

**Learning together, living together:
Deliberative spaces in the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve region**

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)
- Community-University Research Alliances (CURA)

2005 Proposal – A.R. Dobell et al.

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Why Clayoquot Sound? Why deliberative spaces? The Clayoquot and Barkley Sound region on the West Coast of Vancouver Island is a remarkable place. It lies in the traditional territory of the Nuu-chah-nulth people, who make up half the population settled in the region. The area forms an ecological ‘edge’, the unusually productive zone of interaction between different ecosystems; culturally it forms a borderland where differing beliefs and traditions ‘edge’ against each other.

It is also the site of one of the largest outbreaks of civil disobedience in Canadian history, a place of continuing dispute over resource management, land tenures, rights of access to adjacent resources and traditions of governance. Widely differing belief systems lead to wildly different perceptions of facts of history, current social risks and even the nature of the place. Nevertheless, a commitment to the region as home is shared by residents, non-aboriginal as well as Nuu-chah-nulth.

There are few places in the world with greater experience of the challenges encountered by remote coastal communities coping with the strains of social transformation arising out a changing world economy and global society, few places where the growing wealth of academic research and literature on the nature of that transformation can be more effectively tested by the realities of that experience and challenged by the perceptions of the people. There are few places where the relevance of that basic research in the social science and humanities is likely to be greater, or an interactive interdisciplinary effort to mobilize that academic work put to better use in building human and community capacity to cope with accelerating change in a resilient and respectful manner.

Through collaborative community-university research linkages and interaction, the program of work proposed in this application will sharpen academic research on an active topic. It will build a base of knowledge on which individuals and groups in the community can draw to improve decision-making, seek coherent, resilient responses to continuing pressures for change, and build as a legacy a greater capacity to develop and manage inclusive deliberative processes and decision-making.

This research will address the potential for cooperative work within new deliberative spaces to:

- **Strengthen the formation of collective decisions** through more comprehensive regional information systems and more vivid capacities for visualization and animation;
- **Develop deliberation support systems** deploying scenario generation tools and participatory geographical information systems in representation of social choices;
- **Meet the challenge of implementation**—realizing the intent of agreed measures through general governing instruments and institutional innovation;
- **Promote effective ongoing management and positive personal decisions on compliance** in delivery of services, programs and agreed measures, especially in a self-government context.

But the questions that are not asked on the ground, and have not yet been brought together in academic work, have to do with the origins, roles and influence of: (1) stories, narratives and visual imagery; (2) concepts of Self and Other, and associated concepts of property and rights to exclude others from access; and (3) differing approaches to the distinctions (or absence of distinctions) between fact and value, or the nature of evidence and the authority of science, in shaping the positions of participants, and the dynamics of interaction, throughout all these community processes.

What will we do? *We will study together* how all these empirical, procedural, philosophical and cultural factors may contribute to the possibility that people learning together can develop ways through a climate of conflict to an outcome of cooperation in which diverse communities can live together sustainably, with respect. It is in the co-production of appreciation and understanding in this sphere, in the grounded setting of a complex community, that this project will be unique.

In academic work, these questions take us beyond the ‘argumentative turn’ in public policy and into the full ‘cultural turn’ in the understanding of deliberation and discourse in public life generally.

Huuhtašiihsčimmin hišink^wasin

K^wik^wiisacak ?iihcamis?i hił ʒaaʒaasʒathiiic nisma CBT ʒukłaa

?Aqinqha hił ʒaaʒaasʒathiiic nisma? ?Aqinqha k^wik^wiisacak ?iihcamis?i? ?Uuʒuuqukcima ʒaaʒaasʒathiiic nisma. Hiʒiisma ʒah nismeʒi hiłcuu haahuułaak Nuučaañuʒath yaqʒiitqʒat ʒaphtaak hišuk q^wiq^waaʒath. Hišinkšiiitʒaala hił k^wik^wiishi hihiqštup huštuup, ʒaqapt, saštup, maamaati. Haʒumnitʒaala hił, hišinkšiił taakšiił maatmaas k^wik^wiistaqšiił.

Hiłka ʒahkuu wikiit ʒaaqaak ʒahkuu ʒahñii mamañii. ?Umačuk wikʒaah čaačimhičiił čawaakšiiʒał hiñaqsti yaq^wacuusi nismeʒi, yaq^wacuusi haʒumštup, yaqʒaaqłii ʒuwii ʒapatšiił. ?Ataweʒištʒat yaaʒakuk hiłqin ʒah hišuk hiʒathʒi ʒahkuu, quq^waaš ʒuq^waa mamañii.

Kañeeʒisqačʒa q^waa ʒah nisma ʒunuuł ʒani ñaacsaaqin q^waa k^wik^wiishičiiʒał hihitup q^waamitʒitq huuʒak ʒuyi. ?Uusaħimin ħamaʒap q^waawuusi ʒuušʒakšiił q^waaʒałukʒitq qicyuuʒapał ʒahñiiʒi ñañañičʒak. ?Ayaama ñañañičʒak qicaat ʒumitaqa niiwa.

?Ušimmin hišinkšiiłqun mamuuksčim yaqʒiitq histaqšiił sayaačiniłʒi qicuwił ʒuhʒišt yaqʒiitq hiiʒathseʒi hił maatmaasʒi ʒuq^waa. Q^waamaa ʒah čaačimhiʒap q^weeʒitq ñaačuk q^waaʒahi ñañačmas ʒapsčiił. ?Ucačiiłʒaaqłni hiłʒaaqłqin hišimʒuuł ʒiʒaqħmisuk ʒapatʒaqłniñiñ ʒapatsuqłniñiñ ʒuʒaatup čaačimhiʒapat čawaakšiiʒałat hiñaqsti yaqqin hiʒath ʒah.

?Uciʒukšiiʒałni čaačimhiʒap hišinkšiił čuštiił k^wik^wiisacak ?iihcamis?i:

- naʒaataħstʒaʒaaqłni ʒuhʒišt ciciqatačʒaʒaaqłni ʒuʒaatup našuksap ʒuuk^wił ʒapatʒuʒi;
- ʒusiikʒaaqłni q^weeʒitq hupiičiił ʒaʒaapata, q^weeʒitq mačinuʒat hił ʒuksnaʒaʒat ʒiʒaqħmisukʒi nisma;
- ʒiihʒaaqł našukcimʒat q^wiisʒapat ħamaʒapat yaqʒiitq wawaack^wat ʒuhʒat hiʒathniñiñʒi hił ʒah q^wiʒathqin, ʒuq^waaʒaaqłni čuuštup q^wq^waʒakukqin ʒuʒaatatquu;
- hišiiksapat ʒapsčiiłʒiʒat q^wiciʒukqin ʒayacnaʒaʒat ʒuʒuuktisšiiʒat ʒuʒuuk^waqħšiiʒatquu.

Wikʒuuʒatʒi yaquusi ʒaʒaatuʒat hił ʒaaʒaasʒi ʒuq^waa yeel sayaačinił qicuwił ʒumačuk yaq^wiimit, ʒumačuk ʒiʒaqħmis, ʒumačuk yaq^wiisack^wiʒitq himwiičaqʒak ʒuuk^wił yaʒapʒitq: (1) ʒiʒaqħmis, himwiičaqʒak, pikčas; (2) q^weeʒiitq ñaacsaa ʒuk^waath ʒuhʒišt k^wik^wisath, wawaatʒitq yaq^wacuusi haahuułi; ʒuhʒišt (3) ʒuušmaa ʒaqumsma waa ñaačñaacat, ʒuušmaa ʒaqumsma waa ñaacsaqħʒałat ʒani ʒanaqħqa.

?Aqisʒaaqłħin? Hišinkʒaaqłni ñaacsaa k^wik^wiistup yaqmačuk^witqin hiniipšiiłqun q^waaqħʒaaqłni hišimł hupiičstʒaʒ ʒiisaakstʒaʒ ʒatimtqun ʒuuštiiya wikat čawaakat hiñaqsti. Yaaq^wapiseʒitq ʒuł ʒahkuu mamims ʒunuuł ʒani ʒuk^wiini ʒinisʒaah naaʒaactʒatqun ʒiisaakstʒatqun hišuk yaqʒiitqʒat hiʒathniñiñ k^wik^wiistaqšiił.

Naʒaataħʒič siiwa naananaʒa wawaaqin: hiišñakuuħšiiʒič wik ʒaapħtiñakuuħ. Hiišayiimin q^waamiħsaqin ʒahkuu ʒumačuk ciqʒakukqin.

Pourquoi la Clayoquot Sound? Pourquoi des espaces délibératifs ? La région des baies Clayoquot et Barkley, sur la côte ouest de l'île de Vancouver, est remarquable. Elle gît dans le territoire ancestral des Nuu-chah-nulth, qui composent la moitié de la population de la région. C'est une *scène* écologique exceptionnelle, où plusieurs écosystèmes différents interagissent intensément. Culturellement, ce lieu est une frontière entre différentes croyances et traditions, entrant aussi en scène les unes contre les autres.

C'est l'un des principaux lieux de désobéissance civile de l'histoire du Canada, un endroit de conflits continuels sur l'accès aux ressources et leur utilisation, sur l'occupation du territoire et sur les traditions de gouvernance. Le large fossé séparant les systèmes de croyance conduit à différentes perceptions des faits historiques, des risques sociaux et de la nature même du lieu. Toutefois, un engagement envers la région est partagé par les résidents, tant Nuu-chah-nulth que non-aborigènes.

Peu d'endroits au monde ont davantage l'expérience des défis auxquels les communautés de zones côtières éloignées font face, devant gérer de manière isolée les séquelles des transformations sociales liées à l'économie mondiale et à la globalisation. Peu d'endroits offrent un meilleur terrain pour tester la large recherche académique et littéraire sur la nature de ce type de transformations, et pour les confronter à l'expérience et à la perception de ses habitants. Peu de lieux ont davantage de pertinence pour ce type de recherche empirique en sciences humaines, et permettent à des ressources académiques interactives et multidisciplinaires d'être mieux utilisées pour la construction durable et respectueuse d'un capital humain et communautaire, qui permettra de faire face aux changements accélérés.

À travers des collaborations communautaires-universitaires établissant des interactions et liens de recherche, ce programme développera le savoir académique dans ces domaines. Il créera une source de connaissances à laquelle individus et communautés pourront puiser pour améliorer la prise de décision, rechercher des réponses cohérentes et durables aux pressions de changement, et construire une plus grande capacité à développer et gérer de manière inclusive les processus délibératifs et décisionnels.

Cette recherche étudiera le potentiel de coopération dans de nouveaux espaces délibératifs pour :

- **solidifier la prise de décision collective** à travers des systèmes d'information régionaux plus complets et à travers des capacités de visualisation et d'animation plus dynamiques;
- **développer un système d'aide à la délibération** déployant des outils de génération de scénarios et des systèmes d'information géographiques pour la représentation des choix sociaux;
- **faire face au défi de la mise en pratique** – en opérationnalisant les intentions des mesures convenues par des instruments de gouvernance et des innovations institutionnelles;
- **promouvoir la gestion active, continue et la décision individuelle de se conformer** dans les services, programmes et mesures développés, surtout en contexte de gouvernance autonome.

De plus, des questions ne sont pas posées sur le terrain et n'ont pas encore été prises en compte dans leur ensemble dans la recherche académique. Elles ont trait aux origines, rôles et influences : (1) des contes, narrations et imagerie visuelle; (2) du concept de Soi et d'Autrui, et à ceux de la propriété et du droit d'exclusion; et (3) des approches quant à la distinction (ou absence de distinction) entre les faits et les valeurs, et à la nature des évidences et à l'autorité de la science dans la formation des positions et dans la dynamique des interactions communautaires.

Qu'allons-nous faire? *Nous allons étudier ensemble* comment ces éléments empiriques, procéduraux, philosophiques et culturels peuvent contribuer à un apprentissage commun en climat de conflit, pour aboutir à un stade de coopération où différentes communautés vivent ensemble, de manière durable et dans un respect mutuel. C'est dans la co-production d'une appréciation et d'une compréhension mutuelle, encrée dans le contexte d'une communauté complexe, que ce projet est unique.

Ces questions nous mènent au-delà de la « représentation argumentaire » des politiques publiques, dans une « représentation culturelle » des délibérations et du discours de la vie publique en général.

Learning together, Living together

Deliberative spaces in the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve region

Huuhtašiihščimmin hišink^wasin

K^wik^wiisacak ʔiihcamisʔi hiʔ ʔaaʔaasʔathliic nishna Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve ʔukʔaa

Apprendre ensemble, Vivre ensemble

Les espaces de délibération dans la région de la Réserve de la Biosphère de Clayoquot Sound

2. Detailed Description

Background

Communities in the Clayoquot Sound and Barkley Sound regions (here referred to as the Clayoquot Biosphere Reserve Region, or CBRR) have faced many fundamental challenges in recent years. These flow in part from the fundamental restructuring through which the global economy and global governance mechanisms have moved and continue to move. External pressures on coastal communities have increased, and constraints on resource harvesting and land use have increased also, calling into question traditional economic livelihoods. Decisions within the region have to be taken within a context of multi-scale, cross-jurisdictional structures attempting to grapple with accelerating change, increasing uncertainty and a growing multiplicity of perspectives being brought to bear in social processes.

Specifically the challenges of economic and social transformation have taken the form of constraints and job loss in conventional industrial forestry and industrial fishing, threats to shellfish as well as finfish stocks, and growing concern about the sustainability of practices in many of the economic activities (such as ecotourism) that might replace these traditional sources of income and livelihood.

New challenges to earlier modes of governance and decision-making are emerging as the negotiation of modern treaties and settlement of land questions create new facts on the ground for all communities in the region, who will have to find new ways of thinking together as well as new ways of working together to meet new responsibilities and service needs within new social settings and frameworks.

Interesting and innovative institutions have emerged in the region in response to these challenges. These establish a variety of multi-party processes for discussion and decision around shared or neighbouring resources. Such interactive, inclusive, deliberative, participatory, or discursive processes are of great interest in academic research into questions of governance in complex systems. But their greater importance stems from their impact on the people in the region who may be deeply marked by the decisions and restrictions that flow from them. If individuals and groups in the region are to cope effectively with change and exercise influence in decisions that concern them, the capacity of community members to participate in these cross-scale processes must be strengthened, and so must the capacity to implement commitments made and manage the resulting responsibilities. Local control and self-government in an interdependent world require new skills and understanding for the purpose.

Previous CURA grant—evaluation

The Clayoquot Alliance for Research, Education and Training, supported under a previous CURA grant, explored a number of issues associated with these new circumstances in the CBRR, and established crucial working relationships in a variety of projects. Over two years, a protocol on Standards of Conduct for Research was negotiated with a working group of community members from both First Nations and the non-aboriginal community. It has since been endorsed by the Nuuchahnulth Central Region Chiefs (CRC) and adopted by the Clayoquot Biosphere Trust (CBT) as governing work under its rubric. Indeed the success in achieving agreement on that protocol as a living document was instrumental in the decision of the CRC to join as a partner in this present application.

Under the previous CURA grant, work was also initiated on the development of a Regional Information System, on the promotion of broadband internet access, renewal of a program of annual community symposia and support of individual student research dealing with eelgrass and whale movements. Formation of the Central Region Language Society as a continuing non-profit society was initiated and supported, as was creation of a language CD illustrating Nuu-chah-nulth vocabulary, representing the first tangible product of the Society. (The preparation in Nuu-chah-nulth of the summary for this application was in itself a consciousness-raising community event, and may represent an unprecedented use of a written West Coast aboriginal language in a formal academic submission.) The participation of Professor Henry Kimmler of Frankfurt University as a collaborator in this application will, with luck, lead to arrangements for a full partnership which will see him, his colleagues and his students working in the region to pursue language instruction and immersion programs in detail.

Maintenance of a range of education and training activities in the community through the Clayoquot Biosphere Trust following the resignation of its first Executive Director in the first year of its operation (and the first year of our CURA project) became a crucial, though unexpected, responsibility, largely met through the work of coop students in the region.

Appended as page 8 of this detailed proposal is Table 1, setting out the outlines of a proposed framework for ongoing evaluation of the work proposed in the present application, but here used also as a condensed, illustrative evaluation of selected activities supported under the past CURA project. An expanded version of this framework will be used in the final report on the past work of the Clayoquot Alliance and will provide the foundation for periodic review and interim evaluation of work in the proposed future alliance.

As will be seen from Table 1, these selected illustrative projects were successful in achieving substantial leveraged funding, have left a legacy of ongoing activity, have demonstrated the extent of community acceptance and support by becoming part of the continuing responsibilities of organizations in the community, and have resulted in tangible products, both academic and community-related. Assessed against the declared SSHRC goals for its CURA program, the foundation built by the Clayoquot Alliance, our prior research alliance in the region, provides a solid basis for this new application. Indeed, as is emphasized elsewhere in this application, the relationships established, the expectations built, and the very promising initiatives now in mid-stream or early stages put great weight on a continuity of commitment in the academic linkages volunteered through the earlier alliance. To stop short here, after three years of investment in building the relationships on which it is now possible—and expected in the community—to move forward would be a highly unfortunate decision.

It should be noted that the illustrative appraisal set out in Table 1 is possible only because the Clayoquot Alliance (through the efforts of graduate student, subsequently project coordinator, Sean LeRoy) has developed a superb management capability resting on a comprehensive project matrix that captures the program/activity structure for the full initiative, with details of the status of all individual projects, a cross-over costing structure linking resource inputs to activities and results, and a tracking structure that links to an indicator system that will include, but go beyond, that illustrated in Table 8. We consider this structure, with contents accessible to all team members and advisors along with minutes and records of decision, unprecedented in the management of academic teams or networks. It will provide the basis for an annual review by the Steering Committee described in the governance portion of the section on partnerships and alliances and for a formal 3rd year interim review with a report to SSHRC.

A new emphasis: deliberative spaces

Although our prior CURA initiative ranged over a wide array of small projects, it also built some of the basic relationships and understanding that now permit a more focused attack on a particular set of questions identified by community meetings as priority concerns. These relate to multi-party interactive processes within which community decisions on land and resource use may be developed, and, as one specific research question, to features of these processes that build legitimacy and promote compliance.

Such decisions are taken at many scales or levels, from agreements on jurisdiction or property rights (or modern treaties themselves) to decisions on land use planning and coastal resource management at various scales, to site level planning dealing with the management of issues between neighbouring communities. There are many institutions in place to deal with some of these questions; they should be reviewed and assessed. Where appropriate, academic research can provide a foundation of information and evidence, and analytical capacity to work effectively with that evidence, on which their functioning could be improved. By studying, through participatory action research and comparative case studies based in part on participant observation, how these innovations work, how they might be improved, and how capacity to participate in them can be strengthened, both academics and community members will enrich their understanding of ecosystem-based management and sustainable resource use. More important, the capacity of community members to participate in these processes effectively along with experts from outside organizations or officials of governments at various levels can be strengthened so that the voice of local communities is influential in decisions that affect them, sometimes profoundly.

To address these questions, the program of work envisaged by this application for CURA funding will be organized under five major themes, with a variety of individual community-based projects encompassed within each. The five major themes are:

- BUILDING A FOUNDATION OF EVIDENCE (“Where are we? What is changing?”)
- ASSESSING OPTIONS (“Where might we go?, What should we do?”)
- MOVING AGREEMENT TOWARD ACTION (“How do we now move forward? What rules or institutions must change?”)
- ENHANCING CONTINUING CAPACITY (“How can we ensure ongoing capacity and continuing commitment to the intent of agreements?”)

and, underlying each of the previous four, a cross-cutting theme at the heart also of much current academic research,

- UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF CULTURES AND IDENTITIES (“Who are we? How does it matter?”)

As will be evident, these research themes are of the greatest importance in terms of practical relevance. The results from this research may provide information and insight, perhaps an institutional lead, to support future work in British Columbia in land and resource use planning on the Central and North Coasts or in Haida Gwaii as well as for Vancouver Island as an ecosystem in itself. The academic significance is also great—the research will draw together themes in contemporary academic work on, among other topics, cross-scale governance challenges within complex dynamic systems characterized by profound uncertainty and limited controllability, on governance principles, reporting systems, institutional approaches and corporate initiatives in pursuit of sustainability, on participatory integrated assessment and related approaches to inclusive deliberative processes, and on the challenges of management in small indigenous communities in a self-government context following the negotiation of modern treaties. The opportunity for students to work in an interdisciplinary setting with young faculty members enthusiastic about the potential for community-based research in this area is of academic importance in itself, significant both for this University’s mission and in illustrating the potential in the current SSHRC efforts at institutional transformation.

Workplan: Research themes and questions

In this application we have created a research plan designed to achieve the best possible program within the severe SSHRC budget limits for the CURA competition. But in this area, where the need is almost unlimited, the capacity to develop leveraged resources is also great (as shown already by Table 1); we are optimistic that over the course of the funding period sufficient additional corporate and government support can be achieved to entrench many of the more ambitious activities as ongoing undertakings.

1. BUILDING A FOUNDATION OF EVIDENCE

The objective is to build a stronger foundation of evidence, and use that evidence more effectively in representing the situation or circumstances of the community. The work to be supported will span the development of regional information systems and the building of narrative and measurement systems to track change and provide a basis for assessment of the positive and negative social, economic and environmental impacts of recent change. Research questions to be addressed include:

- Can we use a place-based focus effectively to demonstrate possibilities for knowledge management and integration, particularly with respect to ecosystem-based management?
- What is the contribution of new information and communications technologies (including computer-based atlases as well as visualization techniques within deliberative spaces) to building knowledge and understanding at regional scale?
- Are the results noted in academic writing on ‘boundary objects’ confirmed in such local efforts to build information and visualization systems through mutual efforts spanning the many communities of interest in the region?
- Can work at the several centres at UVIC (particularly the Canadian Institute for Climate Studies) engaged in modeling of climate change and global warming integrate academic work on regional impacts of climate change with traditional and local ecological knowledge in order to address emerging concerns in the region about hydrological cycles and threats to groundwater supplies and quality?

Particular projects planned include work on the development of indicators of community health as well as general community profiles, taking advantage of access to Statistics Canada templates for the purpose and recent census data, BCStats work also on community profiles, and the example of the Newfoundland Statistics Agency development of social audit and social reporting capabilities. In addition, work with the Community-University Connections project of Kelly Bannister at UVIC’s POLIS project will be directed toward the building of a more general “Knowledge Shop”, on the model of the Dutch science shops (the model that led the original CRIC report to propose what became the CURA program), that would offer people in the community access not just to information, but to contacts with academic resources relevant to their individual concerns.

2. ASSESSING OPTIONS

The objective under this theme is to improve the capacity to design and assess options open to the community in responding to needs or concerns revealed by review of evidence as to the current situation. Work will include current techniques for participatory integrated assessment, including participatory GIS (sometimes referred to as ‘empowerment GIS’) or computer-support systems for multi-party cooperative work, in comparison with methods of scenario building and analysis, backcasting and other approaches presently under development. Research questions will include:

- How do such inclusive participatory techniques contribute to building local capacity to engage effectively in decision-making processes? Can they help with the ongoing demands of adaptive management decisions in complex ecosystems?

- Can such academic support, in the context of specific concrete examples (e.g., Ucluelet Harbour Project, Tofino Mudlats) complement local efforts to build systems that effectively integrate different perspectives, values and preferences with existing data?
- What are the conditions necessary for, or barriers to, improving decision-making capacity?
- What features in these processes, including synthesis of many ways of knowing, promote a social acceptance of procedures as fair and legitimate, even in the face of adverse outcomes?

Specific cases discussed as possible applications of these techniques include development of Official Community Plans in the region, including South Long Beach; business planning for Tofino Airport, in association with Ucluelet, Tofino and the Regional District; assessment of tourism carrying capacity in the region; and as a support to international workshops among biosphere reserves exploring global conservation initiatives and possible cross-boundary networks of marine reserves.

3. MOVING AGREEMENT TOWARD ACTION

The objective within this theme is to examine alternative institutions and structures that can capture and communicate the intent of agreements and plans, and move these toward realization. The concepts to be explored include the selection of governing instruments or determination of strategic approaches to implementation of agreements and plans, with an emphasis on criteria determining commitment within networks of support and acceptance of the legitimacy of decision outcomes or action selected. Particular attention will be directed toward the influence of differing concepts of rights and property, as well as procedural requirements and approaches to promoting compliance. Research questions will include, among many others:

- What does the experience to date with new institutional arrangements in the Clayoquot Sound region teach about the possibilities of resolving problems of intergovernmental devolution and power-sharing sufficiently to permit effective integrated ecosystem-based management at the local level on a day-to-day basis?
- How do we develop the capacity to translate agreed general policies into ongoing operational guidelines in a manner that sufficiently accommodates particular local circumstances, traditions and values?
- What can academic work on the rule of law and differing concepts of property contribute to resolution of outstanding continuing questions of local community rights of access to adjacent resources? What can be said about competing claims?

A number of protocols and agreements in the region could provide a basis for studying the dynamics of implementation processes to identify forces promoting or inhibiting successful implementation. Such study might include the path-breaking principles enunciated by the well-known Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forestry in Clayoquot Sound; the work of the Central Region Board; the consequences (positive and negative) of the 1993 Cabinet Land-Use Decision and more current agreements.

4. ENHANCING CONTINUING CAPACITY

The objective is to enhance personal and local organizational capacity for maintaining ongoing commitment, management and action that realizes the intent of agreed policies in the face of the diversity of conflicting pressures and incentives encountered in the particular circumstances of local communities and events. Concepts to be explored include the practical attributes of successful co-management processes in ongoing implementation, as well as governance models in a post-treaty settlement society, cooperative service delivery, cross-cultural and cross-jurisdictional understanding and coordination. Research questions will include:

- How can communities design cooperative processes for effective delivery of service in cross-cultural and cross-jurisdictional settings? Can knowledge of cultural background and traditions be effectively taken into account in such design efforts? More particularly, how can public services be delivered effectively in a culturally-appropriate way that recognizes the demographic and practical realities of small, remote coastal communities?
- Can academic work on civil society and social capital assist in promoting voluntary community participation in extended decision-making processes, and in particular in supporting aboriginal communities in developing capacity to engage in the increasing numbers of demanding consultation processes in which they must be involved? How can the problems of limited capacity and consultation fatigue realistically be countered?

A specific application at this level of concern with management responsibilities envisages the possibilities of the Ucluelet and Toquaht First Nations working with the District of Ucluelet and the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District (Area C) on mechanisms for cooperative planning and services. These two First Nations, pursuing treaty negotiations as part of the Maa-Nulth group on an accelerated timetable, may face the need to build new mechanisms for delivery of social services soon, and support from academic researchers and students can help in this task.

5. UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF CULTURES AND IDENTITIES

The objective within this theme is to build greater understanding of the role and influence of concepts of culture and identity within inclusive deliberative processes and multi-party decision-making. Work will include exploration of what lies beneath the positioning and interaction of participants, and the emergence of cooperation in all these processes; what measures might strengthen capacity to defend identity, perspectives and preferences in community discussions and decision processes; what measures might promote emergence of common perspectives characterizing the region in its participation in larger-scale processes. In particular it will include work on language revitalization to strengthen culture and identity. Research questions will include:

- What is the role of stories, narrative and imagery in understanding and reporting on community circumstances, within community processes? How can stories and measurement most effectively interact to build knowledge and understanding of community challenges? Initiatives within Natural Resources Canada to build computer-supported deliberative spaces attempt to combine stories with measurement and visualization; can these capacities contribute to more effective participatory development of community visions and plans? Can they be entrenched within the community as a legacy to empower local residents?
- Can understandings of the deep origins of a sense of identity, of self, of the characteristics of 'otherness', assist in the development of social processes and institutions that are accepted as legitimate and stable, or in emergence of norms and values that can contribute to a sense of a regional identity and social forces that promote individual action to assure sustainability of regional resources? Can such understandings contribute to a sense that the region can be 'home' to all its many communities, and can such a sense be reconciled with equitable criteria for the exclusion of others from access to the resources of the region?
- In language recapture, is it possible to move from preserving words to fostering a more vital language capacity? Is there value in devoting great effort to promoting an aboriginal language that must always be taught as a second language and cannot be expected to be a living language used in the home? How can that value be realized?

Specific tasks in the region will include work on hyper-media technologies to assist in capture of oral history and traditional knowledge, as well as in communicating beliefs about identity and culture. These projects may be independently constructed, or form part of the body of work to be included in the

'stories' portion of the websites developed as part of the work on Theme 1 (information system). Under this theme also there is a rich body of specific topics for graduate student or faculty research, including exploration of the role of 'boundary objects' as a vehicle for bringing together diverse communities of interest and providing a basis for translation of concepts in a cross-cultural setting; testing of theories about the features of boundary organizations as cross-cultural settings for decision-making; challenging theories about the institutional features that can support an effective flow of science or more general evidence into community decisions.

In addition to the above research tasks, a networking initiative will build a Clayoquot Forum in order to promote active exchange among officials, academics, students and community members interested in an inter-disciplinary approach to the challenges facing the community in the social and economic transformations of the changing multi-scale globalized world. Meetings at the University and with provincial government officials will complement activities in the Biosphere Reserve Region and particularly the annual Clayoquot Symposium.

Conclusion

The ultimate outcome pursued through the work organized within this proposed research alliance is an improved quality of life and sustained ecosystem integrity in the region, achieved as a result of improved capacity within the community to engage in ongoing constructive deliberation and to carry on day-to-day cooperative management in resource harvesting and service delivery. But such an outcome can only be a goal, hardly definitively observable. Only more immediate outputs and results can actually be measured, and these will relate to enhanced foundations of data and information and enhanced procedures for bringing that evidence and other expertise into inclusive processes, with greater mutual understanding and willingness to move to accommodation. These developments can in turn achieve a synthesis of cultural perspectives and move evidence into agreement on action and successful implementation carried through into continuing delivery and compliance on the ground (which can finally be observed).

The Clayoquot Sound region has seen extensive institutional innovation to promote multi-party search for agreement on measures to respond to wrenching challenges to community sustainability and sustainable livelihoods. It is time, however, to go beyond the rosy expectation that any such processes can lead to "win, win, win" solutions all 'round, all the time. What is needed now is to move beyond rosy optimism to address the challenge of building greater common understanding and stronger institutions that will be accepted as legitimate, and will sustain compliance, even when they deliver outcomes that are unfavourable for some. It is the building of mutually endorsed boundary objects and achievement of institutions that are accepted as fair in the long run, even when they are painful in the short run, that is essential in a resilient community. Academic work in the social sciences and in the humanities has much to say that is relevant and important in this matter. This project proposes to work with the communities to shape that academic understanding in light of community realities, and then put it to work within and for the community.