

Crown land would exceed supply for the next twenty years, and that two of the three big mills would encounter pulpwood supply problems as well.

To summarize, logging on the peninsula is operating at historically high levels, for more purposes, and with more sophisticated machinery. Employment in the woods industry is higher than it was twenty years ago, but not as widespread as fifty years ago. Forestry has determined that the peninsula is at the limits of its production and forecasts a leaner time coming. Within this historical context we may now examine residents' criticism of current practices.

The Residents' Complaints

In 1990, 1992, 1994, and 1996 the senior author conducted scores of KAP (knowledge, attitudes, and practices) interviews with residents in five communities on the peninsula. The interview sample was a cross-section by age, occupation, socioeconomic standing, and gender. It included experienced forest users, both commercial and domestic, as well as the inexperienced. Three of the five communities represented in this study were begun by international pulp and paper corporations (henceforth, "the company") and a fourth was a company depot for a time. But all were populated mostly by immigrants from nearby fishing communities and two have since shifted economic emphasis or diversified, so none are still company towns nor do they manifest a distinct loggers' culture.

Those interviewed made unprompted remarks about the forest in conversation, but each was also asked:

- What is the condition of the forest these days?
- What do you see when you go into the country? What do you do there?
- What is the future of the woods around here?
- How is Forestry doing?

Formal EFR (ethnographic futures research) interviews were also conducted in 1990 and 1996 with eighteen leaders in the five communities, prompting them for worst-case, best-case, and most-likely-case scenarios for their community five years hence. The future of the forest and its associated industries was volunteered or elicited in most interviews.

The opinions of our respondents sort fairly clearly into two views of the condition of the northern forest: the residents not affiliated with the woods industry fear a crisis, and those who are in the industry hope for a perpetuation if not an increase in current extraction.

The two predominant concerns among residents holding the first, more widespread view, were that too much timber was being removed annually ("overcutting") and that clearcutting was an unsatisfactory method of removal. The evidence which residents offered for the existence of an overcut included (1) Forestry documents themselves, stating that overcuts were done and warning of a coming shortfall in sawlogs; (2) oral reports from foresters at public meetings; (3) oral reports from loggers and