chicoine (1990) argues that the users could have produced some sketches of what they wanted, but this didn't seem to interest them, and the consultants always played the role of plan-makers.

3. Efficiency of the Consultation Mechanisms

The main participatory planning tool used during the first phase *Rise Up and Build* consultation was the questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided in two sections (residential area and community facilities) and had nearly 100 questions and pre-coded answers. This format allowed the consultants to gather lots of information and to interpret it relatively quickly. Unfortunately, this format didn't allow participants to add questions or answers that weren't already on the questionnaire. The questionnaire proved to be useful, because all responses are recorded in a systematic manner, and can be re-examined afterwards or for future purposes (unlike Chisasibi's responses which depended on the note-taking ability of the consultant assigned to a particular focus group).

The *Rise Up and Build* consultation was successful at gaining a consensus from the community on issues relating to housing, centralized community services and facilities, and the sharing of space. The results of the consultation were used to assess the needs of the community, and to establish general guidelines that would be used as a basis to generate the two town plan options.

Still, Chicoine (1990) believes that it would have been interesting to allow the participants to sketch or make models of their visions for the village, rather than to simply have them answer questions.

For the second and third phases of the planning process, the main tool that was used was the traditional two-dimensional plan and sketches to further illustrate the concepts. These tools allowed the consultants to present many options with minimal time and money, in comparison to the use of three-dimensional models or computer simulations. The two-dimensional plan also allowed participants to make changes directly on the plan (although they were reluctant to do so).

As mentioned, the second consultation process involved separating the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee into smaller groups to focus on one issue of the plan (housing, health, recreation, etc.). This strategy was more realistic than the one used in the *Rise Up and Build* consultation, during which participants were asked to make decisions on all aspects of the town plan (Chicoine, 1990).

4. Cultural Representation

The Ouje-Bougoumou people have taken firm measures to preserve their cultural identity. For instance, the village plan is built around a circular town centre with radial streets, which is reminiscent of the earth's sun, which is very important in their culture.

Also, in order to ensure that the physical appearance of the new village reflected their own cultural heritage, the community hired a renowned aboriginal architect, Mr. Douglas Cardinal.

> "Because of his aboriginal background we did not need to go through the process of training the outside professional to work with aboriginal people. He understood this instinctively. He did not attempt to impose his own vision on us but worked intensively to have us express the visions within us which would become the basis for the village architecture. The result has been the establishment of a village which not only can our people relate to, but is of such beauty that it challenges us to live up to the ideals which are expressed in the architecture" (Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou).

The community sat down with architect Douglas Cardinal and explained the science underlying the traditional Cree dwelling, the *astchiiugamikw*. The idea for many of the community buildings in Oujé-Bougoumou was based upon the structure of the *astchiiugamikw*, which is a dwelling constructed of a wooden frame in teepee-like fashion, covered with a combination of moss and sand, and bathed in natural light from a fire hole at its apex. Cardinal took the concept of ceilings that go from the sky to the earth to fashion modern buildings where the roof is the dominant feature, and where light and open spaces define the interiors. This process was used to shape the administration office, the school, the healing center (clinic), daycare center, elder's home, and business centre - each of which was treated as a village within the village.

Both the village layout and the Native architecture are the result of the explicit wishes and instructions of the Ouje-Bougoumou people to construct a village that preserved their Cree heritage. So-called "cyclical" patterns in the community, particularly with respect to the location of community buildings, are reflected in the works of both Surba Conseil and Douglas Cardinal, and goes to show the extent of the community input at the planning stages (Chicoine, 1990).

5. Cost-Effectiveness of the Process

The actual monetary costs of the development process of the new Ouje-Bougoumou village are not available; however, Chicoine (1990) insists that without the participation, the specialists would not have been able to develop the plans in a suitable manner. The common disadvantages to participatory planning that are often cited in the literature relate to the extra time and money the process takes, technical or procedural difficulties, difficulties in identifying or defining who exactly the user is, and difficulties in gaining a consensus amongst all parties involved. These costs were minimal, if at all, during the planning process of the Ouje-Bougoumou village.

3.4.4 Conclusion: Post-Relocation Assessment

Although this report has focused on the participatory process and its immediate results, it is important to assess the community post-relocation. In other words, what are the results of the adopted planning process 15 years down the road? Did it stand the test of time?

In the case of Ouje-Bougoumou, for reasons that are unknown, Surba Conseil was dismissed by the Board of Directors and Chief and Council shortly after the finalization of the master plan. In light of this, the Cree Nation of Ouje-Bougoumou hired Dick Boivin, an internationally-renowned expert of major projects (including the relocation of Fort George), for advice on the technical aspects of the plans and infrastructures. This event makes the post-relocation assessment of Ouje-Bougoumou a bit tricky, but nonetheless, it is important to provide a recap.

Shortly after the completion of the village construction, in 1995, the United Nations identified Ouje-Bougoumou as one of only fifty communities around the world best representing the ideals and objectives of the international organization.

In the past fifteen years Ouje-Bougoumou has:

- Rebuilt its village using community labour and a design developed by the community itself in consultation with a leading Aboriginal architect;
- Assumed responsibility for delivering its own health services and built a new healing centre;
- Built its own youth centre;
- Made their school a centre of village life;
- Developed an elders' residence, daycare centre and cultural centre;
- Developed a unique, centralized method for heating all the community's homes using local resources (district heating system);
- Has promoted both eco-tourism and cultural tourism. Since 1994, over 18,000 people have visited Ouje-Bougoumou, generating $ 1 million dollars in revenue. Excursions in the bush, hunting and fishing are promoted, as well as community tours and the "cultural village";
- Developed training programs to give people the specific skills they required for building their own homes. The community also developed a home-ownership program;

- Regularly host workshops to discuss the roles and responsibilities of community living, how they wish to organize their own affairs and by what values they wish to live. During one workshop residents discussed how traditional approaches for solving conflict could be integrated into a local law enforcement system. During another, they decided to include hunting breaks in the community's school and construction schedules so as to sustain their traditional ways.

A survey conducted by Panagiotaruku (2002) ten years after the construction of the Ouje-Bougoumou village sheds some light on the levels of user satisfaction with the built environment. Reactions to the village layout, infrastructure, community facilities and services, and housing are summarized below.

Reactions to the Village Layout & Infrastructure

The survey indicates that Ouje-Bougoumou residents have high levels of satisfaction with infrastructure, due to the excellent conditions of roads and sidewalks, and the provision of water, sewage, and garbage disposal.

Fortunately, suggestions relating to modifications and improvements to the built environment were minimal. Only a few participants indicated that the village could be moved to a different location, and another participant said that they would change the location of key buildings (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

Reactions to Community Facilities & Services

A high level of satisfaction was also noted with the community buildings, which were considered to be new, modern, aesthetically beautiful buildings, rich in Native symbolism. Although the survey reports that all public buildings have Native architecture, a testimony from one Band Official indicates that the original designs of Douglas Cardinal had higher levels of Native symbolism than the current buildings, however, due to cost considerations, the amount of Native symbolism had to be cut back. The end result was that only the Ouje-Bougoumou National Headquarters, the Business Centre, and the Church were designed by Douglas Cardinal (Panagiotaraku, 2002).

Suggestions relating to the construction and development of community and commercial services and facilities included a need for a bank, an arena, a mini-mall, a grocery store, and a women's shelter

(Panagiotaraku, 2002). It is apparent that Ouje-Bougoumou lacks certain basic facilities; however, one must be kept in mind that Ouje-Bougoumou is too small to support such services, and Chibougamou is less than one hour away and offers all these facilities.

Reactions to Housing

The survey indicated that there are low levels of satisfaction in relation to housing, due to damage to the housing foundations. Both unstable sandy soil conditions, as well as a poor "sustainable" choice of using plywood foundations against the advice of several knowledgeable contractors, has resulted in the need to replace all the basement foundations 20 years later.

Once again, a testimony from one Band Official indicates that the original design of the houses were developed by Cardinal were also embellished with Cree Native symbolism, but the cost of constructing such housing were outside of the financial constraints of the community.

Although Ouje-Bougoumou had high levels of user participation and consultation in the planning process for housing, users are unsatisfied due to poorly assessed construction standards and building foundations.

CONCLUSION

Through the comparison of two case studies of Cree communities in northern Quebec, this paper has explored the use of participatory planning strategies for developing environments that are well-suited for their users. The report has focused on the extent to which culturally-sensitive environments could be achieved through effective participation with the Native populations during the planning process. More specifically, the research has explored the roles of the Native people and the professionals in the participatory planning process.

Part 1 focused on the importance of bringing the users of the environment into the planning process and the use of mechanisms to ensure that their aspirations, needs, and objectives are met. At the same time, it was shown that there is also an important ethical role for the planner in the process, whose duties are to foster public participation, while also addressing concerns of health, aesthetics, equity and efficiency – to name a few. In summary, it was shown that the ideal planning process places an importance on mutual learning, between decision-makers and the public, so that both parties can benefit from collaboration.

Part 2 explored the demographic, cultural, and economic factors unique to northern Quebec and the implication of such factors on the settlement patterns of Quebec's northern populations. This background information served to place the Cree communities within the greater context of Quebec and Canada. In addition, the relationship between behaviour and the built environment was addressed, through looking at the many Cree concepts of "community" and their impact on settlement patterns in northern Quebec. It was concluded that a major hurdle in translating the needs of the Cree into a reality is often the planner's lack of awareness of the complexity of the Cree society and the rules governing their communities prior to western influences. This highlighted the importance of community participation in the planning process.

Finally, Part 3 provided a brief synopsis of the nine Cree communities in the James Bay region, with a focus on issues of governance and policy. The remainder of the report was dedicated to the Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou case studies. Each case study traced both the planning process and the outcomes of the process, and concluded with an evaluation of the participatory planning process.

The participatory planning process of the Fort George relocation to Chisasibi in 1980 was considered to be an exceptional planning process because it was one of the first examples of town planning that took into consideration the Native way of life. Extensive consultation with and participation from the Fort George population was incorporated into every step of the planning process. In fact, the planning consultants even devised innovative methods to be able to gain as much input from their clients as possible. The final plan was considered to be tailor-made for its Native population, and included a unique "cluster" layout at the requests of its users, who wanted a layout that was more representative of their traditional settlement patterns.

Nearly a decade later, the Ouje-Bougoumou population went through a participatory planning process of their own, that quickly gained fame due to its high user-participation rates, involving effective consultation between the Band Council and members and the architecture and planning consultants. The comprehensive planning approach resulted in high quality infrastructure, interesting Native architecture, environmentally-friendly features, and a circular, centralized village plan. The Ouje-Bougoumou experience was considered to be *the* model for future Native town planning.

After reviewing several reports of both planning processes, particularly those by Shaw (1982) and Chicoine (1990), an assessment of the planning process was conducted, guided by the five criteria of the evaluation framework that was proposed in Part 1. The assessment revealed that both the planning processes of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou were initiated by the community's themselves, who refused to see themselves as victims of their circumstances and instead took matters into their own hand, and focused on their assets, strengths, and goals and "got the ball rolling", so to speak.

Both Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou's planning processes also involved extensive consultation between the planning consultants and the community members, representatives, band councils, etc. From the information available, it seems as though more consultations, discussions, and participatory exercises were done in the case of Chisasibi, and right up until the time of construction, in comparison to Ouje-Bougoumou's process, which entailed community involvement for phases 1 and 2, but not 3. It is important to keep in mind that Chisasibi was nearly 10 times are big as Ouje-Bougoumou, so the idea of using focus groups was most likely due to practicality. In the case of Ouje-Bougoumou, with a population of 300, it was easier to gain 50% participation levels, and the planning process was more streamlined.

In Chisasibi, the community was heavily involved in all matters that were non-technical, such as the establishment of needs, design objectives and criteria, the choice of alternatives, etc., but less involved

in matters that were highly technical, such as site service provisions. The community was heavily involved because the planning consultants informed the community of the advantages and disadvantages of each range of planning options after each planning stage, and then allowed the community to make an informed choice. In short, the consultants played the role of "guides" towards what they considered to be a satisfactory outcome, while also serving the interests of the community, and staying within budget.

In the case of Ouje-Bougoumou, the first phase of the planning process (needs assessments) was truly based on the majority opinion of the community. The entire community was invited to participate in the *Rise Up and Build* consultation (and nearly 50% of the population did). At this phase, the participants had the power to modify, improve, or simply veto any elements that were not completely meeting their needs and aspirations. However, the second phase of the planning process, during which the layout options were presented and the final master plan was drawn up, had lower participation levels, by design, involving only the participation of the Ouje-Bougoumou Planning Committee. And lastly, the final phase, which consisted of the drawing up of the master plan, involved no participation on the behalf of the community, the Band Council or the Planning Committee, and only the supervision of the Chief. In terms of the user participation levels in the second and third phases, the Ouje-Bougoumou people were not the creators of the plan, but rather commentators or critics on the plans that were drawn up by the consultants based on their objectives (a streamlined approach).

In relation to the consultation mechanisms, the strategies, techniques, and instruments used in the planning processes of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou differed. The main instrument in the Chisasibi consultation process was the door-to-door survey, which was used to gather information on housing and facility requirements, location and neighbour preferences, and community design aspects. A design session was also held to allow participants to draw what they envisioned the future community to look like. Models, maps, diagrams, and plans were also used by the consultants to communicate their ideas.

In the case of Ouje-Bougoumou, the main instrument was the questionnaire which was used during the *Rise Up and Build* consultation to gather information on housing and community facilities. In contrast to the survey, the questionnaire was considered to be a more rigid tool, because participants were limited to the questions and pre-coded answers that were generated by the consultants. Two-dimension plan and sketches were used for the final two phases. Unlike in Chisasibi, there were no drawing sessions for the Ouje-Bougoumou participants.

Cultural representativeness in the planning process was not equal in both planning processes. Chisasibi's planners and consultants researched two Native Quebec communities for inspiration on how to successfully deal with housing and planning issues in Native contexts, however, the decision to relocate the existing Fort George houses to Chisasibi severely limited their architectural and planning options to the point where new housing had to be built in a similar fashion as the existing housing. Nonetheless, the "cluster" layout was considered to be a breakaway from the prevalent North-American grid pattern.

Ouje-Bougoumou, on the contrary, was not limited to a certain housing style, and therefore hired a renowned aboriginal architect, Mr. Douglas Cardinal, to design the community facilities and housing based on the principles of traditional Native buildings. Additionally, the village plan was laid out in a circular pattern with radial streets, mimicking the sun – an important Native symbol.

The cost-effectiveness of the Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou planning processes are difficult to assess, and even more difficult to compare. Certainly, planning with the consultation and participation of users is more expensive than planning without consultations. These expenses result from the time spent in consultations, the costs of transportation, the drawing up of preliminary plans and multiple options, the cost of revising plans, and the potential higher costs of the solutions sought by the community (Shaw, 1982). Although participatory planning in Native contexts brings with it numerous challenges, there are most definitely many advantages, which are outlined in Part 1 of the report. In fact, it is potentially easier to gain a consensus on the vision and objectives for a community, in a Native context, because the population is relatively homogenous, in comparison to today's multicultural cities.

In summary, the assessment of the two case studies has demonstrated that the planning processes differ on aspects mostly related to the size of the community (keep in mind that Chisasibi is nearly 10 times larger than Ouje-Bougoumou), the type and amount of involvement of the users in the planning process and the tools and strategies used to facilitate the participation of the user. How do these variations in procedure affect the end goal of achieving culturally-sensitive environments? This question is more difficult to answer.

There is always a need to reassess to outcomes of the planning process 10, 20, and 30 years down the road to see if the solutions that were practical for a particular moment in time are flexible enough to allow for improvements, modifications, and transformations that may arise in the future due to new technologies, activities, hobbies, concerns, etc.

It is almost a sure bet that the Native populations in the communities will grow, particularly with the age-sex pyramids that we saw in the case of Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou. Will the new community designs allow for expansions to the original village layouts? Is there sufficient space for growth? Will expansions disrupt the overall functioning of the village layout? These are all questions that should be considered at the onset of the planning process, to avoid costly future projects and planning headaches.

The outcomes of the planning processes have briefly been evaluated, through looking at how the communities are holding up today. It is difficult to compare the two communities on this aspect, because Chisasibi is a village that is over 10 years older than Ouje-Bougoumou. However, certain conclusions can be drawn.

In evaluating the results or outcome of the participatory planning process in Chisasibi and Ouje-Bougoumou, it is evident that both communities are very different from the "white" villages to the south. Both have attempted to reflect the Native culture (Chisasibi through clusters by family groupings, and Ouje-Bougoumou through hiring a good architect who translated the Native values into forms, such as circles and buildings). Which is more "Native"? Neither is perfect, and there are some obvious problems in both. Chisasibi has abandoned the family cluster, and taken on a more traditional "U" - shaped neighbourhood form. On the contrary, Ouje-Bougoumou has the intentions of repeating its circular form for its new secondary town centre; however, the "sustainable" mechanisms of the community are being questioned: the plywood basements are being replaced, and the district heating system is being re-evaluated.

In conclusion, it can be said that the satisfactory outcome of a planning process has to do with the effectiveness of the participation process, rather than the quantity of consultation and participation. In other words, more consultation and participation does not necessarily mean that better outcomes will be achieved. Perhaps this is the downfall of the Chisasibi planning experience, in which participants were heavily involved and given the reigns right up until the end of the time of construction – and even then some. Perhaps a stronger leading role of the consultant is required, as was the case in Ouje-Bougoumou. After all, planners are equipped with a wealth of skills that can be of use during collaborative processes. The true challenge is finding the right balance between the expertise of the planner and those of the clients.

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APPENDIX 1
Fort-George Relocation 1977 Survey

Date: House #   Street:

Owner: Interviewed:

Status ☐   Coaster ☐   Inuit ☐   Movable   Yes ☐

                Inlander ☐   No ☐

---

1. Name and Band # of people living in the house:

2. Number of families ☐

3. Number of bedrooms ☐   Usage of the Basement:

4. If village and house are moved, will you have enough space?

    Yes ☐   No ☐   No. Bedrooms ☐

5. Will anyone be leaving the house?   No ☐   Yes ☐   Identification:

6. Housing requirements of those leaving the house?

    No. Bedrooms ☐   With other family:

7. Whom do you want as your neighbours?
Staying   Leaving

Relationship	Name	Band #	Relationship	Name	Band #

8. Special site requirements: NEAR   AWAY

                River   ☐   ☐

                Canoe Site   ☐   ☐

                School   ☐   ☐

                Hospital   ☐   ☐

                Shops   ☐   ☐

9. Do you want all community facilities (post office, Hudson Bay, Rose's Store, Coop, restaurant, theatre, bank, church, post office...) grouped under one roof or separated?

Grouped under one roof ☐   Separated ☐

10. Should Coasters, Inlanders, Non Status & Inuit houses be separated?

            Yes ☐   No ☐

11. What do you think the new village needs in terms of facilities, services or anything else which would make it a better place to live in?

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

WORKSHOP 1: THE RESIDENTIAL SPACE

AGE GROUP	CODE	NB WOMEN	NB MEN	TOTAL
15 to 19	A	11	11	22
20 to 49	B	21	27	48
50 and more	C	9	6	15

INDICATOR	LEVEL OF INTEREST, IMPORTANCE OR PREFERENCE
0	Very Weak
1	Weak
2	Moderate
3	Strong
4	Very Strong

1. Where would you see your house in relation to the following?

	Close (0-5 min walk)			Far (5-10 min walk)			Not Important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Natural Environment									
The lake	2	2	3	1	0	1	1	1	0
The forest	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Village Services									
The stores	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1
The school	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	2
The church	1	1	3	1	2	0	2	1	0
Health services	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	0	0
Band Council House	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	0	0
Recreational Facilities									
The community centre	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	1
The playfield	1	0	0	1	3	2	1	0	2
The skating rink	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	3
The lakeshore and its docking facilities	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	1
Other residents									
Your relatives	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	1	0
The other members of the Band	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	0

2. Would you see your house located in:

	YES			NO		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
The village core?	2	1	3	2	0	0
At the limits of the village?	2	3	1	1	1	1

3. Who would you prefer as your neighbours?

	YES			NO			NOT IMPORTANT		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Your Relatives									

APPENDIX 2
Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

Grand-parents	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Parents	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Children	0	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
Cousin(s)	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
Members of the Band									
Member(s) of the same age group	2	2	2	0	0	0	2	2	1
Member(s) of the same sex	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	3	2
Member(s) sharing the same activities	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	2
Others (specify)									

4. What type of dwelling units should be offered to the elders?

	A	B	C
Detached house	1	2	3
Dwelling units in apartment type buildings	3	2	1

5. Where should the elders housing be located?

	A	B	C
Spread throughout the village	0	0	0
Gathered in a specific location	3	3	2
Close to their relatives	1	1	3

6. What should be the distance between the dwellings of the elderly and the following services?

	Direct Access			0-5 min walk			5-10 min walk			Not Important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The stores	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
The church	1	3	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
The community centre	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
The health services	2	3	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
The Band Council House	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
The lake	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	0
The forest	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	1

7. On what type of street would you like your home?

	A	B	C
a. A local street with local resident traffic only	1	2	2
b. A street with some transit and traffic	3	2	2

8. Do you think it is important to plan the street layout in order to lessen the speed of the traffic?

YES			NO			INDIFFERENT		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
3	4	4	0	0	0	1	0	0

9. How do you wish to go from your home to the following?

	Car/truck	Other vehicles	Walk

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

	Summer / Winter						Summer / Winter						Summer / Winter					
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The stores	1	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	0	1	0
The school	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	1	0
The church	1	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	3	2	1	1	1
The health services	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	2	2	1	1	0
The band council house	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	0	1	0
Recreational facilities	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	0
Other residents	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	1	2	0

10. What type of relationship do you prefer with your neighbours from your home?

	A	B	C
To be able to speak to them from your doorstep	3	1	2
To be able to see them, without necessarily speaking to them	1	2	2
To be slightly isolated from them	1	1	0
To be isolated from them	0	0	0

11. Considering your house, would you see another occupied house?

	YES			NO			INDIFFERENT		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
In front	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
At the Side	3	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
At the Reat	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0

12. What is the type of dwelling unit you would assign to the different households of the band?

	Bachelors			Couples without kids			Family (3)			Family (4-6)			Family (6 and more)		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Single family house	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
2 or 3 housing unit building	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
More than 3 housing unit building	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

13. If the housing type is a single family unit building, what type should it be?

	A	B	C
Detached	3	4	4
Semi-detached (duplex)	1	0	1
Attached	1	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

14. If the housing type is a 2 or 3 housing unit building, what type should it be?

	A	B	C
Detached	3	4	4
Semi-detached (duplex)	0	1	0
Attached	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

15. If the housing type is more than a 3 housing unit building, what type should it be?

	A	B	C
Detached	3	3	2
Semi-detached (duplex)	1	1	0
Attached	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

16. Do you expect some vegetation (grass, shrubs, trees) around your house?

YES			NO		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	4	4	0	0	0

17. Do you want a private yard for your house?

YES			NO		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	4	4	0	0	0

18. If you want a private yard, would you like it fenced?

YES			NO		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	4	4	0	0	0

19. What type of activities do you consider in your yard?

	Family only			With relatives or friends		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Wood-cutting	3	3	2	1	0	1
Eating	1	1	2	2	3	2
Playground	3	2	2	2	2	2
Meeting	1	1	2	2	3	2
Gardening	3	3	3	0	0	1
Camping	2	3	2	2	2	1
Traditional cooking area	3	2	2	1	2	2
Others	1	1	1	1	1	1

20. Would you like to have a common traditional cooking area?

YES			NO		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	4	4	0	0	0

21. Where do you plan to store in the following?

	Outside the Yard			In a Shed			In the House		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C

The wood-cutting equipment	0	0	0	3	4	4	0	0	0
Fire wood	1	1	0	2	3	4	1	0	0
Water tank	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	4	4
Hunting, fishing, and sporting equipment	0	0	0	4	4	3	0	1	1

22. How many gallons of fuel do you store?

	A	B	C
Less than 3	0	0	0
3 to 6	1	0	1
More than 6	1	1	2
None	2	1	1

23. How many of these vehicles do you need to park or store?

	1 per family			2 per family			More than 2 per family		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Car	2	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	1
Truck	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Snowmobile	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
Boat	2	3	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
Canoe	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
Motorcycle	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bicycle	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0
An all season vehicle	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0

24. Where do you want to park them?

	Winter						Summer					
	Inside			Outside			Inside			Outside		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Car	3	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	3
Truck	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	2
Snowmobile	0	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	1
Boat	2	2	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	3	3
Canoe	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	4	4
Motorcycle	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	2
Bicycle	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	2	3
An all season vehicle	1	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	2	3	2

25. Should the parking space for the car or the truck be located

	A	B	C
On your lot?	4	4	4
In a common space?	0	0	0

26. Where should different rooms of your home be?

	A	B	C
On the same floor, at ground level with no basement	0	0	1

On the same floor, higher than ground level with basement	1	1	3
On two levels, at ground level with no basement	0	0	0
On two levels, higher than ground level with basement	3	3	0

27. Do you wish to have, attached to your home

	A	B	C
A balcony in rear?	2	2	1
A balcony in the front?	2	2	2
A terrace?	1	1	0

28. The entrance of the house includes a porch. Considering the climatic conditions, where should the porch be?

	A	B	C
Inside the house	1	1	1
Outside the house	3	3	3

29. Should the entrance be connected

	A	B	C
To the main corridor	0	1	0
To the kitchen	0	0	0
To the living room	0	0	0
To the storage area	0	0	0
To the kitchen and the living room	3	2	3

30. If there is a corridor, should it be opened

	A	B	C
On the living room?	2	1	1
On the kitchen?	0	0	1
On the storage room?	0	0	0
On the kitchen and the living room?	2	3	2

31. the living quarters include the kitchen, the dining room and the living rooms. What is the most important room for you?

	A	B	C
Kitchen	1	2	2
Dining room	1	0	0
Living room	3	2	1

32. What is the least important room for you?

	A	B	C
Kitchen	1	0	0
Dining room	2	3	2
Living room	2	1	1

33. Do you need a small or a large kitchen?

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

	A	B	C
Small	0	0	1
Large	4	4	3

34. What is the relation between the dining room and the kitchen?

	A	B	C
Same space	2	1	3
Divided with a wall	2	3	1

35. What are the activities occurring in the kitchen besides cooking?

	A	B	C
Eating	3	4	4
Meeting relatives and friends	1	2	3
Child playing	0	0	0
Phone calls	3	3	3
Tv watching	1	0	1
Radio listening	2	3	3
Homework	2	3	2
Handicraft	1	2	1
Laundry	0	0	0
Others (specify)	0	0	0

36. In relation to the following, the living room should be

	Connected			Divided		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
The main entrance and corridor	2	2	3	2	2	0
The kitchen	0	0	0	2	3	3
The dining room	1	1	1	2	2	2
The bedrooms	0	0	0	3	3	2

37. What are the activities occurring in the living room?

	A	B	C
Meeting relatives and friends	4	4	4
Tv watching	4	4	4
Radio listening	3	4	3
Child playing	1	2	2
Phone calls	3	4	4
Homework	1	1	2
Handicraft	2	3	3
Others (specify)	0	0	0

38. Would you like to have a wood stove?

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

	Yes			No		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
In the kitchen	0	0	0	2	1	1
In the living room	0	0	0	2	1	1
In the basement	4	4	4	0	0	0
Elsewhere (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0

39. Would you like to have a fire place?

	Yes			No		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
In the kitchen	0	0	0	2	1	1
In the living room	3	4	4	0	0	0
In the basement	1	0	0	1	1	0
Elsewhere (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0

40. What is the maximum number of children per bedroom?

1			2			3			4		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1	1	1	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

41. Where do the children usually play?

	In summer			In winter		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
In their bedroom	1	1	2	2	3	2
In the kitchen	0	0	0	1	0	0
In the living room	1	0	1	2	2	1
In the basement	1	2	2	4	3	2
outside	4	4	3	1	2	2
Elsewhere (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0

42. Where should the storage space be located?

	A	B	C
In the house, on the main floor level	0	0	0
In the basement	2	1	0
In an independent building connected to the house	1	0	1
In an independent building in the yard	2	3	3

43. What are the activities occurring in the basement?

	A	B	C
Storage	3	3	3
Family room	2	1	1
Bedroom(s)	2	2	1

Laundry	3	4	4
Other (specify)	0	0	0

44. Which one of these rooms should have the following?

	Morning sunlight			Afternoon sunlight			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The kitchen	2	3	4	1	0	0	1	1	0
The dining room	0	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	0
The living room	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
The bedroom(s)	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	1	0

45. What view should you have from your kitchen?

	Yes			No			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The street	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
The yard	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
The neighbour's house	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
The lake	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0

46. What view should you have from your living room?

	Yes			No			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The street	3	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
The yard	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
The neighbour's house	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
The lake	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0

47. What view should you have from your bedrooms?

	Yes			No			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The street	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
The yard	2	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1
The neighbour's house	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1
The lake	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	1

48. Where should the houses of the trappers be located?

	A	B	C
At the limits of the village	2	2	2
Concentrated in the village core	0	0	0
Throughout the village	3	2	1

APPENDIX 2
Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

<u>WORKSHOP 2: THE SERVICES</u>

AGE GROUP	CODE	NB WOMEN	NB MEN	TOTAL
15 to 19	A	15	9	24
20 to 49	B	23	22	45
50 and more	C	9	6	15

INDICATOR	LEVEL OF INTEREST, IMPORTANCE OR PREFERENCE
0	Very Weak
1	Weak
2	Moderate
3	Strong
4	Very Strong

1. Where should the Band Council house be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	2	2	2
Anywhere in the village	1	1	1
At the fringe of the village	0	0	0

2. Should the Band Council house be easily identifiable in the community?

Yes			No		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	4	4	0	0	0

3. Among the different facilities in a Community Centre, rank in a priority order which ones are important to you:

	Very Important			Important			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
A meeting hall	3	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
A reception hall	2	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
A conference room	2	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
An auditorium	0	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	1
A video-watching room	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
A library	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0
An exhibition room	0	0	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
A gymnasium	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	1
A swimming pool	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0

4. Where should the Community Centre be located?

	A	B	C

In the village core	2	2	3
Anywhere in the village	1	1	0
At the fringe of the village	0	0	0

5. How long will it take you to walk to the Community Centre?

	A	B	C
Less than 5 minutes	1	0	1
Between 5 and 10 minutes	1	0	1
Not important	1	2	0
I will drive to the Community Centre	0	1	1

6. Should the Elders' Centre be incorporated with the Community Centre?

Yes			No		
A	B	C	A	B	C
1	1	2	3	3	2

7. Should the Youth Centre be incorporated with the Community Centre?

Yes			No		
A	B	C	A	B	C
4	2	3	0	1	1

8. Should the Community Centre be integrated with another building?

	A	B	C
Yes	3	2	2
No	1	2	2
Indifferent	0	0	0

9. If yes, with which other building?

	A	B	C
The Band Council House	0	0	1
The School	1	0	1
The Stores	0	0	1
The Health Centre	0	0	0

10. Should the Community Centre be easily identifiable?

	A	B	C
Yes	2	3	3
No	1	1	1
Indifferent	0	0	0

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

11. Where do you think the School should be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	2	1	2
Anywhere in the village	2	1	0
At the fringe of the village	0	1	2

12. What should be the walking distance to the School?

	A	B	C
Less than 5 minutes	0	1	1
Between 5 and 10 minutes	1	1	2
Not important	2	2	1

13. Should the School contain (other than the educational equipment)

	A	B	C
A community room?	1	1	3
A computer room?	4	4	4
A gymnasium?	4	4	4
An auditorium?	2	4	3
A cafeteria?	4	3	3
A First Aid room?	3	4	4
A daycare centre?	2	2	3
An indoor swimming pool?	3	4	4
A workshop to promote culture Cree?	1	1	2
A library?	1	1	1

14. Should the Adult Education Centre be incorporated with the school?

	A	B	C
Yes	2	3	3
No	1	1	1
Indifferent	0	0	0

15. Should the Adult Education Centre contain (other than the educational equipment)

	A	B	C
A library?	4	4	4
A computer room?	4	4	4
A community room?	1	2	3

16. Where should the student housing be located?

	A	B	C
Incorporated with the school	1	0	1
Anywhere in the village	1	1	2

Concentrated in a specific area of the village	1	1	1
Close to the recreational facilities	0	1	2

17. Where should the teacher's housing units be located?

	A	B	C
Incorporated with the school	1	0	1
Anywhere in the village	1	1	2
Concentrated in a specific area of the village	1	3	2

18. Should the school be easily identifiable in the community?

	A	B	C
Yes	4	4	4
No	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

19. What are the services you expect to see in the Health Centre?

	A	B	C
An infirmary	3	4	4
A doctor's office	4	4	4
A dentist's office	4	4	4
A social worker's room	3	3	4
An emergency room	4	4	4
An optometrist's office	3	4	4

20. Where should the Health Centre be located?

	A	B	C
Incorporated with the school	2	2	2
Anywhere in the village	1	1	0
Concentrated in a specific area of the village	1	1	1

21. Should the Health Centre be integrated in another building?

	A	B	C
Yes	1	0	2
No	2	4	2
Indifferent	0	0	0

22. If yes, with which other building?

	A	B	C
The Band Council House	0	0	0

The School	0	0	0
The Community Centre	0	0	0
The Stores	0	0	0
The Police and Fire Station	0	0	0

23. Should the Health Centre be easily identifiable in the community?

	A	B	C
Yes	4	4	4
No	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

24. Should the medical staff's housing units

	A	B	C
Be incorporated to the Health Centre?	1	1	2
Be situated anywhere in the village?	2	1	0
Be concentrated in a specific area of the village?	1	1	2

25. Where should the Police Station and Fire Hall be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	1	1	2
Anywhere in the village	2	1	0
At the fringe of the village	1	1	2

26. Should the Police and the Fire Station be integrated to another building?

	A	B	C
Yes	2	0	1
No	2	4	3
Indifferent	0	0	0

27. If yes, with which other building?

	A	B	C
The Community Centre	0	0	1
Health Centre	0	0	0
Others (specify)	0	0	0

28. Should the Police and Fire Station be easily identifiable in the community?

	A	B	C
Yes	3	4	4
No	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0

29. Where do you think the Church should be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	1	1	3
Anywhere in the village	3	2	0
At the fringe of the village	0	0	0

30. How long will it take you to walk to your Church?

	A	B	C
Less than 5 minutes	1	1	2
Between 5 and 10 minutes	0	0	1
Not important	2	2	0
I will drive to Church	0	0	0

31. Should different religions share the same church?

	A	B	C
Yes	1	1	1
No	3	2	3
Indifferent	0	1	0

32. Should the Church be incorporated to another building?

	A	B	C
Yes	0	0	0
No	4	4	4
Indifferent	0	0	0

33. If yes, to which building?

	A	B	C
The Community Centre	0	0	0
The School	0	0	0
The Band Council House	0	0	0

34. Where should the cemetery be located?

	A	B	C
Beside the Church	0	0	1
At the fringe of the village	3	2	2
Other (specify)	0	0	0

35. Where should the retail services be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	2	2	2

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

At the fringe of the village	0	0	1
Spread throughout the village	1	2	0

36. Should the commercial services be located

	A	B	C
In one building?	3	3	2
In many buildings?	1	1	1

37. Among the different commercial service, rank in a priority order which ones are important to you.

	Very Important			Important			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Bank/Post Office	4	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Depanneur	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0
Grocery Store	4	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
Handcraft	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	0
Bookstore	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	1
Hotel/Motel	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Gas Station	4	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
Restaurant	2	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0
Industrial Shop	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
Camp Ground	1	1	3	2	1	0	1	1	0
Other (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

38. What should be the walking distance to the service?

	- 5 minutes			5 – 10 minutes		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Bank/Post Office	2	2	2	2	2	2
Depanneur	2	1	2	2	2	2
Grocery Store	2	2	2	2	2	1
Handcraft	1	1	2	2	3	2
Bookstore	1	1	0	3	3	3
Hotel/Motel	1	1	0	3	3	3
Gas Station	2	1	1	2	2	2
Restaurant	2	2	2	2	2	1
Industrial Shop	1	0	1	3	3	2
Camp Ground	1	0	0	3	3	3
Other (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0

39. What commercial services could be incorporated in the same building?

	A	B	C
Bank/Post Office	1	3	3
Depanneur	1	1	2

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

Grocery Store	1	2	2
Handcraft	1	2	2
Bookstore	1	2	2
Hotel/Motel	1	0	1
Gas Station	2	2	1
Restaurant	2	3	4
Industrial Shop	0	0	1
Other (specify)	0	0	0

40. What building should be first seen when entering the village?

	A	B	C
The Band Council House	3	3	2
The Community Centre	1	0	0
The Church	0	1	2
The School	0	0	1
The Health Centre	0	0	0
Gas Station	0	0	0

41. Among the following buildings, rank in priority order which ones are important to you.

	Very Important			Important			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
The Band Council House	4	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Centre	2	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0
Church	2	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	0
School	2	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Health Centre	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

42. Among the different recreational activities, rank in priority order which ones are important for you.

	Very Important			Important			Not important		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Children playground (0-5 yrs old)	1	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0
Children playground (5-10 yrs old)	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	0	0
Indoor ice rink	3	2	3	1	2	3	0	0	0
Outdoor ice rink	1	1	2	3	2	3	0	0	0
Baseball field	3	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	0
Basketball field	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	0
Volleyball court	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	0	0
Football-soccer field	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	0
Biking and hiking trails	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	0
Picnic area	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	0	0
gymnasium	3	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
Indoor swimming pool	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Others (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

43. Where should the recreational facilities be located?

APPENDIX 2
Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

	In the village core			Near the lake			Beside the school		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Children playground (0-5 yrs old)	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	2	2
Children playground (5-10 yrs old)	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	3	2
Indoor ice rink	2	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	2
Outdoor ice rink	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2
Baseball field	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Basketball field	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	2	3
Volleyball court	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	2
Football-soccer field	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Biking and hiking trails	0	0	1	3	2	2	0	0	1
Picnic area	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	0
gymnasium	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
Indoor swimming pool	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2
Others (specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

44. Should the indoor ice rink be close to

	A	B	C
The school	3	2	2
The Community Centre	1	2	1
Other (specify)	0	0	0

45. Should the gymnasium be close to

	A	B	C
The school	4	3	3
The Community Centre	0	1	0
Other (specify)	0	0	0

46. Should the indoor swimming pool be close to

	A	B	C
The school	3	3	3
The Community Centre	1	1	0
Other (specify)	0	0	0

47. Should the indoor rink, the gymnasium and the swimming pool be incorporated in the same building?

Yes			No			Indifferent		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
3	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0

Ouje-Bougoumou Questionnaire Responses

48. Do you need a specific outdoor meeting place?

Yes			No			Indifferent		
A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

49. If yes, where should it be located?

	A	B	C
In the village core	0	0	1
Near the lake	1	1	1
Near the Community Centre	0	0	0
Near the Band Council House	0	0	0
Near the school	0	0	0
Anywhere in the village	0	0	0

50. Do you intend to store your boat or canoe in winter?

	A	B	C
In one common warehouse by the lake	1	2	1
In your own storage room at home	3	2	2

51. Do you need docking facilities on the lake front?

	A	B	C
Yes	3	4	4
No	0	0	0
Indifferent	0	0	0