

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Why Anchor Forests? Exploring a Conceptual Framework for Tribal Leadership in Cross-boundary Forest Governance

Abstract approved:

Emily Jane Davis

Reem F. Hajjar

In response to the increasing pace and scale of wildfire and forest health challenges, the Intertribal Timber Council (ITC) proposed the creation of “Anchor Forests,” where a tribe would convene surrounding landowners to collaboratively manage the entire landscape, across property boundaries. This emergent concept has sparked conversation but has not yet been implemented at scale. Amidst increasing movement toward both collaborative decision-making and more meaningful tribal partnerships on federal forestlands, my research asked 1) why the Anchor Forest concept emerged and how it could be used in the future, and 2) how its narratives reinforce or depart from mainstream media narratives about tribal partnerships in forest management. From my constructivist and critical research paradigm, I explored these questions through the perspectives of those closely involved in Anchor Forests and aimed to conduct research that would further the ITC’s work. Qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews and documents shows how Anchor Forests would expand spatial and temporal scales of forest governance and management, and why tribal leadership could overcome barriers that have blocked this scale expansion in the past. Results suggest institutional and individual-level shifts are needed in federal land management agencies to enable effective cross-boundary partnerships with tribes, and Anchor Forests could serve as a conceptual tool to

build momentum for these shifts. I found that media coverage of tribal forestry sometimes portrays tribes as victims or as powerless, depending on context and framing, whereas Anchor Forest narratives depict tribes as powerful and capable. This suggests communicating Anchor Forest narratives could shift these portrayals and create a better starting place for meaningful partnerships. My research contributes to theoretical literature on tribal involvement in collaborative and cross-boundary forest management, and results will be communicated directly to the ITC and partners to support future outreach on Anchor Forests.

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Why Anchor Forests? Exploring a Conceptual Framework for Tribal Leadership in Cross-
boundary Forest Governance

by
Meredith Jacobson

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APPROVED:

Co-Major Professor, representing Forest Ecosystems and Society

Co-Major Professor, representing Forest Ecosystems and Society

Head of the Department of Forest Ecosystems and Society

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Meredith Jacobson, Author

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing the research context and questions

In 2016, the Intertribal Timber Council released a pilot study exploring the feasibility of creating “Anchor Forests” in several regions in eastern and central Washington. The Intertribal Timber Council, a nonprofit consortium of foresters from American Indian tribes and Alaska Native corporations, uses the term “Anchor Forest” to refer to a large forested landscape managed jointly across property boundaries by neighboring landowners. The Anchor Forest concept proposes that tribes are uniquely positioned to convene these partnerships and act as leaders due to their long-term knowledge and experience, as well as legal authority as sovereign nations. Creating an Anchor Forest would thus involve a tribe convening surrounding landowners and entities such as the United States Forest Service (USFS), state governments, private industry, and collaborative or community-based organizations. Together, these entities would make joint, long-term commitments to harvest and steward their lands to promote ecological resilience across the landscape and economic vitality of the local forest products industry (Corrao, Corrao, & King, 2016).

The emergence of this concept is situated in broader shifts in land management paradigms in the western US, toward increasing partnerships between tribes and public land agencies, and cross-boundary and collaborative approaches to natural resource governance. These shifts are opening up space in thinking about who should be involved in public land decision-making, how decisions should be made, and whose knowledge is valid.

The rise in tribal partnerships has resulted both from tribes asserting treaty rights and sovereign authority over ancestral lands, as well as interest on the part of non-tribal agencies in learning from tribal forest management and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) (Nie, 2008; Senos, Lake, Turner, & Martinez, 2006). Specifically, the recent rise in large-scale, high-severity wildfire has brought recognition that the practice of fire suppression, beginning with the onset of European settlement, has been misguided and unsustainable, prompting interest in

integrating TEK with western science to guide new relationships to land and fire (Mason et al., 2012). Additionally, federal agencies are beginning to look toward some tribal lands and forestry programs as examples of efficient and effective active forest management (Corrao & Andringa, 2017). As these shifts continue to take hold, scholars have identified the need to ensure that tribal self-determination and needs are meaningfully supported and centered through these mechanisms (Burr, 2013; Diver, 2016).

Beyond the context of tribal forestry, scholars and land managers have acknowledged that top-down and single-agency approaches to natural resource governance cannot solve the challenges facing forestlands in the western US (Cumming, Cumming, & Redman, 2006; Kelly & Kusel, 2015; Schultz et al., 2019). Cross-boundary partnerships between agencies and other landowners have emerged, attempting to foster landscape resilience to wildfire and forest pest outbreaks while supporting restoration-based local economies (Charnley, Kelly, & Wendel, 2017). Collaborative governance has emerged on some National Forests as a solution to the conflict and litigation that has plagued federal forest decision-making since the mid 20th century. Collaborative forest governance aims to bring diverse stakeholders together to build trust and common ground while finding innovative solutions to resource management challenges that support the interests and needs of community members. Evolving literature studying these processes increasingly questions whether collaboration actually accomplishes these goals, and whether the processes are equitable, representative, and just (E. J. Davis & Ulrich, 2018; E. J. Davis et al., 2017; Rogers & Weber, 2010).

Echoing this interest in equity, as well as a need for new paradigms, I have informally heard practitioners in collaborative and partnership-based forest governance voice interest in generating more involvement from tribal partners and finding ways to support their interests. Given the complex and often misunderstood legal frameworks that govern tribal authority and power in federal forest decision-making, there is a need to better understand how to work with tribes as sovereign nations rather than as mere stakeholders, without assuming a “one size fits all” approach (Reo, Whyte, McGregor, Smith, & Jenkins, 2017). The Anchor Forest concept may

represent a contribution to this conversation, as part of the Intertribal Timber Council's broader work on empowering tribal leadership in forest management.

Early in my research process, I connected with a natural resources staff member from the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI) at a meeting about collaborative stewardship on the Siuslaw National Forest (SNF) in coastal Oregon. This meeting was timely – I had been helping the SNF research community perspectives about the potential creation of a Forest-wide collaborative. At the meeting, the CTCLUSI representative voiced interest in contributing the tribe's perspective to this project. I saw this as an opportunity to use a portion of my thesis to contribute practical knowledge to the SNF, CTCLUSI, and their partners. While somewhat disconnected from my questions about Anchor Forests, I have found that interviews with CTCLUSI, summarized in Chapter 5, contribute valuable insight to the other components of this research, as an example of how aspects of the Anchor Forest concept may or may not apply in some cases. This chapter also informs broader questions around the dynamics of tribal involvement in cross-boundary and collaborative forest governance. While this was certainly a case study chosen out of happenstance, I have come to understand through learning about Indigenous research methodologies (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 1999) that research is a relational process where questions and insights emerge through conversations and community building. Similarly, my entry into exploring the Anchor Forest concept was through initial conversation with a colleague of my advisor, and from there, all of this followed.

Thus, from these conversations, community-generated research needs emerged that guided the course of my thesis, intertwining with theoretical questions highlighted above. Theoretical literature implies the need for better understanding of tribal involvement in multi-party forest governance, including how to uplift tribal sovereignty and build collective understanding of tribal nations as governments, not stakeholders (Reo et al., 2017; von der Porten & de Loë, 2014). Key informants from the Intertribal Timber Council expressed interest in understanding how the Anchor Forest concept might be useful in different contexts. Staff from CTCLUSI expressed a need to incorporate their perspectives into the planning of a Forest-

wide collaborative on the SNF. From these knowledge gaps and needs, I developed the following questions to guide my thesis:

1. Why did the Anchor Forest concept emerge, and how do leaders envision its use in the future and in different contexts?
2. How do Anchor Forest narratives reinforce or depart from mainstream media narratives about tribal partnerships in forest management?
3. How do staff from the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians envision participating in multi-party collaboration and partnership on the Siuslaw National Forest?

Chapter 2 will take a deeper dive into theoretical literature and key context to frame the emergence of these research questions, and the scholarly contribution I intend to make with this thesis. Chapter 3 provides an overview of my methods, Chapters 4-6 present results and discussion from my exploration of the above research questions, and Chapter 7 weaves the findings together into one overarching conclusion. But first, in the following section I provide more background on who I am in this work.

Introducing the researcher: a statement of positionality

Before beginning an interview, interviewees often asked me where I am from, seeking to better understand my personal story and how I entered this work. I did not recognize the significance of these questions at first, but soon noticed a pattern and have come to view this as a meaningful way to begin a research relationship. Recognizing the long history of non-Native researchers exploiting and oppressing Native communities (L. T. Smith, 1999). I sought early on to learn from Indigenous scholars about how to center communities and relationships in my work.

Cree scholar Shawn Wilson writes in *Research is Ceremony*, “If research doesn’t change you as a person, then you haven’t done it right” (Wilson, 2008, p. 135). My research questions were guided by my partners as well as theoretical literature, but throughout the process, I often

found intersections with my personal life. Upon reflection, I have realized that part of why I entered this work was to explore for myself what it means to be a white, settler woman in the forestry and conservation field. I sought to uncover not just examples of how partnerships and collaborations in forestry can center tribal leadership and interests, but how *I* can do this myself: as a social scientist, forestry professional, and simply as an individual in my community.

I have conducted this thesis while inhabiting the traditional homelands of the Ampinefu Band of the Kalapuya people, stolen lands which form the grounds of Oregon State University (OSU). Living descendants of the Kalapuya are a part of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Community of Oregon and the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indians, and during my time at OSU, I have had the honor of hearing individuals from these tribes speak about their deep ancestral traditions and cultural relationships to this place where I am a newcomer. I grew up on the east coast and moved west for college, and am thus an outsider to the communities that I have worked with in my research. High Country News recently published an exposé about “land grab universities,” presenting data to show how under the Morrill Act, the United States paid less than \$400,000 to extinguish Indigenous title to land and create endowments for 52 land grant institutions, including OSU (Lee & Ahtone, 2020). I received my undergraduate degree in forestry from UC Berkeley, also on this list of “land grab universities.” My journey into forestry began with a love of forests and working outside, and through forestry I have come to question what it would look like to be accountable to the places I inhabit, the forests in which I work, and the settler colonial legacies in which I am implicated.

While I deeply hope that my research can contribute some useful knowledge back out into the world and support the work of my partners, I also feel that a deep impact of this study was inward. Every interview conversation left me humbled by the wisdom and personal perspectives that were shared with me, all of which have influenced my outlook on the world. The fact that individuals were willing to share their time and themselves has left me with a sense of what Wilson (2008) calls “relational accountability,” a personal commitment toward the people in this work and the relationships we formed. Wilson’s sense of relational accountability

flows from his Cree worldview and ways of knowing, and while I thus cannot understand this idea within its entire context, Wilson's clear writing has helped me understand what finding this ethic in my own work and life might look like. In my research, I try to mobilize this ethic by inserting myself and position into the work, ensuring that I center the interests of those who I partner with and interview, and communicating perspectives shared with me in a way that does good in the world. I also strive to view the relationships formed in this research as ongoing and extending beyond the bounds of "researcher" and "interviewee" (although I use these terms out of convenience throughout this thesis). I earnestly hope to stay in touch and find ways to support the work of all of my research partners in the future.

In Chapter 3, I explain the ways that my positionality and identity in this research informed my methodology and choice of methods, including the aspects of Indigenous and Decolonizing methodologies I aimed to incorporate into my research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the following sections, I summarize key theoretical literature on tribal sovereignty and self-determination, the rise of collaborative and partnership-based governance on federal forestlands, tribal involvement in collaborative and partnership-based governance, and social constructions of Indigenous peoples by the U.S. Government and non-Indigenous people. Then, I provide more background on Anchor Forests and the mechanisms and authorities that would enable implementation of the Anchor Forest concept, as well as background on the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lowe Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians and Siuslaw National Forest.

Theoretical Literature

Tribal sovereignty and self-determination over forestlands

To begin, I draw from framing used by interdisciplinary scholars in their special issue paper, “Indigenous Studies Speaks to Environmental Management,” who insist that discussions of the role of Indigenous peoples in natural resource management must begin with recognition that Indigenous peoples have been managing and stewarding their lands since time immemorial¹, and that they “are both shaping and being affected by the processes of environmental management” (Richmond et al., 2013, p. 1042). Forestlands comprise physical ground on which tribal nations assert sovereignty and maintain their identity— through legal and cultural means. The term “sovereignty” has taken many meanings by tribal governments, tribal peoples, U.S. constitutional law, and academic scholars. Wilkins & Lomawaima (2002) assert that tribal sovereignty can be understood as existing both within the U.S. constitution while also predating the existence of the U.S. Sovereignty can then be described both in terms of the inherent status held by tribes as the original inhabitants of the land now known as the U.S., as well as the ways in which rights, powers, and self- determination are afforded through the

¹ “Time immemorial” is a phrase often used by Indigenous communities to denote a time before memory.

U.S. constitution, implying a power dynamic in which the U.S. sets the terms of sovereignty (Wilkins & Lomawaima, 2002). In the introduction to *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, Lenape scholar Joanne Barker comments on these tensions:

Sovereignty carries the horrible stench of colonialism. It is incomplete, inaccurate, and troubled. But it has also been rearticulated to mean altogether different things by indigenous peoples. In its link to concepts of self-determination and self-government, it insists on the recognition of inherent rights to the respect for political affiliations that are historically located and for the unique cultural identities that continue to find meaning in those histories and relations (Barker, 2006, p. 26).

In the context of forests, legal definitions of tribal sovereignty are codified through a maze of U.S. constitutional law and statutes, case law, executive orders, U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) regulations, and U.S. Forest Service (USFS) handbooks, dictating how the federal government interacts with the 567 recognized tribal nations² (Dockry, Gutterman, & Davenport, 2018). Forestlands are a key domain on which the federal government engages with tribes, as the USFS occupies large portions of their ancestral territories. The mandate for the USFS to fulfill government to government relationships with tribes throughout their land management processes was made explicit by an executive memorandum in 1994, and operationalized through USDA regulations and USFS handbooks. From this mandate, the USFS must recognize the rights of tribes to harvest and gather traditional plants and animals for subsistence, cultural, spiritual, and religious purposes on their ancestral territories. This relationship also mandates that the USFS consult with a tribe before performing an action that will impact that tribe's ancestral territory (Dockry et al., 2018; Wilkinson, 1998). Within the field of environmental management, Richmond et al. (2013) contend that while every tribe's context is unique, common struggles exist to regain access and authority over ancestral territories, through a variety of means and mechanisms.

² My work in this thesis focuses on recognized tribal nations, but I acknowledge the deep and ongoing struggles faced by tribes that lack recognition by the United States.

The recent rise of co-management agreements between the USFS and tribes can be seen as a step toward tribal self-determination and control over ancestral lands. Scholars are increasingly examining the efficacy of these arrangements in centering tribal interests and self-determination, with general criticism that these mechanisms do not go far enough or do not often represent a meaningful sharing of power (see Diver, 2016; Donoghue, Thompson, & Bliss, 2010; Nie, 2008; Reo, Whyte, McGregor, Smith, & Jenkins, 2017; Wilkinson, 1998). For example, Diver (2016) explored a form of co-management between the Karuk Tribe and the USFS, in which the USFS and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) entered an Interagency Agreement to implement a joint management project involving eco-cultural restoration and prescribed burning on important Karuk cultural areas within the Klamath National Forest. This case study found that while the co-management partnership was successful in many ways, it also revealed dynamics within the USFS that challenge the agency's ability to fully honor tribal sovereignty. For example, agency staff often lacked understanding of how to privilege the tribe's decision-making authority over that of the general public, to whom the agency also has a mandate to serve. Additionally, the case study found that despite intentions to integrate and privilege Karuk knowledge and values related to ecosystem restoration, their knowledge was often subordinated or given less weight, and the USFS was not able to easily realign to the Karuk's priorities of non-commercial cultural resources such as acorn production. Still, those involved from the Karuk Tribe felt that this co-management partnership was valuable in expanding their capacity for cultural management as well as building understanding among the USFS of their values and practices. This case study affirms many ongoing challenges that have been documented by other scholars studying co-management between tribes and federal agencies, but also demonstrates that incremental progress is occurring through these arrangements (Diver, 2016).

Co-management arrangements such as the above case represent both navigation of legal or sovereignty while also uplifting what scholars have called "cultural sovereignty," that is inherent to tribes' existence and relationship to the land, and is not beholden to recognition or

definition stemming from federal Indian law (Coffey & Tsosie, 2001). Scholars have observed the importance of access to ancestral forestlands for tribal identity, well-being, and cultural survival, documenting how tribes use federal lands that cover their ancestral territory for ceremonies, harvesting culturally important plants and animals, and ongoing practice of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) (Long, Lake, & Lynn, 2018).

While the term “TEK” was first used by non-Native researchers beginning in the 1980s, (Berkes, 1993), Indigenous scholars have used this term to describe diverse knowledge systems used and cultivated by Indigenous peoples worldwide that involve complex, specific relationships with the environment and build upon long-term knowledge passed down through generations (see Chisholm Hatfield, Marino, Whyte, Dello, & Mote, 2018; Lake, Giardina, Parrotta, & Davidson-hunt, 2018; Senos, Lake, Turner, & Martinez, 2006; Whyte, 2013). Practicing TEK on federal forestlands thus comprises one way that tribes assert cultural sovereignty and their ongoing existence and identity. Barnd (2017) writes that Indigenous peoples assert identity and inhabitation of their distinct geography through the continual production of “Native space” and relationships to the land – outside of the ongoing structures of settler colonialism. This could suggest that tribal nations’ navigation of these two realms, the settler state and inherent sovereignty or “Native space,” guide their participation and involvement in direct government to government relationships with federal agencies as well as in multi-party partnerships and collaboration, a dynamic observed by Diver (2016) in her case study of the Karuk Tribe.

The rise of collaborative and partnership-based forest governance

Alongside the growing number of tribal-federal co-management arrangements, there has been increasing movement toward collaborative governance of federal forestlands across the western US, to achieve more effective land management and build consensus among stakeholders with competing interests and ideologies (Cheng & Mattor, 2006; Cheng & Sturtevant, 2012; Cyphers & Schultz, 2018; E. J. Davis et al., 2017; Schultz et al., 2019). Collaborative groups or “forest collaboratives” generally convene to provide recommendations

to the USFS on management activities and planning, while the agency retains ultimate decision-making power (E. J. Davis et al., 2017). Scholars have described the rise of collaborative forest governance as a response to increasing conflict particularly between environmental and timber interests within National Forest management, which has resulted in bureaucratic gridlock and litigation, and the subsequent decrease in the extent of federal timber harvesting in recent decades (Maier & Abrams, 2018). Collaborative forest governance has, in some cases, built a sense of shared identity and values among diverse stakeholders of National Forests, generating solutions and forest stewardship projects that have buy-in of participating stakeholders (Cheng & Daniels, 2003; E. J. Davis & Ulrich, 2018; E. J. Davis et al., 2017; Weber, 2009). Scholars have also noted that collaborative forest governance can generate more innovative and effective solutions by mobilizing local and community-based knowledge that is intricate and place-specific (Brummel, Nelson, Souter, Jakes, & Williams, 2010; Weber & Khademian, 2008). However, recent literature suggests the need for more research on whether collaborative forest governance actually achieves positive outcomes for the community and the landscape, whether the U.S. Forest Service adequately integrates recommendations from collaboratives, and whether collaborative processes truly represent equitable, and just decision-making (Cheng & Mattor, 2006; E. J. Davis & Ulrich, 2018; McDermott, 2009; Orth & Cheng, 2018; Purdy & Jones, 2012).

Cross-boundary partnerships between agencies and other landowners have also emerged as a different avenue for federal agencies to share power, build relationships, and mobilize diverse knowledges. These partnerships generally operate out of acknowledgement that ecological, social, and economic challenges extend beyond the artificial boundaries of property lines. Two prominent types of landscape-based partnerships are those that center around watersheds, such as partnerships convened by watershed councils, and those that address wildfire. The USFS has coined the phrase “all lands” as an approach for forest restoration at a landscape scale, involving multiple landowners across boundaries. This approach has been particularly emphasized in areas affected by wildfire, and operates with

varying scales and levels of engagement of different landowners, depending on local context and the types of funding mechanisms mobilized (Charnley et al., 2017). While cross-boundary partnerships may involve engagement with “forest collaboratives” as described above, they represent direct agreements, contracts, or funding mechanisms between landowners in the same region, such as federal agencies, states, private landowners, land trusts, and increasingly, tribes. A small but growing body of literature is exploring dynamics and outcomes in these emerging and evolving cross-boundary partnerships, with more research needed to explore how these institutions function in different contexts (Charnley et al., 2017; Cheng & Daniels, 2003; Cyphers & Schultz, 2018; Kelly & Kusel, 2015; Lucero & Tamez, 2017).

Tribal involvement in multi-party collaboration and partnerships

More literature has focused on government to government relationships between tribes and federal agencies than on tribal involvement in multi-party collaboration. One study found that tribal participation in multi-party watershed management was influenced by factors such as the strength of relationships between non-tribal and tribal communities, recognition of collaboration benefits by all parties, centering of tribal leadership and vision, and tribal capacity to participate (A. E. Cronin & Ostergren, 2007). The authors provide recommendations including the need for non-tribal communities to recognize and understand federal trust responsibilities and tribal sovereignty, building one-on-one relationships and trust over time, and inviting participants to “share their stories and find common ground” (A. E. Cronin & Ostergren, 2007, p. 539). Another study surveyed how Indigenous peoples are portrayed in literature on collaboration in environmental management (von der Porten & de Loë, 2014). This study calls for a “fundamental shift within collaboration scholarship” (p. 1052) to integrate Indigenous sovereignty and governance into the design of collaborative processes, rather than invite their participation later on, to enact more meaningful shifts in decision-making power (von der Porten & de Loë, 2014). This call echoes Richmond et al (2013) who articulate how the field of environmental management must engage more deeply with the field of Indigenous

Studies, necessitating more critical analysis of settler colonialism and ongoing injustice and power asymmetries. Another paper reached similar conclusions, finding that Indigenous nations are often portrayed as stakeholders rather than self-determining nations in collaborative environmental problem-solving. This paper put forward best practices based on successful cases of collaboration that centered tribal sovereignty, including deliberately building cross-cultural understanding, uplifting and respecting Indigenous knowledge, and incorporating tribal cultural protocols such as ceremony and song into collaborative meetings (Reo et al., 2017).

Mainstream societal constructions and conceptions of Indigenous peoples

Scholars have stressed that mainstream narratives and social constructions of Indigenous peoples have long been misrepresentative and stereotyping, and these narratives can influence how tribal sovereignty is recognized and understood in the policy arena, with harmful material impacts to livelihoods and ongoing struggles (Leavitt, Covarrubias, Perez, & Fryberg, 2015; Steinman, 2006). One study found that in the mainstream media, Native American communities are chronically underrepresented, and if they are represented, they are portrayed as poor, uneducated, and addiction-prone (Leavitt et al., 2015). Another study specifically focusing on environmental and climate change reporting found that Indigenous communities are often portrayed as victims of the impacts of climate change, but articles typically lack historical context such as the role of colonialism and ongoing resistance, and there is little to no mention of the importance of including Indigenous peoples in decision-making around adaptation and mitigation to climate change (Belfer, Ford, & Maillet, 2017).

Besides this perpetual victim portrayal, Indigenous peoples have also been subject to the stereotype some anthropologists and scholars have described as the “noble savage” or “ecological Indian” (Smithers, 2015). This stereotype generally creates a static and uniform picture of Indigenous peoples’ as holding a close connection to the earth, while simultaneously denying them the full humanity and complexity that is afforded to non-Indigenous cultures.

Shepard Krech, a non-Native anthropologist, coined the phrase “Ecological Indian” to expose the fallacy embedded in this depiction (Krech, 1999). Indigenous scholars have responded to his work with criticism, particularly of Krech’s ability to speak on this issue as an outsider, as well as affirmations that this fallacy does perpetuate harm in modern times. Some posit that the “Ecological Indian” fallacy may provide useful framing to understand racism and stereotyping embedded in the environmental justice movement, describing how non-Native activists repeatedly fail to acknowledge the sovereignty of tribal nations and the complexities of their relationships to the environment and the economy, and instead see only a simplified picture of Native environmentalism that suits their worldview (Ishiyama & Tallbear, 2001; TallBear, 2000).

This literature provides important reminders I have carried throughout my research process, as I navigate the balance between identifying overarching themes and narratives while honoring specific, place and people-based complexities. I see the Anchor Forest concept, and the analyses I present ahead, not as complete or holistic depictions, but as invitations to dialogue and relationships that must emerge locally, specifically, and contextually.

Background on Anchor Forests and Implementation Mechanisms

In 2016, the Intertribal Timber Council (ITC) released the “Full Report on the Anchor Forest Pilot Project Assessment” (referred subsequently as “Anchor Forest Full Report”) detailing the findings of a pilot study that explored the feasibility of creating Anchor Forests in three regions in the state of Washington (Corrao et al., 2016). Following the release of this report, Evergreen Magazine produced a four-part video series featuring interviews with several ITC members involved in Anchor Forests. Additionally, Corrao & King published an article in the Journal of Forestry describing the Anchor Forest concept, its background, and its potential utility in the forestry field.

The Anchor Forest Full Report begins by highlighting the increasing pace and scale of wildfire, deteriorating forest health, and declining forest products industry in the American West as motivating forces for the emergence of the Anchor Forest concept. The report creates a framework operating on the concepts of three-pronged sustainability and stewardship as

depicted in Figure 2.1, and proposes that tribes are uniquely positioned as leaders given their demonstration of these values on their lands.

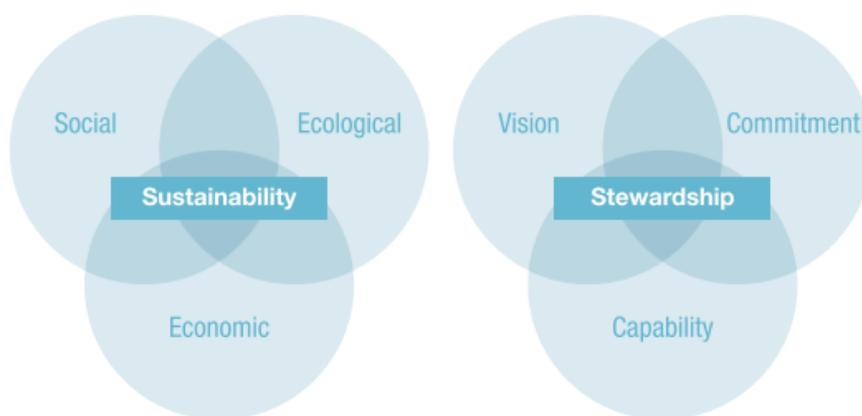


Figure 2.1. Anchor Forest conceptual diagrams (Corrao et al., 2016)

The report then details findings from economic, ecological, and social feasibility analyses of implementing Anchor Forests in three regions in Washington. These analyses involved projecting levels of timber output, both in terms of acreage treated, and board feet harvested, across multiple ownerships including the USFS, the State of Washington, the Yakama Nation, the Colville Nation, and private timber companies. The analyses presented scenarios that would result in landscape health, a viable forest products industry and sustained investment for infrastructure. The report also emphasized that implementing the Anchor Forest concept would require sustained community engagement and relationships between partnering landowners. Community engagement was explored through qualitative interviews with community members to determine collaborative capacity and existing relationships that could be leveraged in the context of an Anchor Forest partnership. For example, the study highlighted the existence of several forest collaboratives in the study regions, including the Northeast Washington Forest Coalition, the North Central Washington Forest Health Collaborative, and the Tapash Collaborative. The report specifically highlights the Tapash Collaborative's governance

structure as providing an example for how Anchor Forest decision-making might function, exhibited in Figure 2.2. Focus group discussions that took place as part of the Anchor Forest Full Report revealed participants' thoughts on key barriers to implementation of Anchor Forests, which included frequent leadership turnover, the time consuming nature of federal decision-making and forest planning, lack of local infrastructure capacity, lack of well-defined objectives among collaborative participants and landowners, lack of trust and prevalence of litigation among the non-participant "public," issues with funding restoration and forestry given allocation of resources to wildfire suppression (Corrao et al., 2016).

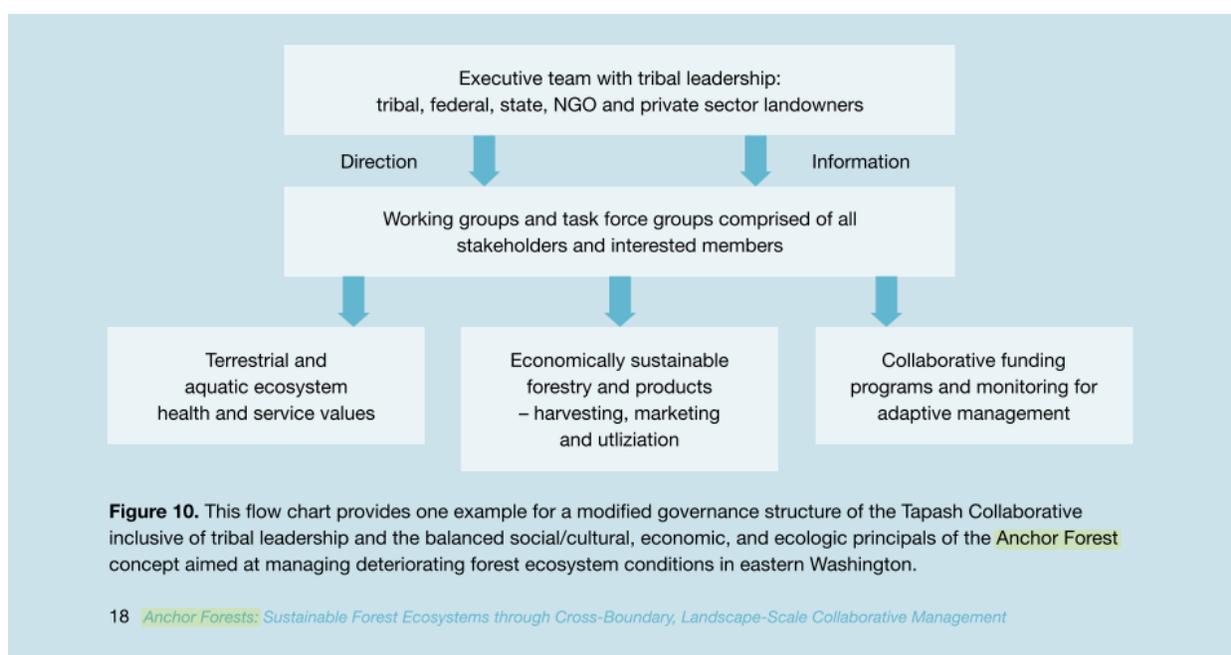


Figure 2.2. Proposed governance framework for Anchor Forests (Corrao et al., 2016)

Summary of Anchor Forest Implementation Mechanisms

The Anchor Forest Full Report also lists several implementation mechanisms that would enable partnerships between tribes, federal and state agencies, and landowners through the exchange of services and/or forest products. The authors list the following programs and legislation as potentially supportive of Anchor Forests:

- Tribal Forest Protection Act (TFPA)
- Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Program (CFLRP)
- Reserve Treaty Rights Lands (RTRL)

- Stewardship contracting
- Changes to the Good Neighbor Authority (GNA) under the 2018 Farm Bill

Additionally, the authors suggest use of programmatic funding sources including the Environmental Quality Incentives (EQIP) Program, as well as generation of cross-agency Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) between the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Corrao et al., 2016). Given that programmatic funding sources do not generally involve direct cross-boundary partnerships and contracts between landowners, I do not explore these in my research, but they still serve as key capacity builders for enabling implementation of the Anchor Forest concept. In the following sections, I start by overviewing the National Indian Forest Management Act, which is the overarching legislation guiding tribal forestry since 1990. I then overview the TFFPA, RTRL, CFLRP, Stewardship Contracting, and GNA, to provide more context for my second chapter which explores narratives in media coverage of tribal partnerships under these mechanisms. These implementation mechanisms are summarized in Table 2.1. The first three are specific to tribal lands, and the remaining are open to other agencies and landowners.

Table 2.1. Summary of Anchor Forest implementation mechanisms.

Implementation Mechanism	Year of Authorization	Primary Purpose
National Indian Forest Resource Management Act (NIFRMA)	1990	Expands tribal forestry programs and creates opportunity for cooperative agreements, contracts, and grants between USFS and tribal governments
Tribal Forest Protection Act (TPFA)	2004	Allows tribes to implement and benefit from timber harvesting on federal lands for restoration objectives
Reserved Treaty Rights Lands (RTRL)	2015	Funding mechanism for tribes and non-tribal landowners to conduct joint projects to address wildfire across boundaries.
Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Act (CFLRA)	2009, reauthorized in 2019	Funding mechanism for landscape-scale restoration projects on federal lands through collaborative processes involving tribes, public stakeholders, and other partners.

Stewardship Contracting	First authorized in 1998, permanently authorized in 2014 Agricultural Act	Allows packaging of contracts, agreements, and funding mechanisms to accomplish cross-boundary landscape restoration.
Good Neighbor Authority (GNA)	Created in 2014 Farm Bill; expanded to include tribes in 2018 Farm Bill	Allows a state or tribe to administer timber sales on federal land, and to be compensated for restoration activities through wood products value and timber receipts.

The National Indian Forest Resource Management Act (NIFRMA) was passed in 1990 to “allow the Secretary of the Interior to take part in the management of Indian forest lands, with the participation of the lands’ beneficial owners, in a manner consistent with the Secretary’s trust responsibility and with the objectives of the beneficial owners” (National Indian Forest Resource Management Act, 1990). It creates the legal license for federal agencies to make deductions from sales of forest products from tribal lands, and assures that those deductions are used only for forest management activities. The act also includes initiatives to increase the number of professional Indian foresters to enhance capacity for forest management on tribal lands. The act broadly creates more institutional capacity and impetus for cooperative agreements, contracts, and grants with the USFS and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) on tribal forest lands (National Indian Forest Resource Management Act, 1990).

The Tribal Forest Protection Act (TFPA) was passed in 2004 with “to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior to enter an agreement or contract with Indian tribes meeting certain criteria to carry out projects to protect Indian forest land” (Tribal Forest Protection Act, 2004). Under the TFPA, tribes can propose and implement projects on federal forest lands, not already covered by other contract mechanisms, in order to accomplish land restoration objectives. Projects are selected by federal officials based on the magnitude of ecological threats, the presence of unique cultural or biological values relevant to the tribe, the use of traditional skills and knowledge, and existing working relationships between the tribe and relevant agencies (Tribal Forest Protection Act, 2004).

The ITC has worked to build capacity for use of the TFPA, by hosting workshops and webinars, as well as generating reports and resources, to support understanding of how tribes

can use this mechanism. The ITC's 2013 report, "Fulfilling the Promise of the Tribal Forest Protection Act of 2004," documented several successful examples of partnerships, while highlighting that the TPFPA continues to be underutilized, largely due to a lack of understanding and training among tribes and agency partners (Intertribal Timber Council, 2013). Existing literature that documents use of the TPFPA affirms its underutilized potential for supporting mutual federal and tribal interests (Long et al., 2018; Lucero & Tamez, 2017).

Reserve Treaty Rights Lands (RTRL) is a program established in 2015 to create funding mechanisms for collaborative projects between tribal and non-tribal landowners that specifically address wildfire risk as a cross-boundary issue. The funding comes through the BIA Wildland Fire Management appropriation, with landscapes prioritized to "maximize the benefit of cost share agreements" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2015) while addressing areas with demonstrated wildfire risk. Projects are also assessed based on proven capacity to develop and implement plans and projects. While little study has explored use of RTRL thus far, one study suggests that this mechanism holds unrealized potential, with more training and resources needed to build understanding partners about its use (Lake et al., 2016).

The Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Act (CFLRA) was passed in 2009 and was recently renewed in 2019 for an additional ten years. This act creates a program (Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Program, CFLRP) to allocate funding through a competitive process for entities to implement landscape-scale restoration projects, larger than 50,000 acres in size on federal and adjacent lands. Funding is allocated based on determining priority landscapes where restoration activities will mitigate wildfire and other disturbance risk and improve ecological conditions. There are now 23 CFLRP projects that have been funded and are currently implementing restoration activities (USDA, 2014). Several of these projects have involved tribes as core partners and collaborators, although more research is needed to understand how tribal engagement has functioned in these examples (Antuma et al., 2014).

Stewardship Contracting is a mechanism that allows restoration activities on USFS lands to be packaged into multi-project contracts or agreements. These contracts and agreements involve collaboration with other agencies, tribal governments, nonprofits, and interested groups that

include resource advisory committees, fire safe councils, resource conservation districts, and watershed councils. Stewardship contracting was first authorized by Congress in 1998, and in 2003 Congress gave authorization for its use through 2013 (Moseley & Charnley, 2014), at which point it was permanently reauthorized under the 2014 Agricultural Act (USDA, n.d.-c). Stewardship contracts can last up to 10 years, and allow agencies to trade goods for services with other landowners, and to apply receipts from forest products toward restoration work within the stewardship project that crosses ownership boundaries (USDA, n.d.-b). Essentially, stewardship contracting is an attempt to create greater flexibility in the development of collaborative restoration involving multiple parties and stakeholders in projects than is possible under traditional federal agency funding mechanisms (USDA, n.d.-c). In some contexts, tribes have considered participating in stewardship contracting (Moseley & Charnley, 2014), but I found little literature covering the extent of tribal use of this mechanism.

The Good Neighbor Authority (GNA) was established by the 2014 Farm Bill to facilitate cooperation between the USFS and state governments for the purpose of watershed restoration and forest management activities (Washington State Department of Natural resources, n.d.). Through the 2018 Farm Bill, the GNA was expanded to allow use by tribes to partner with the USFS. Under the GNA, state and tribal entities can administer timber sales on federal land, and can be compensated for conducting restoration activities through the value of wood products and timber receipts (USDA, n.d.-a). The inclusion of tribes in the GNA has been seen by some as a step forward in increasing the capacity for tribal forestry activities (Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Newsroom, 2018). Given that this opportunity has only recently become available, it remains to be seen how widely it will be used for tribal-federal partnerships in the future.

As exhibited in this overview, a variety of cross-boundary partnership mechanisms have emerged in recent years, with little research thus far covering their use and their ability to accomplish beneficial outcomes. The ITC's capacity-building work serves as a critical avenue for building understanding that may lead to increased use in the future (Lucero & Tamez, 2017).

Background on the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I first met a staff person from the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI) at a meeting about Siuslaw National Forest (SNF) stewardship. The following presents a very limited summary of CTCLUSI land history to provide contextual information for this research. I encourage readers to engage more deeply with the history through the information provided on CTCLUSI's website (ctclusi.org).

CTCLUSI encompasses two bands of Coos Tribes, the Lower Umpqua Tribe, and the Siuslaw Tribe. Their combined ancestral territories cover approximately 1.6 million acres across the Coast Range in Oregon (see Figure 2.3). In 1855, following settler invasion, the tribes signed a treaty allowing European settlement of ancestral lands in exchange for a reservation, schools,

CTCLUSI Aboriginal Ancient Boundary



Figure 2.3: Ancestral territory of the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (ctclusi.org, n.d.)

and financial compensation. However, this treaty was never ratified by the federal government, and thus the lands were stolen in violation of the Organic Act. The tribes were forcibly relocated to Yachats in coastal Oregon, and were eventually brought to the Alsea Sub-Agency, one of the units of the Coast Reservation. During this period of exile, 50% of Coos and Lower Umpqua Indians died of starvation and disease. More than a decade later, the Alsea Sub-agency of the Great Coast Reservation in Yachats was closed, and the southern part of the Coast Reservation was open to settlers against the will of the tribes. Tribal members were forced to relocate again. Some traveled back to their

ancestral territory, while some relocated to the Siletz Reservation. In 1916, CTCLUSI established a formal tribal government that continues today. The tribal government continued to provide resources to tribal members even as the tribe was terminated under the Western Oregon Termination Act of 1954. Across Oregon, tribes struggled to maintain their culture during this termination period, as the federal government ended trust protection and services, and many tribal youth were removed from their communities and brought to boarding schools. Through the rise of Native activism and rights movements, federal recognition of sovereignty was restored in 1984, and since then, CTCLUSI has worked to increase self-sufficiency and cultural restoration (CTCLUSI, n.d.). The Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (WOTFA), designated 14,742 acres of federal land into trust for CTCLUSI, and is considered a significant step toward greater self-sufficiency over ancestral lands (Siuslaw News, 2018).

The Siuslaw National Forest (SNF) encompasses 630,000 acres across Oregon's coast range, which includes ancestral lands of CTCLUSI, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (USDA, n.d.). The SNF has been praised as a hallmark of collaborative forest governance due to its adaptive response to shifts in regulations and the drastic decline of the timber industry following implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan (Maier & Abrams, 2018; Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 2014). Located across the moist forest-type of the Oregon Coast Range, the SNF has provided productive timberlands as well as wildlife habitat and recreation opportunities to the public. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) also holds large parcels of land in western Oregon, including CTCLUSI's land, primarily due to the agency's possession of 2.4 million acres of checkerboarded parcels that were re-vested from the Oregon and California Railroad lands (U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, n.d.).

The SNF also has a robust partnership program to engage stakeholders and partners in watershed and forest restoration and stewardship. The SNF works with five watershed councils that bring together tribes, environmental organizations, members of the public, landowners, and other partners to discuss restoration projects on a watershed scale (USDA, n.d.). Since the implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan, the SNF has also been home to bodies referred to

as “stewardship groups,” which bring together various stakeholders to engage in consensus-based decision-making related to the allocation of stewardship contracting funds that the USFS designates from timber sales, to accomplish diverse restoration projects. Five stewardship groups, sponsored and facilitated by the nonprofit Cascade Pacific Resource Conservation and Development (Cascade Pacific) have been largely successful in accomplishing restoration and stewardship projects across federal and private forestlands across the SNF (Sundstrom & Sundstrom, 2014). Informal conversations suggest that tribal involvement in these groups is intermittent and infrequent, likely due to limited capacity on the part of tribes, as well as the perception of limited benefits to tribes from participating in these groups.

Cascade Pacific recently partnered with Oregon State University to conduct interviews with key stakeholders, to better understand the effectiveness of stewardship groups in representing diverse interests in SNF decision-making, as well as explore the potential of creating a Forest-wide collaborative. These interviews revealed interest in expanding the scale of forest collaboration, and creating a venue for dialogue and interaction that would draw the participation of interested parties not currently involved in stewardship groups (Kornhauser & Jacobson, 2020). Given this process of re-structuring and re-imagining how community engagement and collaboration takes place on the SNF, the time is ripe to explore new possibilities for engaging with the three tribes whose ancestral territories fall under the jurisdiction of the SNF. This research documents only the perspectives and interests of CTCLUSI, and not the two other tribes in the area, both because of the happenstance connection described in Chapter 1, and because of my own capacity to complete this research during a two-year Master’s timeline. I thus emphasize throughout reporting results and implications that the perspectives do not represent those of any other tribe that works with the SNF.

Chapter 3: Methods

Overarching Paradigms

My research questions and methodology flow from constructivist and critical paradigms (Blackstone, 2012). From my constructivist paradigm, I view the Anchor Forest concept as socially constructed through the perspectives and experiences of those who are involved, and that I as a researcher along with my study collaborators will be active participants in the creation of data and knowledge, rather than objective observers of a measurable phenomenon. Additionally, the research is critical in that I carry an activist agenda, seeking to make a scholarly intervention in the way that collaborative and cross-boundary forest governance implicitly and explicitly uphold colonialist power structures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). This critical paradigm also informs how I chose my research methodology and methods, seeking to center the community's interests and needs, and work against legacies of research exploiting Indigenous communities (L. T. Smith, 1999).

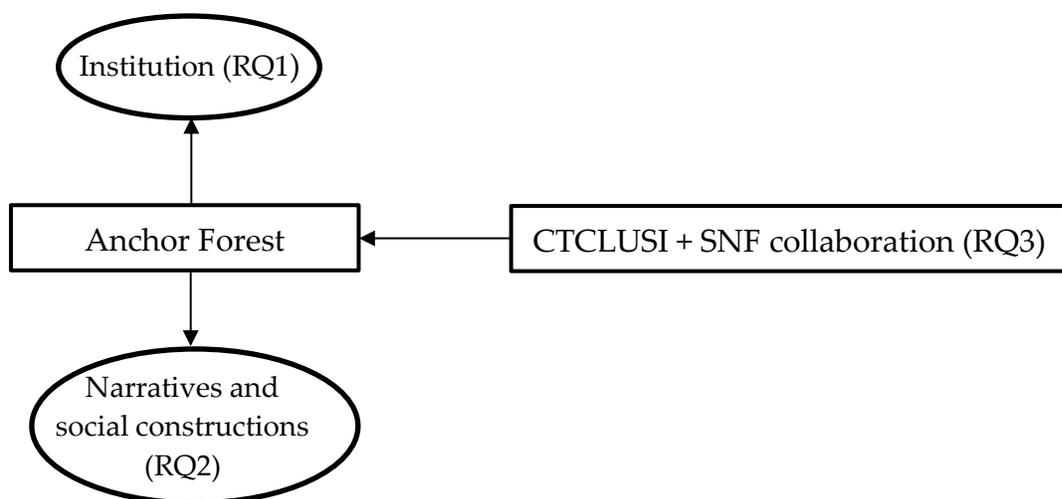
Methodology and Design

To explore my first two research questions, I mobilized a qualitative, single case study approach and design (Yin, 2003) with the Anchor Forest concept as the case, understood through two units of analysis: 1) viewing Anchor Forests as an institution, and 2) as a collection of narratives and social constructions. My third research question also involved a qualitative case study methodology, with the case as collaboration and partnership between the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI) and the Siuslaw National Forest (SNF). Figure 3.1 depicts the relationships between my research questions (RQs).

A qualitative approach flows naturally from my research questions. Given that the Anchor Forest concept is relatively new, with little published academic literature, building understanding requires taking a deep dive and providing a thick description of why and how this concept emerged. Case studies are well suited for research that involves "how" and "why" questions, and that deals with contemporary or emerging phenomena. Specifically, Yin defines

a case study as useful “when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p.13). Yin asserts that single case study approaches are warranted when the case is “revelatory” in that it is a new phenomenon that has not yet been studied (Yin, 2003). Preliminary conversations with key informants implied that these conditions apply to the Anchor Forest concept. Similarly, given the little existing literature on tribal involvement in multi-party collaborative forest governance, a case study design is also appropriate for addressing the third research question exploring the case of CTCLUSI and the SNF. While case studies are limited in their generalizability to other contexts, they can provide rich, deep, and meaningful information (Yin, 2003).

Figure 3.1: Conceptual diagram of relationships between research questions.



I envision my three research questions as interacting, each providing a different lens or type of information that can affirm, question, or contextualize one another. In this way, I view the different forms of data collection as increasing the credibility of the research. I begin by understanding the Anchor Forest concept through the perspectives, ideas, and interests of those most involved. That exploration then frames the context within which I understand the central components or tenants of Anchor Forest narratives and how they differ from or overlap with narratives in the media, for my second research question. Then, my case study of CTCLUSI and the SNF explores these themes through an example in a different context, for my third research

question. Table 3.1 summarizes my research questions, units of analysis, and units of observation.

Table 3.1. Research questions, units of analysis, and units of observation.

Research Question	Unit of Analysis	Units of Observation
RQ1: Why did the Anchor Forest concept emerge and how do leaders envision its use in different contexts?	Anchor Forest concept (as institution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anchor Forest published documents + media • Anchor Forest leader perspectives in interviews • CTCLUSI forestry, natural resources, and cultural resources staff perspectives in interviews
RQ2: How do Anchor Forest narratives reinforce or depart from mainstream media narratives about tribal partnerships in forest management?	Anchor Forest concept (as narratives and social constructions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anchor Forest published documents + media • Anchor Forest leader perspectives in interviews • Tribal forestry partnership media
RQ3: How do staff of the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians envision participating in multi-party collaboration and partnership on the Siuslaw National Forest?	Partnership and collaboration between CTCLUSI and SNF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CTCLUSI forestry, natural resources, and cultural resources staff perspectives in interviews

Data Collection

Anchor Forest Documents and Media

I examined the extent of published Anchor Forest documents and media, found through internet searching and supplemented by recommendations of key informants. This list of documents is comprised of the following:

- Full Report on the Ancho Forest Pilot Project Assessment (Corrao, Corrao, & King, 2016)
- Anchor Forests four-part video series (Evergreen Magazine, 2016)

- “Anchor Forests and Tribal Lifeways to Improve Ecosystem Resilience and Maintain Working Forests” (Corrao & Andringa, Journal of Forestry, 2016)
- “The Hope of Forest Collaboration and Anchor Forestry” (Evergreen Magazine, 2015)
- Indian Forestry Management Assessment Team Reports III, section on Anchor Forests (2013)

Anchor Forest Interviews

I generated the list of Anchor Forest leaders to interview through suggestions made by key informants and by reviewing Anchor Forest documents. This initial list (n=7) was expanded through a snowball sample, asking each of the seven interviewees to suggest additional names. The final list of interviewees (n=12) was comprised of representatives of the following agencies and entities.

- Intertribal Timber Council (6)
- Northwest Management (consulting company for the Anchor Forest Pilot Study)
- University of Washington
- US Forest Service (USFS)
 - Regional Tribal Partnership Coordinator
 - National Forest Supervisor
 - Ecologist
- New Mexico State Forestry

Those involved in the ITC often commented on their experience working in forestry and fire management for their tribe, but I am careful to clarify when reporting results that their perspectives specifically represent their involvement in Anchor Forests and the ITC, not the views of their respective tribes.³

Nine individuals were directly involved with the ITC’s work on the Anchor Forest concept. Three individuals (two from the USFS, one from New Mexico State Forestry) were not familiar with the Anchor Forest concept but were suggested in the snowball sample given their work on tribal partnerships. I am clear to mark these differences when reporting the results.

Before conducting any interviews, I received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (#=IRB-2019-0199). A semi-structured interview protocol is included in Appendix

³ This explicit distinction also fulfills needs of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) review process, which will be discussed in the *Ethical Principles* section below.

A. The questions in the protocol were left intentionally broad to stimulate open-ended conversation (Richards & Morse, 2007) on why the Anchor Forest concept emerged, how it differs from other forest governance structures, challenges and barriers, and future opportunities. While this resulted in significant variability in responses, it also allowed interviewees to focus on what is important to them about the Anchor Forest concept, allowing the interviews to build a broader picture of meaning supporting the exploratory goals of this research.

Interviews took place between August 2019 and March 2020, were conducted over the phone or in person when feasible, and lasted 30-90 minutes. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, and transcripts were stored in a password locked computer and kept confidential. By conducting all interviews myself, I ensured consistency in the interview protocol to increase reliability of results, while acknowledging the role of my positionality and bias throughout the research process.

Tribal Forestry Partnership Media

I searched for media⁴ on the implementation mechanisms specifically referenced by the Full Report on the Anchor Forest Pilot Project Assessment as supporting implementation of the Anchor Forest concept, comprised of the following:

- Tribal Forest Protection Act (TPFA)
- Reserved Treaty Rights Lands (RTRL)
- Good Neighbor Authority (GNA)⁵
- Collaborative Forest Landscape Restoration Act (CFLRA)
- Shared Stewardship

Only TPFA and RTRL are tribal-specific mechanisms, so for the additional mechanisms, I searched for media that specifically focused on tribal partnerships. I also searched for media on the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (WOTFA) to explore narratives associated with the conveyance of ancestral lands back to coastal Oregon tribes. I chose this piece of legislation both

⁴ I use “media” to refer to news articles that are publicly available on the internet.

⁵ I specifically searched for media about the changes to the GNA enacted under the 2018 Farm Bill.

to represent a counter-example as well as because of WOTFA's relevance for the case of CTCLUSI. Chapter 5 will go further into depth on search terms and results of this media search before presenting results.

CTCLUSI Interviews

The list of potential interviewees for my third research question was generated by one key informant, CTCLUSI's Forest Manager, who recommended eight individuals from CTCLUSI's Department of Natural and Cultural Resources. From that list, five individuals responded with interest in participating and being interviewed. The key informant felt that those five were sufficient to represent the perspectives of CTCLUSI staff for the purpose of this study. Before conducting any interviews as described below, I received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (#=IRB-2019-0199). Interviews were conducted in person at CTCLUSI's Florence and Coos Bay offices in October and November 2019. Interviews lasted 1-2 hours, and were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded in NVivo. All data was kept confidential and stored on a password-locked computer. Acting as the sole interviewer, I was able to maintain consistency in administering the interview protocol, which is provided as Appendix B.

Inductive Analysis of Emergent Themes and Patterns

For my first and third research questions, I used an inductive approach (Richards & Morse, 2007) and coded for emergent themes, with initial codebooks for each research question that began with broad categories derived from my interview questions, as well as initial impressions of important themes and concepts that I noted while transcribing interviews. I applied initial codebooks to a subset of interviews, adding emergent nodes as they appeared, and subsequently edited and reorganized the codebooks. I then applied these codebooks to the remainder of the data, adding nodes until I reached theoretical saturation. Throughout the process, I used memoing and annotations to note emergent themes, patterns, ideas, and rich quotes. My reporting of results draws heavily from quotes to uphold the integrity of the

framing and language used by interviewees. My final codebooks, with inclusion criteria for each node, are included as Appendix E, F, and G.

Deductive/Inductive Analysis using Narrative Policy and Social Construction and Policy Design Frameworks

Based on early conversation with key informants, I recognized the importance of the Anchor Forest concept as a narrative-based communication tool, seeking to enact policy change, which brought me to utilize two frameworks from the field of public policy. Public policy theory scholarship defines a “policy” loosely as any form of government decision, or lack thereof, that affects the allocation of public resources and benefits (K. B. Smith & Larimer, 2017). In this way, the Anchor Forest concept can be seen as “policy,” in that the implementation of the Anchor Forest concept would involve decisions and shifts affecting the management of tribal, federal, state, and private natural resources. The following section provides an overview of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) and the Social Construction of Policy Design Framework (SCF), relevant past applications in the literature, and how I operationalized them for my research.

Overview of NPF and SCF, and Past Applications

NPF proposes that policies must harness salient stories, or “narratives,” in order to garner support, and provides methods and propositions that break down narratives into their core components to facilitate the analysis of patterns across narrative-based data (Shanahan, Jones, Mcbeth, & Radaelli, 2017). NPF takes a pragmatic or “neo-positivist” approach (Shanahan, Jones, Mcbeth, & Lane, 2013) to analyzing the role of narratives, combining an interpretivist approach that understands meaning-making as a subjective process, with a more empirical and systematic approach to investigating how narratives influence the policy process. Scholars have used NPF to explore intra-coalitional cohesion by unpacking the ways that different members of a coalition tell overlapping or diverging stories about problems and solutions (Shanahan et al., 2013). Narratives also influence how individuals process, organize, and act on relevant information in a policy context. NPF scholars define “policy narratives” as

requiring two characteristics: one, that they present a stance or judgement on a policy or policy action, and two, that they involve at least one character that can be interpreted as a hero, victim, or villain. Additionally, NPF breaks policy narratives into three main components: elements, strategies, and beliefs. Elements include the statement of the problem, characters, evidence/setting, causal mechanisms, moral of the story, and plot (Shanahan et al. 2013). To constrain the scope of this research, I focused only on elements and not the other components, which I believe still allows for rich analysis of patterns in the data.

Most NPF studies to date have employed quantitative or mixed method approaches, but more scholars have begun to apply the framework qualitatively. Gray and Jones (2016) present a guide for how to apply NPF qualitatively through their study of campaign finance reform narratives in the United States. They point out that qualitative NPF methods are useful and appropriate in situations where less data is available, either because a policy is new, or because the scope of impact of the policy is small. Gray & Jones (2016) use semi-structured interviews to describe and unpack the narratives of different interest groups into strategies, elements, and beliefs, in their context of campaign finance reform. The authors rely heavily on quotes to demonstrate their findings and interpretations, and conform to the general practice of qualitative social science by defining validity through credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Gray & Jones, 2016).

NPF scholars contend that narratives contribute to learning and therefore have the power to shift policy beliefs and opinions, and influence ultimate outcomes. The NPF has facilitated understanding of how narratives have influenced policy change in the past, and can be used to provide practical recommendations for narrative-based communication strategies that could build support for future policy change (Crow & Jones, 2018; Crow, Lawhon, et al., 2017; Shanahan et al., 2013). Some NPF studies have used media coverage as its unit of analysis due to the role that media play in influencing policy agenda-setting. Scholars have recognized the limited nature of the media's ability to influence public opinion and shift policy decisions, especially when institutional structures are rigid, as is the case with the U.S. Forest Service (Busenberg, 2004). However, the media can still be a valuable source of information to

understand the ways that society is constructing meaning about the world (Crow, Berggren, et al., 2017). This analysis could be especially meaningful when contextualized within operating institutional structures and constraints.

Like NPF, SCF similarly highlights the way that reality is constructed through societal meaning-making, and dives more deeply into the ways that specific groups are constructed and understood in the policy arena. SCF posits that policies are set up to benefit groups that are socially constructed as deserving and/or powerful, and allocate burdens to groups that are seen as undeserving and/or powerless. This framework operates from a matrix of target populations based on deservedness and power, putting them in the categories of advantaged, contender, dependent, and deviant (Ingram & Schneider, 2017), illustrated below in 3.2.

Table 3.2: Social Construction and Policy Design framework

	Deserving/Legitimate	Undeserving / Illegitimate
Powerful	Advantaged	Contender
Powerless	Dependent	Deviant

Unlike NPF, SCF takes a more explicit approach to exploring the role of power dynamics in the context of policy environments, positing that social constructions of different groups' power and legitimacy are continuously reinforced by how policies allocate burdens and benefits (Ingram, Schneider, & DeLeon, 2014). SCF has been used to analyze the ways that Native identities are socially constructed and reinforced through policy (Corntassel, 2003; McCulloch & Wilkins, 1995) as well as to understand how benefits and burdens are allocated to target populations in the context of forest and environmental planning (Koski & Keating, 2018; Predmore, Stern, & Mortimer, 2011). This framework may support the collaborative governance literature, given that scholars are increasingly examining the role of power and legitimacy in influencing collaborative governance dynamics and outcomes (Molden, Abrams, Davis, & Moseley, 2017; Orth & Cheng, 2018).

Operationalizing NPF and SCF in this Research

To explore narratives and social constructions for my second research question, I deductively employed categories from NPF and SCF, combined with inductive coding that generated greater levels of detail and complexity within the general categories used in these frameworks. I employed both frameworks in a combined approach to draw from the unique lenses and strengths of each and illuminate a more complete picture of dynamics at play. NPF is useful for unpacking the ways that narratives shape policy realities, but fails to fully illuminate reinforcing feedback loops and power dynamics that affect distribution of burdens and benefits. SCF more effectively conceptualizes those feedback loops and power dynamics, but struggles to provide a way of understanding how those feedback loops might be broken, and what contextual framing might either reinforce or intervene in prevailing social constructions. For my research context, I view the combination of these two frameworks as capable of illuminating both the prevailing narratives that frame the context of problems and solutions related to forest management and partnerships, that might then link to the ways that tribes are socially constructed as powerful leaders and/or deserving of benefits of better forest management. Based on these goals, I used the following guiding questions when operationalizing these two frameworks:

- How does the Anchor Forest concept frame the nature of the problem that necessitates the creation of Anchor Forests as the solution?
- How does this Anchor Forest problem framing compare to how media on tribal forestry partnerships frame the problem?
- Are certain types of narrative elements commonly linked to one another? Are certain narrative elements more common in certain problem or media contexts?
- Do certain narrative elements or combinations of elements tend to be used to reinforce portrayals of tribes as powerful? Do certain elements or combinations tend to be used to reinforce portrayals of tribes as victims or deserving of support?
- Do Anchor Forest narratives socially construct tribes as powerful and/or deserving? How does this differ from the ways that the general media socially constructs tribes?

To answer these questions, I started with a preliminary codebook based on key elements from NPF and SCF defined in Table 3.3. I then inductively added sub-nodes first through multiple readings of the Anchor Forest Full Report, drawing out recurring narrative elements found in that document that form the basis for how the Anchor Forest concept tells its story. I used this codebook for a first round of coding of all Anchor Forest documents and media, adding emergent nodes throughout. I then cycled back through multiple rounds to apply emergent nodes and search for new ones, until I reached saturation. This iterative process echoes the general practice of past NPF and SCF scholars conducting qualitative analyses (Gray & Jones, 2016; Husmann, 2015). My final codebook, including inclusion criteria for each node, is provided in Appendix F.

Table 3.3. NPF and SCF elements chosen for my study and description of operationalization.

Framework	Element	Description based on operationalization in past applications
NPF	Problem	The nature of the harm, being inflicted on some group or groups
	Villain	The reason or cause of the harm (can be individual, group, agency, concept, some chronic issue)
	Victim	The individual or group that receives the harm
	Hero	The individual or group that has the capacity to solve the problem
SCF	Power	Perceived or socially constructed power; statements describing abilities, capacities, or rights
	Deservedness	Perceived or socially constructed positively such that they should be allocated benefits (implying normative/moral grounds)

While past qualitative NPF studies have generally included some quantitative reporting of coding results, such as binary presence/absence summaries of narrative elements found in the data (Gray & Jones, 2016), I found that in my research, quantitative reporting of results would fail to capture the complexity of the narratives observed, and could thus present a misleading or incomplete picture – which would be especially harmful in the context of this partnership research involving tribal communities. Given this concern, as well as the exploratory nature of my questions and the small body of data, I decided to deduct only qualitative information from

the data. To inform more meaningful summaries of results, after I conducted my coding, I went back to the data to interpret which elements were most “emphasized” both through their frequency of use in the text, as well as the use of strong language (e.g. “it is crucial to...”, “the primary reason...”, “above all else...”). This was an interpretive and inductive process, but by describing this “audit trail” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), I attempt to strengthen transferability while upholding the method’s ability to dive deeply into narrative meaning. I also had two readers, one in the field of collaborative forest governance as well as an NPF scholar in public policy, apply my codebook to the same five articles, chosen randomly. We discussed and reconciled our coding differences, and I then went back and checked for consistency and re-coded as necessary. Given the inductive nature of this qualitative coding process, I did not complete a quantitative Intercoder Reliability process, but view this peer debriefing and reconciliation as adding credibility and transferability to my results, as described in the next section.

Building Trustworthiness in the Research

As is general practice in qualitative research, I use descriptors of “trustworthiness” rather than “validity” to describe the methodological rigor of my study, through avenues that are distinct from those of quantitative research. I will describe below how I have built trustworthiness through credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability.

Credibility

Credibility refers to strategies that the researcher uses to ensure that findings are an accurate depiction of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). I have used a variety of mechanisms to build credibility in this research, while also recognizing that “reality” is subjective and co-constructed through the relationships between myself and my interviewees/research collaborators. First, I used methodological triangulation (Morse, 2015) through my different methods and sources of data that speak to my three interacting research questions. As described in the introduction, by exploring the meaning of the Anchor Forest concept through 1) perspectives of those most involved shared in interviews, 2) comparisons of narratives in Anchor Forest documents to mainstream media, and 3) perspectives of CTCLUSI staff who are

not involved in Anchor Forests, I am able to generate a broader understanding of different meanings attached to the Anchor Forest concept. For my second research question, by examining the full extent of media that fulfilled my search terms, I built credibility in that the data analyzed accurately represent media on my topic. For my first and third research questions, which draw heavily from qualitative interviews, member-checking with interviewees was the primary means of building credibility. I provided each interviewee the opportunity to comment on my results outline and thesis draft, to ensure that the way I reported and organized the findings aligns with their perspectives and how they see the truth or “reality” of Anchor Forests.

Confirmability

Building “confirmability” in the research means clearly acknowledging the role of researcher bias in influencing the research, so that interpretation of the results can be understood accordingly (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). While I worked to minimize my bias in some ways through the credibility protocols outlined above, I also am clear to articulate the role my bias plays in this research. Throughout the research process, I documented my personal reflections and choices, through memoing and note-taking, to create an “audit trail” of how the research took shape. My inclusion of a statement of positionality and my intentional insertion of myself throughout the writing of this thesis also serves to portray this audit trail and build confirmability (Richards & Morse, 2007).

Transferability

Both the Anchor Forest concept and collaboration/partnership between CTCLUSI and the SNF cannot be separated from historical, social, cultural, and ecological contexts. I build transferability in this research by providing a “thick description” of the context in which these cases are embedded (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This is reflected both in the contextual information included in the introduction, as well as the time spent in the interviews allowing interviewees to describe the context they view as important to understanding their perspectives. Providing

this thick description supports understanding of how the findings might or might not apply to other contexts, without making improper assumptions of broad generalizability.

Dependability

Dependability is described as demonstration that the findings could be repeated by another researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Dependability in this study is generally limited by the fact that I was the primary researcher in this study – which helped me build trustworthiness as outlined above, but complicates the ability for another researcher to repeat my methods. I did build dependability by carefully transcribing the interviews, developing comprehensive codebooks for each of my research questions, and annotating the transcripts throughout the coding process whenever I made a judgement in an unclear situation. I also went through multiple iterations of coding to avoid drift in my application of the codebook. My coding was also reviewed by my advisor Dr. Hajjar, and results were discussed in frequent meetings with both Dr. Hajjar and Dr. Davis to enhance dependability. For my second research question, given my use of established analytical frameworks to analyze narratives and social constructions, I used the previously described qualitative Intercoder Reliability process with peers in related fields to build transferability.

Methodological Tradeoffs

The strongest forms of trustworthiness in this research come from active member-checking with interviewees, thick and rich description of context, and my own reflexivity throughout the process. These forms of trustworthiness are well-suited to the goals of the research, which are exploratory in nature, seeking to contribute to a deeper understanding of the meaning of the Anchor Forest concept, while directly supporting the interests of research collaborators. What this research gains through these forms of trustworthiness, it loses in transferability to other contexts. Throughout reporting the results, I stress that the findings are context-specific. I encourage readers to take these findings not as universal or directly applicable elsewhere, but as invitations to dialogue and exploration in their own contexts.

Similarly, my discussion sections seek to bring these results into the broader theoretical literature, identifying ways that the findings converge or diverge from past research in other contexts, while acknowledging that no two situations or contexts are directly comparable.

Ethical Principles and Processes

Ethics were not a side consideration in this research process, but integral to the development of my research questions, the building of relationships with interviewees, and the writing of this thesis. The ethical motivations of this research include and extend beyond the requirements of the IRB. I secured IRB approval before conducting interviews, which required obtaining documentation from key informants stating that approval from individual tribal councils was not required. The key informant from the ITC stated in writing that the list of interviewees was comprised of individuals involved in the Anchor Forest concept, and were not solicited as representatives of their specific tribes. The key informant from CTCLUSI stated that the list of interviewees was comprised of staff who work for CTCLUSI's Department of Natural and Cultural Resources and the research goals did not require directly soliciting tribal members. These statements provided justification for not obtaining tribal council approval, which would be required if a project sought to specifically recruit tribal members to represent the views of the tribe. Given that I did not go through tribal council approval, I have worked to fulfill the ethical obligation to communicate my results accordingly and ensure they are not interpreted as the perspectives of tribal members.

Before beginning any interview, I read the letter of informed consent which highlighted potential risks of participating, and I obtained verbal consent from every interviewee (included in Appendix B and D). I emailed each interviewee a copy of the letter, containing relevant contact information for their records. I also followed up with each interviewee and shared my results outline, to give the opportunity for feedback and approval of the results before moving forward.

Beyond these standard ethical protocols, I have strived to incorporate aspects of Decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies, informed by reading the work of Maori scholar

Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Cree scholar Shawn Wilson. From Smith's in depth and foundational text on the need for Decolonizing Methodologies, I learned about the long legacy of academic researchers systematically exploiting and oppressing Indigenous peoples. This understanding has informed my intent to actively undo the power dynamics associated with researchers as outsiders to the communities that they study. For me, this has meant developing my research questions and methodologies through conversation with those most involved in these issues, ensuring that my results match their perspectives, and finding ways to make this research is relevant and useful to them. I presented preliminary results at the ITC's Board Meeting in Portland in December 2019, and invited feedback from partners on how I can give this research back in useful ways. Rather than viewing my interviewees as "study participants," I have seen them as co-collaborators of this research, or co-constructors of this research narrative. From Wilson, I learned about the concept of "relational accountability," or how Indigenous scholars view their research and actions as accountable to their community of relations. Admittedly, the relational accountability in my work is limited by the short timeline of my Master's, which did not allow for the deep community relationship-building that is necessary. Much of this research was of my own design and that of my advisors, and in the end, opportunity for feedback was intermittent and limited. However, I do not see the completion of my thesis as the endpoint of this research and these relationships. I expect to continue to stay in touch with many of my research collaborators, and find ways to build reciprocal support and relationships into the future.

Chapter 4: Why did the Anchor Forest concept emerge?

Overview

My first research question asked, broadly, “Why did the Anchor Forest concept emerge?” As this study evolved through ongoing conversation with key informants from the Intertribal Timber Council, sub-questions emerged:

- How could this concept be used in the future, and in different contexts?
- What barriers must be overcome to accomplish the vision of the Anchor Forest concept?

Through these questions I sought to produce a rich description of this concept’s meaning through the eyes of those involved, while recognizing my role as a researcher interpreting this meaning. This chapter summarizes key findings from analysis of published Anchor Forest documents and twelve interviews with individuals involved in the Anchor Forest concept. I first describe primary findings from the data, and then connect emergent themes to theoretical literature on adaptive governance, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, and eco-cultural politics of scale, and practice-oriented literature on collaborative and partnership-based governance.

Results

Overview of historical context

When asked why the Anchor Forest concept emerged, many interviewees brought up different pieces of historical context to set the stage for the Intertribal Timber Council (ITC)’s work on Anchor Forests. Some interviewees involved in the ITC since its creation provided background on why it formed, emphasizing that the origins of the Anchor Forest concept are intertwined with the ITC’s history. In describing this history, some interviewees focused on the shifting role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in administering tribal forestry, toward more tribal autonomy to make decisions and steer management priorities. One interviewee explained that until the 1970s, the BIA was mismanaging and overharvesting tribal forestlands held in trust by the federal government, extracting levels of timber that were not meeting long-term tribal stewardship values. This interviewee noted that “individually, tribes were becoming

increasingly concerned and frustrated.” They went on to explain that the ITC formed in 1976, after the passage of the Indian Self Determination and Education Act, as part of a wave of increased tribal leadership and autonomy. They described that tribal leaders involved in the creation of the ITC sought a way to work more collaboratively with the BIA, industry, and academia to improve the management and stewardship of tribal forestlands. Another interviewee noted that the naming of the ITC was deliberate and intentional in emphasizing the importance of sustainable, active management. They stated, “It was in recognition that harvest was an essential part of maintaining the health of the forest, both economically and environmentally, and that we shouldn’t make apologies for it.” This interviewee described that the ITC was designed to educate tribal leadership and their partners on long-term stewardship and management practices. Another interviewee less involved in the ITC but familiar with their work, noted that as an organization, they have always done an effective job at “telling their story.”

Interviewees also described a shift in how the USFS and other federal agencies work with tribal partners and the efficacy of government to government relationships. Some interviewees emphasized the progression of Indian Forest Management Assessment Team (IFMAT) reports as a fundamental part of this shift. Since 1993, the ITC has worked with a team of foresters and academics to publish an assessment of tribal forestlands every ten years. Thus far, three have been published, in 1993, 2003, and 2013. One interviewee described that the first IFMAT report sought to determine how to bring Indian forests up to the quality⁶ of federal forests, but that in recent years, following assessment, the orientation has flipped. They explained that now, federal agencies are looking to tribal foresters, who continue to sustainably manage more acres on a lower budget than federal agencies. This interviewee framed this context to explain why a concept like Anchor Forests could emerge, tied to a shift in thinking among foresters and land managers, that tribal forestlands could serve as an example for long-term, sustainable management and stewardship. Two interviewees who were not involved in

⁶ This interviewee did not elaborate on what is meant by “quality,” but review of the IFMAT I report implies that quality implies productive timber output and overall “forest health,” including the extent of disease and other pathogens (Intertribal Timber Council, 1993)

the formation of the ITC nor with Anchor Forests, but had worked for the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) during this period of transitioning values, noted that over the course of their careers, agency staff had become more receptive toward tribal values and partnerships. One interviewee specifically noted that, as a Native person, they had expected to experience racism based on experiences with the USFS in the past, but upon entering the agency, found their colleagues at the agency to be open-minded and culturally sensitive. They also noted that the personality of every National Forest is different, and that this open-mindedness might not be the case everywhere.

Some interviewees described the trajectory of environmental ethics, policy, and conflict, especially citing the passage of the Northwest Forest Plan, intertwined with heightened conflict between the general public and federal land management agencies, and the onset of collaborative and partnership-based models of decision-making in western public lands. Multiple interviewees noted a challenge with the rise of wilderness ethics among the broader general public in the US, ethics in which people do not see themselves as part of nature, and oppose any form of active forest management. Interviewees commented that this worldview is at odds with the way that Native people have always seen themselves as part of, and interacting with, their environment. There was a general sentiment that the Anchor Forest concept was necessary as another path forward amidst this context and conflict, with multiple interviewees describing some form of “pendulum swing” from over-harvesting and exploitation of federal forests, to under-harvest, and that this under-harvest has led to the decline of local forest products infrastructure as well as unhealthy and over-stocked forests.

Interviewees also mentioned that across a similar timeline, models of cross-boundary partnerships have become more urgent, with increasing pace of fire and forest health challenges spreading across ownership boundaries. Simultaneously, federal agencies began spending larger portions of their budgets on fire suppression rather than fire prevention and forest stewardship. Interviewees described how this context led to the emergence of more partnership mechanisms, authorities, and funding structures, including ones designed for tribal lands to partner with and co-manage neighboring federal lands. The Anchor Forest concept was

materializing around the same time that the Tribal Forest Protection Act (TFPA) was passed, allowing tribes to work cross-boundary and conduct timber harvests on neighboring federal lands.

One interviewee who had been involved in IFMAT described that a precursor to the Anchor Forest concept was the idea of “tributary areas,” or areas surrounding sawmills where landowners would commit to contributing a certain amount of timber to feed the mill and ensure economic viability. While no other interviewee mentioned this concept, others did heavily emphasize the widespread issue of declining forest products industry and infrastructure in local rural communities, and the consolidation of the timber industry into the hands of a few large companies, which has translated to less place-based investment, weaker stewardship values, and less employment for local community members. One interviewee stressed that broadly, revenue from timber harvesting is necessary to fund restoration activities, so the decline in harvesting across ownerships has negatively impacted restoration capacity, particularly on federal lands.

That different interviewees emphasized different historical context when describing the emergence of Anchor Forests does not necessarily imply a lack of reliability. This may instead speak to the fluid and nascent nature of the Anchor Forest concept, which has been discussed in many contexts, taking different shapes depending on local needs and capacities. While that makes this concept difficult to characterize or fully understand, it also implies a richness, and implores the need to get to know what this concept means on an individual, local, and specific level, through the eyes of those who have imagined it and are trying to use it.

“Anchor means stability”: why new scales of governance are needed

When asked what makes Anchor Forests unique, or different from other models of partnership and collaboration, interviewees responded with diverse answers, including larger spatial scales of management, longer time scales of commitment, comprehensiveness of values, and the leadership of an empowered convener and leader. First, interviewees often took a step back to explain the underlying motivating challenges that Anchor Forests seek to address.

Again, it is important to note when exploring the variation in responses that while most interviewees have been involved with Anchor Forests in some way, they all live and work in different regions and contexts. As discussed later in the results, aspects of the Anchor Forest concept may be more relevant in some regions over others.

First, several highlighted the need for larger spatial scales of forest management and governance. This need was expressed due to the political and ecological fragmentation of ownership across the landscape, with property boundaries between tribal reservations, federal lands, state lands, and private lands. This spatial fragmentation was also described as linked to regulatory fragmentation, because each agency has its own regulatory frameworks, priorities, and funding cycles related to forest management. Interviewees expressed both ecological and economic need for coordination of landowners across larger landscapes. Ecologically, they described that risks such as wildfire, insects, and pathogens, as well as impacts from climate change, drought, and soil degradation, conform to ecological boundaries, not political boundaries. One stressed that landowners in a given region share common risks and concerns, and thus an integrated approach across the landscape is necessary. In the regions east of the Cascades, where the Anchor Forest pilot studies were conducted, one interviewee noted that there is increasing awareness that every landowner is affected by the management of their neighbors. For example, fires sometimes spread from federal lands onto a tribal reservation, draining resources, damaging infrastructure and forest resources. Anchor Forest documents and interviewees shared the view that in the fire-adapted ecosystems of the West, controlled burning to maintain healthy landscape conditions is not always feasible given human infrastructure and smoke concerns, and thus mechanical harvesting at sustainable levels can substitute as a tool to support landscape resilience to wildfire.

Economically, interviewees stressed that to keep the forest products industry financially viable, there needs to be increased supply of forest products coming from all ownerships in the region, not just from an individual tribal reservation or federal forest. Another example provided by an interviewee is that with the diminishing quantity of timber harvested on federal forests, it has become hard for some tribes to keep their own sawmills financially viable.

While some interviewees primarily focused on needing to increase spatial scale, others emphasized that Anchor Forests represent longer time scales of management and partnership. They stressed the need for long-term commitments of adjacent landowners in the area to continually harvest at a sustainable level, targeting a certain number of board feet of timber per year, in order to sustain economic investments for forest processing infrastructure. The Anchor Forest Pilot Project specifically suggests landowner commitments of at least 15 years, which might involve piecing together multiple implementation mechanisms such as the TPFA, RTRL, or CFLRP, as explained in Chapter 2. A few interviewees brought up that managing with a more long-term view also allows for more effective monitoring and adaptation to climate change and other ecosystem changes. Some stressed that a long-term view also sees beyond short-term fluctuations in the market, funding availability, and political administrations.

Alongside the expansion of spatial and temporal scales of partnerships and governance, interviewees also saw a need to expand the scale of values considered, many using the word “comprehensive” to describe what makes the Anchor Forest concept unique, in that it fully integrates ecological, economic, and social values. As mentioned in the historical context, the Anchor Forest concept can be seen as a response to the perceived “pendulum swinging” from over-harvesting to under-harvesting that has characterized the history of forestry in the west. The Anchor Forest concept acknowledges that sustainable harvest is both possible and necessary in order to maintain resilient forests and communities.

Situated in the need for new scales, many interviewees referred directly to the meaning of the term “anchor” as reflecting a form of stability or permanence on the landscape. In an interview published by Evergreen Magazine, Gary Morishima, who coined the term “Anchor Forest,” commented, “We’re hoping the unusual paring of words – anchor and forestry – will pique enough curiosity to spur efforts to learn about the concept and its objectives.” One interviewee, heavily involved in the development of the Anchor Forest concept, reflected:

Well "Anchor" means stability. I mean... forestry is a very dynamic ecosystem that's always changing. And so when something's always changing, and you need stability, or a place to anchor yourself, to tie into, that's why I think it's an Anchor Forest.

Several interviewees described that the term “anchor” refers to the stability of timber harvest necessary to sustain investments, infrastructure, and ultimately the health of the forest. Some said the term reflects the way tribes have managed and inhabited their lands over time, making their lands “anchors” of permanence, and living demonstrations of long-term stewardship values that federal agencies are only beginning to mobilize. Several commented that given uncertainty about how ecosystems will change in the future, as well as the possibility of changes in land ownership and tenure, tribal lands represent more stability than federal lands or other non-tribal land tenure. One interviewee not involved in Anchor Forests but involved in tribal partnerships with the USFS stressed that tribes have inhabited and managed their ancestral lands, and will continue to do so in the future, on a far longer timescale than federal agencies, which may come and go in the long run.

Implementing the vision: what it would take to create an Anchor Forest

I asked interviewees to expand upon information documented in the Anchor Forest Full Report to describe how they see implementation of an Anchor Forest, as well as offer reflections on how their view has changed since the report was published. Both the report and comments made by several interviewees emphasized the need for an empowered leader that has capacity, resources, and interest to convene surrounding landowners and form partnerships to implement an Anchor Forest partnership. As described above, when asked what makes this concept distinct, interviewees generally did not first emphasize the role of tribal leadership. Rather, echoing the narrative progression of the Anchor Forest Full Report, interviewees first framed the motivating challenges and the need for new scales, and then described why tribes are uniquely positioned to convene other landowners and act as leaders in this context.

Some interviewees made a point to distinguish Anchor Forests as distinct from collaborative governance or “forest collaboratives” which have become more common across the western US (E. J. Davis et al., 2017). Some interviewees recognized that the Anchor Forest concept is one among multiple concepts that seek to expand governance scales beyond local collaborative processes, and build momentum for cross-boundary partnerships to address

larger scale management challenges. Some interviewees expressed that unlike most models of collaborative governance currently operating in the West, the Anchor Forest concept integrates more landowners than just the USFS and its stakeholders. One interviewee in particular described seeing Anchor Forests less as a model of collaboration, and more as a mechanism to empower tribal leadership to form direct partnerships with other landowners. Other interviewees felt that forest collaboratives, or collaborative processes more generally, can play a role in the governance of Anchor Forests, but the Anchor Forest concept extends beyond these collaborative processes to leverage direct landowner partnerships.

Several interviewees also described that Anchor Forests hinge on leveraging the “convening power” and authority of a central entity. One interviewee stated that the convener of an Anchor Forest partnership does not necessarily need to be a tribe, but could be any entity that has the capacity, legitimacy, and interest to bring surrounding landowners into a partnership. This interviewee highlighted that tribes may not have certain capacities or resources, but may bring other sources of power and leadership if a partnership was convened by a different entity. To some extent, every interviewee emphasized that the Anchor Forest concept specifically highlights tribal leadership, and could potentially operate with the tribe as the convener, unlike many collaborative processes or partnership arrangements, where the USFS tends to be the central convener. Gary Morishima, an ITC leader who is credited with coining the term “Anchor Forests,” stated in a published interview:

Recognition of Tribal perspectives and values could serve as the key that could free collaborative processes from gridlock. Tribal commitments to long-term, multipurpose stewardship could help bridge differences in values that other participants in collaborative processes may bring to the table. Indian forests are prime candidates to serve as Anchor Forests and Tribes are well positioned to lead collaborative processes because of their profound covenant for stewardship, intimate knowledge of the land, vision, and capabilities (Morishima, quoted in Peterson, 2015).

This implies that tribal leadership is core to the Anchor Forest concept. Although Anchor Forest documents and interviewees generally did not start by emphasizing the role of tribal leadership, they ultimately arrived there. I propose that the Anchor Forest concept’s origins with the ITC as opposed to a federal agency might matter in terms of its meaning, representing

a shift in power and authority, or a centering of tribal leadership. Scholars have documented dynamics associated with different roles played by conveners, facilitators, and participants in collaborative settings, and have noted that implicit power dynamics may arise from the USFS acting as both the primary landowner and the convener of the collaboration (Cheng & Mattor, 2006; Purdy & Jones, 2012). Future research on Anchor Forests and similar partnerships might explore how collaborative dynamics change when the convener is a tribal government as opposed to the federal government.

In the following sections, I will summarize how interviewees and Anchor Forest documents justify that tribes are uniquely positioned to convene cross-boundary partnerships associated with the Anchor Forests concept.

Infrastructure and Land Base

The pilot studies conducted for the Anchor Forest Full Report included potential partnerships with the Yakama Nation and surrounding landowners. Anchor Forest documents and some interviewees mentioned that the Yakama operate one of the last remaining sawmills in the area. The USFS and the State of Washington rely on this mill to process timber from their forestlands. The Yakama Nation also relies on those neighboring landowners to sustain the economic viability of this mill. Documents and interviews emphasized this infrastructure as lending the Yakama Nation unique ability to convene an Anchor Forest partnership – because they both rely on and are relied upon by their neighbors, they have a more urgent need for cross-boundary partnership. Others also brought up that the Yakama have a relatively large forestland base and long-standing forestry program that allows them to manage land efficiently and effectively. One interviewee stressed:

Well I think the concept that we were talking about, really has to do with, a basic forest infrastructure where activities are happening. And that's on Indian country, that's on our lands. Because Tribes are actively out there trying to manage our forests, to protect forest health, to try to deal with emergency situations and those kinds of things.

This possession of infrastructure is described as a source of convening power for the Yakama both because of this mutual reliance of neighboring landowners, but also because it

demonstrates that the Yakama have been able to sustain milling operations over time and can thus be a model of sustainable active forest management. However, others emphasized that many tribes do not have large reservations or forestry infrastructure, and are struggling to gain autonomy and access to ancestral lands, so they may leverage other sources of convening power such as those highlighted below.

Political Power, Treaty Rights, and Governmental Relationships

Anchor Forest documents and interviewees emphasized that tribes hold unique powers as sovereign nations in their relationships to the federal government. Compared to other entities like private landowners, tribes engage with federal agencies in government to government relationships. They hold reserved rights to water and resources held under federal trust, lending them elevated voice in decision-making as well as rights to co-manage resources with federal agencies. Gary Morishima described in his published *Evergreen Magazine* interview:

As political sovereigns, Tribes can advocate for holistic, long-term stewardship to care for the land and the communities that depend upon it. They are in a position to argue that other political sovereigns like nation states, member states, counties, and cities – have a duty to full their responsibilities to protect the public trust to prevent despoliation of the commons – the land, water, air, fish, and wildlife for the sake of future generations of all peoples (Morishima quoted in Peterson, 2015).

Echoed in the comments of some interviewees, the Anchor Forest Full Report also highlights that tribes have the ability to leverage implementation mechanisms as introduced in Chapter 2 to exert their influence on land management and enact partnerships.

Efficient and Effective Governance

Another recurring theme prevalent in documents and interviewees was that tribes can efficiently and effectively enact active forest management across their lands, and potentially neighboring lands, compared to federal and state agencies. Multiple interviewees described that reports and studies, including IFMAT reports, have found that tribes are generally accomplishing more management with less funding per acre than federal agencies. Some attributed this to a need to “do more with less,” given chronic lack of funding and resources,

including that they are underfunded by the federal government for fire suppression and mitigation activities. Others felt that tribes may have an inherently more efficient governance structure, where management decisions are accountable to a smaller and more local constituency. One interviewee stressed that tribal forest management still has to go through a full National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) review, but the process tends to be more streamlined because fewer people object to proposals. Some interviewees described that the efficiency and effectiveness of tribal forestry could serve both as guidance to other landowners and could lend tribes legitimacy to enact management on federal lands through the use of mentioned partnership authorities. One interviewee thought that members of the non-Native public tend to trust tribes to be responsible land stewards, more so than they trust the federal government. They described:

I think for the most part, people know that tribes have the best interest in the ecosystem in mind. When we plan things, we don't just focus on revenue generation, or just any one particular aspect of resource management, we really look at it holistically.

This implied legitimacy and trust would lend tribal land managers convening power and potentially streamline environmental review processes. Future research could explore whether tribal forestry departments are truly more trusted than federal or state agencies, or where the limits to this trust exist.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge: “the secret sauce”

Anchor Forest documents frequently point to Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), and the demonstrated legacy of tribes sustainably managing their lands since time immemorial, as lending unique perspective and values to forest management in modern times. One interview connected TEK back to the ability to manage more efficiently and effectively, stating:

It's real fascinating to watch these Congressional hearings, and the FS is sitting there getting criticized for not doing enough. And then tribes are doing it at 1/3 of the cost, \$9/acre versus \$3/acre. And Congress, it's interesting to watch their faces, and then they ask each tribe, well how are you able to do this at a third of the cost? And where is that? And we call it the secret ingredient, the secret sauce, is that connection of traditional knowledge and science.

Mention of TEK supports literature included in Chapter 2 that demonstrates increasing interest on the part of non-Native land managers to integrate TEK with western science to inform better land management. Another interviewee mentioned that tribes have “place-based knowledge” and “long-term perspectives” that are necessary to inform management that sustains healthy forests. However, while emphasized by Anchor Forest documents, TEK was mentioned somewhat infrequently in interviews. Interviewees instead tended to focus on current forest management capacity and expertise without using the language or framing of TEK.

“Morality of Management”: Permanence on the Landscape and Investment in the Future

Intertwined with the role of TEK in guiding management, most interviewees in some way mentioned the importance of long-term connection to the land, which imbues a sense of “morality” (a word used by two interviewees) in their land management. Several interviewees emphasized that tribes have been on the land for longer than anyone else, and will continue to be there, managing their land in perpetuity for future generations. One interviewee stated this clearly:

Well one of the things with tribal leadership is living with the consequences of their decisions. When a tribal person makes the decision, it's like a family business. Whatever you do as a tribal leader will reflect on your tribe and your family, it's going to be forever. That's something that politicians, or state foresters, or politicians with the federal government, may or may not come from the area or be involved with the forest, but the tribal leaders have a family connection with that forest for you know, millennia. And then seven generations each way. That's the impact of your decisions, they'll have consequences.

Interviews and documents suggested that this relationship to the land makes tribes more likely than any other entity to make long-term commitments on the temporal scale envisioned through Anchor Forests. This may also speak back to the sense that people tend to trust tribes to steward land responsibly, perhaps because they are seen as more accountable to the consequences of their actions than federal agency staff, acting with this “morality of management” – but future research is needed to explore this dynamic further.

More Urgent Need to Partner

Some interviewees brought up that some tribes may have a more urgent need to partner based on how they are affected by management of surrounding landownerships. Tribes who have experienced fires cross over from neighboring lands such as National Forests may have more interest in cross-boundary partnerships and therefore may step up to convene an Anchor Forest partnership. One interviewee framed this sentiment:

There's been several Tribes that have experienced losses from wildfires starting on federal land and coming onto their forest land. Their forest land is their private property that generates revenues, it's part of their culture, it's part of their livelihoods. So it was considered that the Tribes are actually the Anchors in taking care of the stewardship of the land, and maybe Tribes should step forward and initiate some cross-boundary forest management.

Some interviewees implicitly emphasized that neighboring lands encompass portions of tribal ancestral territories lost through colonization. The need to partner with neighboring landowners reflects the need to access and manage ancestral lands both for maintaining cultural practices and knowledges, as well as sustaining economic revenue that supports livelihoods of tribal members.

One interviewee, who is non-Native and works in academia, presented a moral and justice-based argument for tribal leadership, due to the history of European colonization that forced Native peoples off of their traditional homelands. This interviewee commented,

Tribes are different in that way, because Tribes are directly vulnerable to their local people, and because of the increasing power acknowledged that exists in regional treaty arrangements, and in some cases by the courts, as well as the growing acknowledgement that you know, racism is unacceptable as a cultural perspective, Tribes are emerging as a voice, and as somebody that could possibly influence the evolution of forestry discussion in America.

This quote suggests that some non-Native people might view an ethical imperative to support tribal leadership in forest management because of the very fact that the land belongs to them and was stolen through colonization. However, rather than viewing tribes solely as victims, I found that documents and interviews portrayed this ancestral connection to the land as a source

of power for tribes to seize leadership roles in cross-boundary governance. Chapter 5 will speak more to this interplay of heroic/victim narratives.

What has the Anchor Forest concept accomplished thus far?

A few interviewees who were heavily involved in the Anchor Forest Full Report commented that the project has not lead to implementation in the way that the concept was imagined, which would be to create landscapes on the order of one million acres, managed collaboratively by all landowners and supporting forest collaboratives, with commitments and investments by all landowners over multiple decades. No interviewee felt that any project on the ground could definitively be credited to the Anchor Forest concept. However, most interviewees brought up a variety of ways that they felt the Anchor Forest concept has had impact. Several interviewees thought that while the concept has not been fully implemented or realized, it has sparked conversation and shifted thinking over the course of its development. One interviewee commented,

So I think that's where Anchor Forests, these ideas, really fall into, in that conversation. Is moving the dialogue with the FS from being, we're coming and going to take over in a manner, into a dialogue where this is about co-management of a resource.

Others used language like “it made people think differently” and “folks are talking about it” and “building momentum.” One interviewee thought that dialogue about Anchor Forests fits into the broader conversation about building capacity for cross-boundary work, supporting the USFS’s work on Shared Stewardship. This interviewee felt that the Anchor Forest concept is not at odds with the USFS’s use of their own cross-boundary conceptual frameworks, but rather, they can speak to and support one another as different avenues toward common goals. A few interviewees brought up that the Anchor Forest concept could provide momentum to encourage the use of partnership authorities and mechanisms, even if on a smaller scale than leaders hoped. One interviewee remarked that they felt that in some areas, the Anchor Forest concept has encouraged tribes to think more beyond the bounds of their reservation lands and empowered them to take interest in more partnerships.

Multiple interviews also commented that the feasibility analyses highlighted in the Anchor Forest Full Report represent valuable information when communicating to federal agencies about the need for partnership and increased pace and scale of management, as well as communicating to Congress about the need for appropriating more funding toward cross-boundary forestry activities. Specifically, the quantitative data on levels of timber harvesting and acreage requiring treatment was mentioned as useful information when communicating through these avenues.

Overcoming barriers: what shifts are necessary to implement Anchor Forests?

Given the few years that have passed since the publishing of the Anchor Forest Full Report, I asked interviewees to describe what they see as barriers to implementing this concept, or why it has not been fully implemented thus far. Interviewees not involved in Anchor Forests spoke on what they see as barriers to tribal involvement in cross-boundary forest management more generally. Most people responded with reflections on why this concept has been difficult to implement, and what types of shifts would be necessary for it to be implemented in the future. I found that answers generally grouped into two different categories: structural or institutional-level barriers that must be overcome, and cultural barriers requiring changes in the mindsets of individuals or agency staff.

Overcoming Institutional Barriers

Multiple interviewees stated that the primary barrier to implementing the Anchor Forest concept is the USFS's inability to commit to long-term partnerships and investment, especially given that the USFS is generally the largest landowner of forestlands in the West. As mentioned, long-term commitments are a core component of implementing the Anchor Forest vision, because they allow for sustained investments in processing infrastructure. There were a variety of reasons provided as to why the USFS is unable to commit in this context. One interviewee commented:

We did a fair bit of outreach to the state and to the FS when this report was being developed.... seeing how we could get some commitments to produce a certain amount

of volume to support that infrastructure. They really struggled with that. So I think now people have kind of moved on to saying, OK, we can't enter long term agreements because the agencies aren't comfortable with that, but if we look at project-specific stuff using the TPFA, 638 contracting authority, GNA, you can still accomplish that same goal, you just won't have those commitments from the federal agencies which seem to make them a little uncomfortable.

Some interviewees brought up that the agency's priorities are set nationally, making it hard for local offices to stray from those priorities or set their own agenda in a partnership setting. One interviewee particularly highlighted that the USFS's priorities change with national election cycles, making long-term planning difficult. Multiple interviewees brought up the cumbersome nature of environmental review processes like NEPA which often involve gridlock from public comment and objections, and that federal agencies particularly get bogged down by the red tape associated with these processes, managing resources that are subject to the scrutiny of any member of the public across the nation. Interviewees emphasized the challenges of working with the USFS both as a barrier to implementation, but also as a reason why communication should be directed especially toward USFS staff, who need to hear the Anchor Forest message. Several interviewees felt that the USFS was the primary audience of reports and other forms of communication about Anchor Forests.

Two interviewees brought up that without the ability to mandate commitment of partnering agencies, it will not be possible to fully implement an Anchor Forest. Some people did mention that after the release of the report in 2016, there was some interest among regional USFS offices, but others lamented that the agency never really took off with the Anchor Forest idea and instead moved forward with their own conceptual cross-boundary frameworks including All Lands and Shared Stewardship. One interviewee felt that while there was some symbolic interest on a national-level, it was hard to build momentum or get buy-in from staff members at regional offices. One interviewee in the southwest region mentioned that they see a general lack of knowledge among tribes and federal agencies about how to use implementation mechanisms like the Tribal Forest Protection Act and Good Neighbor Authority and that they are continuously underutilized.

A few interviewees described that federal funding cycles tend to be short and do not always match up with tribal or other partners' priorities or timeline. Some mentioned that this incongruence in funding timelines is part of a general lack of capacity, funding, and resources. Convening an Anchor Forest partnership would require that a convener have the resources to work with partners and devote staff time to those partnerships, and interviewees recognized that partnering agencies have differing levels of resources that they can devote. Some interviewees emphasized capacity limitations within tribal forestry departments, while others emphasized that of federal agencies. Multiple interviewees specifically mentioned that many tribes do not have the workforce to accomplish large-scale forest management and restoration, when they are still working to increase capacity within the boundaries of the reservation. One interviewee who had been deeply involved in Anchor Forests from the beginning reflected that while many people had energy at the beginning of the pilot studies, no one was able to make this their primary priority given other work responsibilities, and without someone championing Anchor Forests full time, it has been hard to maintain momentum to continue pushing for this vision.

One barrier mentioned by almost every interviewee was the issue of constant staff turnover in both federal agencies and tribal governments. Particularly, they highlighted that the promotional structure of federal agencies leads to constant movement of employees when they take new positions, instantly severing any collaborative relationships they had built in their community.

As stated by one interviewee,

Well, Anchor Forest concepts, in order to invest 10 years or 20 years of resources, you sort of need some continuity. And it's tough. Because of this continuity that I'm talking about, in all aspects of the agencies from the GS3s all the way up to the GS15s, your NEPA teams that are doing the analysis to get a project done, are constantly changing. So you get one author that started the wildlife biology report, and sometimes it's changed hands five times before an actual signature is on the document.

One interviewee brought up that tribal council elections take place generally every few years, and so those elections also mean new relationships must be perpetually re-built. Multiple interviewees felt that if long-term relationships did exist in their work, it was between the

permanent staff members of tribal natural resource departments, and federal employees who were able to stay put in their position and local area.

Overcoming Cultural Barriers through Individual-level Shifts

Many interviewees described that alongside these institutional barriers are individual-level barriers that block meaningful collaboration and partnership from taking place. As mentioned above, frequent staff turnover can sever interpersonal relationships that are critical for effective collaboration. One interviewee who works for the USFS, but not involved in Anchor Forests, commented on the subject of individual vs. institutional barriers,

First thing, I don't think it's a structural problem of why the agency doesn't do more collaboration. That is more a function of the staff itself, and its willingness to go hear others' opinions, or to open the door to awkward conversations. You better believe that when you bring in a whole room full of people from all walks of life that it's not Pollyanna. There's not a lot of rainbows and unicorns in there! I mean there's some hard conversations.

This interviewee emphasized that successful collaboration hinges on the personalities of the individuals and how they build relationships. Several other interviewees reiterated this statement. One interviewee mentioned that some agency staff at the end of their careers have little desire to innovate or do things differently. One USFS representative who works on tribal partnerships described the importance of fulfilling formal governmental consultation requirements, but stressed that meaningful relationships are built through a willingness to pick up the phone and work together in a more interactive and informal way.

Some interviewees also discussed that federal and/or state agency staff can be misinformed about tribal sovereignty and associated legal frameworks and requirements. However, one interviewee who works for the USFS and is also a tribal member, noted that this awareness has improved over the course of their career. One interviewee mentioned how agency representatives sometimes operate as if all tribes are the same, thinking they can carry their experience from working with one tribe over to another. They stressed the need to do the work to get to know each tribe and cultivate relationships with them over time. Another interviewee

described that in a multi-party collaborative setting, members of the public tend to be less informed about tribal sovereignty than federal or state agency staff.

A few interviewees described that beyond understanding legal sovereignty, entities engaging with tribes need to understand tribal culture and values. One interviewee remarked, “the foresters want to work with tribes but they don't know how to approach them,” and then went on to encourage non-Native people to learn more about Native culture, offering the example of attending a Pow Wow to gain awareness.

In addition to this need for cultural understanding to support collaborative relationships, some interviewees mentioned a need for greater understanding of tribal values and relationships to land. Multiple interviewees brought up the fact that a Euro-centric relationship to land views people as separate from their environment, as opposed to most Native communities, who have always actively stewarded the land. One non-Native interviewee commented that the wilderness ethic comes from racist notions that discounted the knowledge, expertise, and presence of Native people on the landscape. Anchor Forest documents communicates the possibility of sustainable coexistence of people and forests, through the lens of tribal values and relationships to land. Two interviewees who work for the USFS and are tribal members, but were not involved in Anchor Forests, felt that Anchor Forests are a means of communicating these values and relationships to non-Native people.

One interviewee connected the need for individual-level relationships to the time scale required to implement Anchor Forests, by describing the investment that tribal members have to their homelands. They stated,

You know, I'm pretty lucky. Part of what gives me "street cred" to do what I do, is people know I'm going to grow old in this community. Like I've made it a point. I go home every weekend, I mentioned that when I first started our interview today. It's really important for me to have a presence at home. For personal reasons, I'm not going to be a person that's going to be bouncing from forest to forest to forest, and trying to get to DC. That's not what success looks like to me. For me, bridging these gaps, being able to bring tribes together to work with the agency for some meaningful outcomes on the land, that's what blows my hair back.

This interviewee tied their ability to successfully collaborate and partner to the trust that they have built through demonstrated commitment to place. While interviewees differed in whether

they emphasized institutional barriers or individual-level barriers, there was unanimous agreement that long-term investment is crucial and core to the Anchor Forest concept. Several interviewees commented that the Anchor Forest concept might be part of a broader cultural shift taking hold that has led to increasing numbers of Native people stepping into leadership positions in federal and state agencies, or non-Native individual staff members taking the initiative to promote more partnerships with tribes.

Adapting the vision to the context

Interviewees brought up a variety of contextual factors affecting how the Anchor Forest concept might be applied or adapted to a local community or region. As mentioned, some interviewees brought up the tendency of federal agencies to apply their knowledge of one tribe's interests to other tribes, and stressed that agencies need to initiate separate relationships and learn each tribe's unique culture, history, and values. Two interviewees brought up that smaller tribes or tribes with smaller land bases might be less able to step up and convene an Anchor Forest, but might be able to gain from participation in an Anchor Forest partnership convened by another entity, bringing their own sources of authority and power to the table that warrant recognition and centering. A few interviewees brought up that historical relationships between federal or state agencies and tribes may affect current levels of trust, and lack of trust could hinder the ability for partnerships to take place.

Two interviewees from CTCLUSI, while not involved in Anchor Forests, commented that some of the narratives embedded in Anchor Forests might reinforce the idea that a tribe's power comes from the size of its reservation land. They warned against this narrative, encouraging a more expansive view of convening power that considers the tribe's inherent rights to ancestral lands, regardless of who currently holds or occupies them. Since colonization, CTCLUSI retains a very small portion of their homelands, and much of their natural and cultural resource management takes place on ancestral lands held by the USFS. Unlike the Yakama Nation who was identified as a prime candidate to establish an Anchor Forest partnership, CTCLUSI's convening power comes not from their currently held land base, but from their rights to

ancestral lands beyond their boundaries. Given the history of both researchers and land managers over-generalizing and over-simplifying Native peoples, I have found it especially important to emphasize that while the Anchor Forest concept uses broad strokes in suggesting a governance framework, contextual complexities will always dictate what this concept means to different people and places on the ground.

In addition to differing capacities on the part of tribes, interviewees mentioned that regional infrastructure capacity affects the ability to implement the Anchor Forest concept. Some stated that the availability of timber processing infrastructure and ongoing forestry operations on the part of local landowners is a necessary baseline for launching an Anchor Forest partnership. The Anchor Forest Full Report found one pilot community in the northeast region of Washington to be a better candidate than others given existing timber processing infrastructure combined with a willingness among partners to work together. This type of existing capacity is important to consider when assessing where an Anchor Forest might or might not work, although strategic planning and dedication of staff could generate capacity for implementation of Anchor Forests where that capacity does not yet exist.

Two interviewees who work in the southwest region both emphasized that the ecosystem dictates the types of partnerships that are needed. Unlike the northwest region, water is the convening issue in the southwest, and existing partnerships attempt to improve collective management of water resources for the benefit of all users and landowners. One interviewee felt that the Anchor Forest concept could be adapted to this different context, but it would look very differently than it would in the northwest, where the focus is timber output. They described that the more general conceptual components, like having an empowered leader convene surrounding entities and leverage partnership authorities, could still apply, and is excited about finding new ways to use the Anchor Forest concept in the southwest region. Similarly, a few interviewees in the northwest commented that an Anchor Forest partnership might look different on the east or west side of the Cascades. As pilot studies were conducted in central and eastern Washington, they focused on the urgency of addressing wildfire as a cross-boundary issue. However, one interviewee commented that the west side of the Cascades is

facing increasing incidences of unprecedented wildfire, with the onset of climate change and drought, and so the Anchor Forest concept might become more applicable. A few interviewees mentioned that the Anchor Forest concept could support output of other ecosystem services besides timber, such as biomass or carbon.

Interplay of Tribal, Federal, and State Governance Structures

Because Anchor Forests would require the cooperation and commitment of tribal, federal, and state entities, many interviewees brought up differences in governance structures and how that either facilitates or complicates the ability to partner and work together. A few interviewees voiced that it was easier for tribes to work with the federal government, because of formal government to government relationships, and that federal agencies have a longer history of working with tribes than states. However, a few felt that states can be easier to partner with than federal agencies. One interviewee voiced that states have a smaller constituency and are “closer to the resource” in that benefits from state resource management like wildfire resilience and timber revenue are more directly felt by local populations. They denoted that state agencies can have less “red tape” and more streamlined decision-making processes. This interviewee described that this structure is more similar to tribal natural resource governance, making it easier for these entities to partner with one another. As mentioned before, one main reason why tribes are proposed as effective leaders in partnerships is their efficient and effective governance structure. Again, the fact that some interviewees favored working with states, and some with federal agencies, demonstrates how the Anchor Forest concept may take different shape in different places, and depend heavily on contextual relationships.

Discussion

As demonstrated by the results, the Anchor Forest concept is fluid, emergent, and takes many meanings for different individuals, but overarching themes or stories emerged. Documents and interviews showed how the Anchor Forest concept represents a comprehensive vision for more effective forest governance on greater spatial and temporal scales, to align with

the needs of rural communities and landscapes. The concept aims to provide an answer to the bureaucratic challenges and capacity limitations that continue to plague federal land management agencies, suggesting that cross-boundary partnerships require an “anchor” to provide permanence and stability, and that empowered tribal leadership could act as that anchor. In the following sections, I show how the results both affirm and build upon existing scholarly literature on scale and adaptive governance in ecosystem management, with the novel contribution of the role of an “anchor” and tribal leadership in enabling key shifts. I draw comparisons to literature by Indigenous scholars on Indigenous relationships to land, time, and space, and how Traditional Ecological Knowledge serves as a “collaborative concept” to bring multiple ways of knowing into conversation with one another. I then suggest how literature on critical, eco-cultural politics of scale, and knowledge sovereignty, might inform the interpretation of the Anchor Forest concept by non-Native individuals.

Addressing scale mismatches through adaptive governance

Results show how interviewees view larger spatial scales and longer time scales as integral to the meaning of the Anchor Forest concept. Interviewees stressed that implementing an Anchor Forest hinges on the generation of large regions of forest stewardship, jointly managed, and long-term commitments on the part of all landowners. The Anchor Forest concept could thus be seen as an attempt to address what scholars have termed a “scale mismatch,” referring to a misalignment in the spatial or temporal scale of management or governance, and the scale(s) of ecological processes (Cumming et al., 2006). Scholars have explored examples where cross-boundary partnerships or collaboration have attempted to overcome these scale mismatches, allowing for collective action and management across the landscape, based on boundaries informed by topography or watersheds, as opposed to arbitrary property lines (Bruce E. Goldstein, Butler, & Hull, 2010; Kelly & Kusel, 2015; Norman, 2012; Schultz et al., 2019).

To achieve this expansion of spatial and temporal scales, the Anchor Forest concept offers a governance framework which would involve diverse implementation mechanisms and

funding sources, long-term relationships and partnerships, and venues for community engagement and collaboration. These components echo tenants of “adaptive governance,” a theoretical framework for ecosystem governance that affords enough flexibility and adaptiveness to enable response to the dynamic needs and scales of social-ecological systems (Chaffin, Gosnell, & Cosens, 2014). While adaptive governance literature attempts to describe structures that holistically integrate social and ecological systems, scholars have criticized this literature for focusing disproportionately on ecological processes, without adequately addressing social and economic dimensions (Chaffin et al., 2014; MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). I suggest that the Anchor Forest concept strives for a more holistic integration of social, economic, and ecological systems, by focusing on increasing timber output to sustain forest processing infrastructure, thus providing revenue for restoration while supporting viable rural economies. In this way, implementing the Anchor Forest concept could represent addressing a temporal scale mismatch, in which governance does not align with economic challenges. I have not observed the adaptive governance and scale literature meaningfully engaging with economic sustainability and temporal scales, and suggest that future research might explore this dynamic further outside of the context of Anchor Forests.

Results in this chapter also imply a dynamic interplay of both rigid institutional structures, and flexible or adaptive governance. The Anchor Forest concept requires harnessing rigid institutional structures, including long-term commitments and investments, and the assertion of tribal treaty rights and political sovereignty. The very term “anchor” was used to imply stability and permanence on the land. But interviews revealed that from this stability, adaptive and flexible processes could emerge. This aligns with the work of Cosens et al. (2017) who propose that the role of law and regulation is to provide rigid outer boundaries, and structural capacities, within which adaptive management and governance can take place. In other words, a certain degree of legal rigidity allows for flexible and dynamic structures to emerge (B. A. Cosens et al., 2017). In another article, Cosens & Chaffin (2016) write that tribal treaty rights and authorities could disrupt existing bureaucratic frameworks and allow Indigenous-led adaptive governance to emerge – an example of a legal framework providing

the structure by which more flexible processes can take place (B. Cosens & Chaffin, 2016).

Anchor Forests, by explicitly emphasizing the political powers inherent to tribes as sovereign nations, while also emphasizing legal and programmatic implementation mechanisms, could provide a rigid structure within which adaptive governance to emerge. However, the Anchor Forest concept also appears to work within existing legal frameworks, rather than explicitly seeking to resist or subvert colonialist systems of power. This dynamic interplay of rigidity and flexibility could warrant future study, especially in the context of tribal partnerships and leadership in forest governance.

Results highlight the formidable institutional challenges that must be overcome to fully implement the Anchor Forest concept as it was designed. Interviews suggest that the Anchor Forest concept may not ever be fully realized in the absence of a legal mandate or policy change, which would provide the disruption of bureaucracy that Cosens & Chaffin (2016) describe. However, results also suggest that the work associated with the Anchor Forest concept may lead to more imperceptible and internal shifts within tribes and partnering agencies, which I argue next can be seen as an assertion of Indigenous ways of relating to the land.

Beyond adaptive governance: Indigenous relationships to land as “anchors”

While the Anchor Forest concept does not seek to actively disrupt or dismantle existing institutional structures of power and decision-making, results imply it may seek to change culture through shifting individual mindsets. By communicating tribal values and ways of relating to land, the Anchor Forest concept could infiltrate existing structures in subtle and imperceptible ways. Interviewees conceptualized scale through notions of “stability,” “permanence,” or “rootedness,” all of which came up as phrases tied to the meaning of “anchor” in Anchor Forests. These concepts were particularly salient when describing how tribal values and relationships to the land could be the key to overcoming barriers that have blocked collaborative processes or partnerships from “scaling up” in the past. Many interviewees referenced this tribal permanence on the landscape as the foundation for managing the landscape comprehensively and with the long-term investment and commitment

required to achieve the goals of the Anchor Forest concept. A sense of permanence or rootedness on the land implies both spatial connection - to the physical landscape as ancestral territory - and temporal connection - to inhabiting the land through an infinite past, present, and future. This emphasis caused me to consider the deeper meaning of the frequently cited challenge of "staff turnover." Results in this chapter echo past literature documenting how frequent staff turnover within partnering agencies can sever relationships and can thus hinder effective collaborative and partnership-based governance, as well as federal-tribal relationships (Cyphers & Schultz, 2018; Mason et al., 2012; Oregon Solutions, 2013). The results of this chapter suggest that staff turnover is a symptom of an underlying disconnect particularly among non-tribal entities, embodying a lack of long-term connection to the land and subsequent lack of place-based investment, holistic land-based knowledge, and cultural relationships.

Results also show that one purpose of the Anchor Forest concept is to communicate tribal values to non-tribal people, which could be seen as an assertion of cultural sovereignty, as well as an attempt to steward healthier ecosystems and economies into the future, for the benefit of tribal and non-tribal people alike. Through engaging in conversation with Indigenous scholars and studying literature on Indigenous knowledge and geography, as well as reflecting on perspectives shared with me in this research, I can begin to see the edges of alternative ways of relating to time/space that may be invited by the Anchor Forest concept. As a non-Native person raised into Euro-centric ways of knowing and orientations toward the world, there are inherent limits to my understanding. This speaks to the need to uplift tribal leadership in defining these concepts for themselves, as my own capacity to comprehend and communicate underlying values and knowledge systems is inherently limited.

To build upon this inherently limited understanding, I have turned to examples of Native and non-Native scholars working together to integrate knowledge systems, such as to inform better fire management (Mason et al., 2012) or to understand climate change dynamics (Chisholm Hatfield et al., 2018), cases illustrating that TEK research is inviting meaningful dialogue and collaboration. Scholars emphasize that TEK is not a generalizable body of knowledge, and is inherently rooted in specific, place-based relationships to land. Kovach

(2009) has described and uplifted Indigenous epistemologies and ways of knowing in an effort to encourage increasing Indigenous-led research and scholarship. She warns against implying any sense of uniformity across Indigenous methodologies, while also demonstrating how the core difference between Indigenous and Western methodologies is their specificity to place. She writes, “Place links present with past and our personal self with kinship groups. What we know flows through us from the ‘echo of generations,’ and our knowledges cannot be universalized because they arise from our experience with our place” (Kovach, 2009, p. 96).

Dr. Kyle Whyte posits that TEK is a “collaborative concept” in that while it can’t be generalized in one way that fits all Indigenous communities, it can broadly provide a foundation for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to come into conversation about different ways of knowing they carry (Whyte, 2013). Similarly, I suggest that the Anchor Forest concept is not a generalizable framework, but rather a “collaborative concept” that initiates conversation about how different governance, management, and knowledge systems might be upheld within a partnership. Specifically, the Anchor Forest concept suggests that even while the federal government may own more forestlands than other entities, tribes possess other sources of convening power, such as experience, knowledge, infrastructure, political sovereignty, and cultural sovereignty, that should be elevated in partnerships.

Toward critical, cultural politics of scale

I have not found that Anchor Forests explicitly seek to undermine colonialist systems of boundaries or governance. But I have perceived this concept as an example of tribal leaders proposing an alternative scale of governance, seeking to integrate tribal values and land management practices into western institutions. One interviewee commented that many tribes use working relationships and partnerships with other landowners to support their cultural interests on ceded lands. Most interviewees brought up tribal forestry history and colonial legacies when describing the concept’s emergence, suggesting that it may be situated in a broader movement to work against those legacies and support tribal sovereignty. I suggest from my own vantage point and agenda, that Anchor Forests might be used as a key entry point for

broader dialogue on dismantling colonialist systems of governance and boundaries, and centering Indigenous scales of time and space. Barnd (2017) writes that Indigenous or Native space exists as separate from settler space across the same geography, where settler relationships to land, and systems of boundaries and property, are at odds with Native relationships to land and ancestral territory (Barnd, 2017). By imagining new spatial and temporal scales of land management, while emphasizing TEK, tribal values, and tribal forest governance, Anchor Forests could de-center western scales of management and systems of boundaries. I wish to clearly express that these connections are my own, informed by my interpretations of interview data, and literature, and move beyond the explicit statements in documents and interviews about the intent and purpose of Anchor Forests.

Some scholars have used the concept of “cultural politics of scale,” referring to a geographical orientation that recognizes the political and cultural history of how boundaries and systems of decision-making power have been established and acknowledges different cultural worldviews and ways of understanding space and time. A cultural politics of scale recognizes the role of settler colonialism in setting up current systems of land ownership and decision-making power, and supports governance scales that work to dismantle those power structures and de-center western ways of knowing (Norman, 2012; Sarna-wojcicki, Sowerwine, Hillman, & Tripp, 2019). Sarna-wojcicki et al. (2016) argue for the lens of an “ecocultural politics of scale” that might include alternative systems of boundaries such as a fire-shed, which would encompass the topographic landscape affected by similar fire patterns, or a food-shed, which would include an area of eco-cultural food and other resources that support Indigenous community livelihoods. This paper, co-written by a non-Native researcher and Karuk scholars, ultimately stresses the need to allow Indigenous communities to define for themselves an appropriate scale of governance and management, rather than impose scales or boundaries upon them.

Implications for practice-oriented literature on collaboration and cross-boundary partnerships

Alongside theoretical literature on adaptive governance and resilience, the Anchor Forest concept can speak to more practice-oriented literature and work on collaboration and cross-boundary partnerships. As noted in Chapter 1, there is an important distinction between collaborative processes such as “forest collaboratives” and cross-boundary or partnership-based mechanisms. Collaborative forest governance in the U.S. typically refers to consensus-based processes that involve multiple stakeholders in sharing values and making management recommendations about public lands held by the federal government (E. J. Davis et al., 2017). Cross-boundary partnerships, on the other hand, bring neighboring landowners, which include different types of governments or agencies, into direct contracts, funding agreements, or joint cooperation, to collectively implement work on the ground and generate mutually beneficial outcomes cross the landscape (Charnley et al., 2017; Kelly & Kusel, 2015). Both collaboration and cross-boundary partnerships are examples of joint or collective action of multiple actors, but involve different governance structures, processes, and scales. Anchor Forest documents explicitly refer to both collaborative processes and cross-boundary partnerships. The structure proposed for implementing Anchor Forests involves joint leadership of tribal and other governments, with direct cooperation between landowners. However, documents also suggest the involvement of “forest collaboratives.” For example, in central Washington, the Tapash Collaborative has worked with the Yakama Nation and the USFS to implement stewardship jointly across the landscape (Corrao et al., 2016). In this way, the Anchor Forest concept provides an example of how collaboration and partnership might interplay within an overarching governance framework.

The institutional and individual-level barriers that emerged in this chapter echo collaborative and cross-boundary governance scholarship, which has reported capacity and resource limitations, frequent staff turnover, lack of trust, and misalignment of agency priorities and timelines with those of stakeholders as frequent barriers and challenges (Ansel & Gash, 2008; Rogers & Weber, 2010). Scholars have specifically noted a lack of understanding of tribal

sovereignty as a core issue barring meaningful engagement and relationship-building in both multi-party collaboration (A. Cronin & Ostergren, 2007; von der Porten & de Loë, 2014) and direct tribal-federal cooperation and co-management (Burr, 2013; Donoghue et al., 2010; Hatcher, Rondeau, Johnson, Johnson, & Franklin, 2017; Lynn, Mackendrick, & Satein, 2011). The Anchor Forest concept provides a conceptual governance framework that uplifts tribal authority as sovereign nations, framing that could help agency partners understand how to more meaningfully partner with tribes, while also helping collaborative participants and other understand the role of tribal authority in decision-making. The clear delineation of powers and authorities among partners as exemplified in the Anchor Forest concept could mitigate the frequent confusion around who has power in collaborative and partnership-based forest governance particularly on National Forest lands (Orth & Cheng, 2018)

Lastly, this study may inform understanding of the role of a concept or idea in facilitating effective collaboration or partnerships. In their seminal paper on collaborative governance, Ansel & Gash highlight the need for shared understanding among all participants in a collaborative process, which includes defining the problem clearly and identifying common values (Ansel & Gash, 2008). Scholars have explored the role of creating shared identity in facilitating collaboration where shared identity can allow individual participants to maintain their own positions, identities, and viewpoints, while also working toward common ground with other participants (Cheng, Kruger, & Daniels, 2003; Conner, 2016; Waage, 2001). A study of collaboration in the Blackfoot Watershed found that despite heated conflict among participants, the “idea” of shared community and common vision of “place” allowed collaboration to succeed despite challenging antecedent conditions (Weber, 2009).

While some interviewees in my study expressed frustration that the Anchor Forest concept has yet to fully be implemented and reports are “gathering dust,” I contend that it already has, and will continue to, shift individual mindsets in ways that may not be directly measurable. But if we acknowledge that the success of both collaborative processes and partnership-based governance depends heavily on the energy and open-mindedness of individuals when building relationships, the Anchor Forest concept may have a critical role to

play. Beyond the scope of Anchor Forests, this suggests a need for more exploration into the role of a broad unifying vision in enacting cultural shifts within agencies or other entities. The next chapter will more deeply explore how Anchor Forest narratives differ from mainstream narratives about tribal forestry partnerships, to demonstrate how the Anchor Forest concept could create a narrative intervention that builds new understandings of problems and solutions.

Chapter 5: Exploring Anchor Forest and media narratives of tribes in forest partnerships

Overview

Chapter 4 found that in addition to institutional shifts, implementing Anchor Forests will require shifts in the mindsets of individual agency staff, who must be energized and open to partnerships, collaboration, and following tribal leadership. As voiced by several interviewees, the Anchor Forest concept could be used as an educational tool to help build greater mutual understanding and support among individuals to engage in cross-boundary partnerships and collaboration, as well as increasing broad social license for active forest management among the general public. My literature review in Chapter 2 suggested that deeper understanding of key narratives and social constructions could inform understanding of how to most effectively communicate and build support for a solution or concept like Anchor Forests. Thus, the central research question of this chapter asks:

What narratives and social constructions are associated with the Anchor Forest concept's portrayal of tribes, and how do they compare with those found in recent media coverage of tribal forestry partnerships?

To explore this question, I used two frameworks from public policy theory scholarship: Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) and the Social Construction of Policy Design Framework (SCF), introduced and described in more detail in Chapter 3. With these frameworks, I analyzed and compared narratives found in Anchor Forest documents, interviews with Anchor Forest leaders and associated individuals, and media coverage of tribal forestry and the specific implementation mechanisms referenced by Anchor Forest documents.

Results

I found 41 media articles that met my search criteria using Nexis Uni and Google News functions. Articles were selected if they contained a policy narrative (problem and solution) about the specific legislation or policy, featured a tribe or tribes as a primary actor in the narrative (described throughout the article, rather than just listed in passing) and were

published between 2010-2020 in order to generate recent and relevant media coverage. A large number of articles generated by searching for the “2018 Farm Bill” were discarded because they focused on hemp production or agriculture and included very little mention of forestry.

Table 5.1. Summary of media articles generated from search terms.

Search Terms	total generated	# that met criteria
“Anchor Forests”	3	3
“2018 Farm Bill” AND “tribal OR tribe OR tribes” AND “forest OR forestry”	116	4
“Tribal Forest Protection Act”	11	11
“Reserved Treaty Rights Lands”	4	4
“Collaborative forest landscape restoration” AND “tribes OR tribal OR tribe”	11	1
“Shared Stewardship” OR “All lands management” AND “tribes OR tribal OR tribe”	35	6
“Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act”	18	12
Total	197	41

Media articles came from a variety of media types, summarized in Table 5.2. Most articles came from general news sources, which included mass release services (i.e. *Targeted News Services*) as well as large city-based newspapers (i.e. *Seattle Times*, *The World*), or local newspapers (i.e. *The Missoulian*, *Siuslaw News*, *Medford Mail Tribune*). Some media about proposed or passed legislation came from federal news registers. I also noted that a few media articles came from sites that specifically post news about environmental issues: *Brookings* (a progressive research group/think tank), *ClimateWire*, an environmentalist news and blog site, and *Evergreen News*, an environmentalist blog (that has also worked with the ITC to promote Anchor Forests).

Table 5.2. Summary of media sources.

Media Type	# Articles
General news outlets	10
Local town or community newspaper	16
Tribal newspaper	5
Federal news register	5
Environmentalist news	3
University	2

The following sections present a summary of NPF and SCF elements that emerged in the media coding process, in order to compare how narratives across different data sources and contexts differed in terms of their framing of problems, victims, villains, heroes, and social constructions of tribes as powerful and/or deserving of benefits. To better encapsulate the richness of data and differences, while avoiding misleading quantification of the results, I present the elements in terms of their relative level of emphasis. In the following tables I use “frequent,” “occasional,” “infrequent,” or “absent” to denote the frequency with which an element was mentioned across the data source. I use “primary” vs. “secondary” to demonstrate whether an element was highlighted as the focus or main point, or whether it was generally listed second or as less important (looking for language like “the biggest issue,” or “critical” or other strong qualifiers to denote primary emphasis). If it was unclear whether an element was of primary or secondary emphasis, I only present a qualifier of frequency. My color scheme uses darker shades of green for increased emphasis and/or frequency. This was an interpretive process strengthened by repeating the process over multiple media articles, as well as by affirmation from interviewees and key informants that I was correctly interpreting emphasis in the context of Anchor Forest documents.

Problem

NPF uses the term “plot” to refer to motive of the story, or the ways in which characters such as heroes, victims, and villains are implicated in a series of events. Part of this plot involves the nature of the harm that is inflicted by the villain onto the victim (Shanahan et al., 2013). Given that there was variation in the way that the nature of the harm is described across the data, I start by demonstrating the different ways that harm is portrayed, using the term “problem context.” My preliminary codebook included problem contexts included in the Anchor Forest Full Report (Corrao et al., 2016) and I added additional problem contexts as they appeared in the data, until I reached saturation with the six highlighted in Table 5.3.

Wildfire was the most common problem identified across all data sources, reflecting the fact that the Anchor Forest concept was developed specifically in the context of wildfire challenges, and thus the implementation mechanisms referenced in Anchor Forest documents

that guided my media search also focus on wildfire. Ecosystem degradation, which I used to encompass statements about declining or deteriorating forest health, spread of insects or disease, soil degradation, or habitat destruction, was frequently mentioned across all data sources, but generally not as the primary issue – it was often listed second, or discussed in less detail than wildfire. I coded statements about declining timber industry, lack of employment opportunities, local economic decline, and poverty to “economic hardship.” Economic hardship was only mentioned in some of the documents and interviews, generally not as a focus, and was mentioned infrequently in the media. Cultural sovereignty, referring to ways that tribal communities use forestlands to maintain and practice culture, was also mentioned with less emphasis in Anchor Forest documents and interviews, and infrequently mentioned in the media. Legal sovereignty was only framed as the primary problem in the context of media about the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (WOTFA), which specifically was passed to return sovereignty over ancestral lands back to western Oregon tribes. Water scarcity was only framed as the primary problem by interviewees in the southwest region.

Villain

NPF uses the term “villain” to describe the way a story or narrative portrays the cause of the harm or problem (Shanahan et al., 2017). Villains can be individuals, agencies, organizations, or more abstract concepts and issues. At times, it was difficult to separate the villain from the problem. For example, sometimes colonization was framed as the problem itself, and sometimes it was framed as the cause of another problem, like ecosystem degradation or wildfire. To mitigate this issue, I looked for statements like “caused by” or “because of...” to determine a relationship of causality in the narrative. I continued to add nodes for new villains to my codebook as they appeared in the data, until I reached saturation and was not making more additions, resulting in seven villains presented in Table 5.4.

The introduction of the Anchor Forest Pilot Report provides a summary of key challenges that the Anchor Forest concept seeks to address. In terms of narratives, these challenges can be seen as “villains”:

Land fragmentation, administrative inconsistencies, agency personnel turnover, litigation, and a weakened 'social license' create many of the formidable challenges facing maintenance of economically viable and ecologically functional forests. These 'working forests' are a crucial part of improving overall forest ecosystem health. However, they are reliant on disappearing harvesting, transportation, and processing infrastructure, investment strategies for limited resources, and eroding management capacities (Corrao, Corrao, & King, 2016, p.2)

Table 5.3. Problem contexts found across data sources.

Problem context	Description	In Anchor Forest Documents	In Interviews	In Media
Wildfire hazard	Impacts to human communities and infrastructure caused by wildfire	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis
Ecosystem degradation	Non-human focused impacts to ecosystem functioning such as forest health and pathogens, wildlife, watershed processes, etc.	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis
Economic hardship	Economic challenges in the community including unemployment, industry decline, poverty, lack of resources	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis
Cultural sovereignty	Ability to sustain cultural practices such as harvesting traditional and significant foods, practicing TEK, access to significant sites	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis
Legal sovereignty	Issues pertaining to a tribe's sovereignty, rights, and authority over their lands	Absent	Absent	Emphasized in Western OR Tribal Fairness Act media
Water scarcity	Issues with allocating sufficient water for humans and ecosystem	Absent	Emphasized by SW-located interviewees	Absent

Table 5.4. Villains across data sources, and relative emphases across data sources.

Villain	Description	In Anchor Forest Documents	In Interviews	In Media
Capacity challenges	Includes lack of funding, staff, or knowledge in tribal, federal, and state agencies to implement activities like forest management, restoration, and fire suppression	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in wildfire problem context, frequent emphasis across all contexts
Historic practices	Residual legacies of past forest management conducted largely by federal agencies, especially fire suppression and over-harvesting	Frequent secondary emphasis	Absent*	Secondary emphasis in wildfire problem context
Lack of social license	Public opposition to active management; wilderness or preservation values where people are not a part of nature; culture of litigation and objections toward federal forest planning	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent across all contexts
Federal bureaucracy	Inefficient bureaucratic processes in federal agencies, limitations coming from “higher up” in the national office, and related issues	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent emphasis in sovereignty problem context and rural community media
Climate change and related impacts	Climate change and associated impacts like drought, storms, changing weather patterns	Frequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis in environmental and university media
Federal forest management practices	Federal agencies improperly managing forests today (not past); i.e. poor practices, planning, or priorities	Frequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis in wildfire problem contexts; rural community media
Colonial history and tribal land dispossession	Facets of colonization, including land loss, broken or unsigned treaties, and termination and generally tribes not having access and autonomy over land	Absent	Infrequent emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in sovereignty problem context, infrequent emphasis otherwise

Both Anchor Forest documents and interviews most heavily emphasized capacity challenges as the villain, referring frequently to issues such as budgetary restraints, the financial strain of fire suppression, and insufficient staff in tribal, federal, and state agencies. Anchor Forest documents also emphasized historic forest management as a primary villain, focusing less on present-day federal forest management practices and more on misinformed practices of the past, such as fire suppression, lack of controlled burning, and overharvesting of old growth forests. By emphasizing capacity challenges, rather than federal legal/administrative red tape and federal forest management practices, Anchor Forest narratives place less blame on federal agencies themselves, perhaps in order to emphasize common ground across agencies, tribes, and other partners who are all struggling with limited capacity and resources. Interestingly, almost every interviewee framed “federal legal/administrative red tape” as a primary villain, often in response to the question, “What has been the primary barrier to implementing Anchor Forests?” Interviewees frequently commented that federal agencies are unable to make commitments, due to bureaucratic challenges and national priorities that leave little wiggle room within local offices. This was less emphasized in Anchor Forest documents, potentially to focus on promoting the concept. Its increased emphasis in interviews might indicate that the few years that have passed since the Anchor Forest Full Report was published has heightened this awareness, or interviewees were more willing to talk candidly about why implementation of the Anchor Forest concept has been difficult.

Villains varied in the media depending on problem context. Wildfire problem contexts tended to focus on capacity and resource challenges, historic forest management, and federal forest management practices as villains. Climate change was only mentioned in environmental or university media sources, generally as a force that exacerbates the issue of wildfire. Bureaucratic red tape and colonial history were often cited as the villain when the problem discussed was tribal sovereignty, but not in other contexts. Neither Anchor Forest documents nor interviewees emphasized colonial history as a primary villain. This might be a strategic move on the part of the Intertribal Timber Council (ITC) to appeal to a wider audience and build common ground through shared challenges rather than focusing on challenges specific to

tribal communities, and also reflects how the ITC does not portray tribes as victims, which will be discussed next.

Media articles often included one or two of the villains found in Anchor Forest narratives, but rarely captured more than that, and so generally media articles presented simplified, or incomplete, depiction of forest and fire management challenges as compared to Anchor Forest narratives.

Victim

NPF uses the term “victim” to refer to whatever entity is receiving the harm as depicted in the above “problem” section (Shanahan et al., 2017). Later in the discussion, I describe how the term “victim” is a simplistic and problematic term that does not adequately describe specifically how tribes have demonstrated resilience throughout ongoing injustice and hardship. One interviewee, when reviewing my results, suggested I use the term “survivor,” rather than “victim” to encompass this meaning, which I expand upon in the discussion as a key finding and implication of my narrative analysis. Here, I use the term “recipient of harm” to present the results before I dive into that more value-laden discussion.

Anchor Forest documents portrayed communities-at-large, or society, broadly as the recipient of harm emphasizing that wildfire and forest health challenges affect all landowners and inhabitants of a landscape. Interviews echoed this framing of society at large as the recipient of harm, although many commented about how their tribe is impacted by cross-boundary wildfire. Media, on the other hand, frequently portrayed tribes as recipients of harm, sometimes as victims of land loss and dispossession, other times as not receiving sufficient funding or wildfire suppression resources from the federal government. Table 5.5 displays the common entities portrayed in the data as the recipient of harm.

Table 5.5. Most common recipient of harm portrayed across data sources.

Data source	Recipient of harm
Anchor Forest Documents	Society at large
Interviewees	Society at large, tribe disproportionately affected/ “survivors,” not victims
Media	Context dependent, tribe as victim frequent

The introduction of the Anchor Forest Full Report describes the many ways in which society depends on forests for different ecosystem services, and highlights the way that wildfire is affecting society at large.

The ability of our forests to continue to provide benefits into the future remains very much at risk. Unhealthy forest conditions, exacerbated by a changing climate and legacy effects of past management practices, lead to catastrophic wildfires that sterilize and erode soils, contaminate water quality, alter habitats for fish, wildlife, and plants, destroy homes, and in some cases, permanently alter the very forests we seek to protect and enjoy (Corrao et al., 2016).

The report goes on to describe diverse ways that healthy forests support communities and society at large. Anchor Forest documents do not describe tribes specifically or separately as recipients of harm, but instead characterize all inhabitants of a given landscape, tribal and non-tribal, as being in the same “boat” in need of “anchoring.” Some media and interviewees focused on tribes as directly harmed by these issues, and I interpreted three main types of narratives portraying tribes as recipients of harm, summarized in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Relative emphasis of three primary narratives depicting tribes receiving harm across data sources.

Narrative of tribe as recipient of harm	In Anchor Forest Documents	In Interviews	In Media
Fire crossing from federal land	Infrequent emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in wildfire and capacity challenge contexts
Not a funding priority	Absent	Infrequent emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis in wildfire; sovereignty and colonialism contexts
Lack of land/treaty	Absent	Infrequent emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in sovereignty and colonialism context

First, some interviewees and media depicted tribes or tribal lands as suffering from wildfire spreading across the property line from neighboring federal forestlands, where federal land managers were either unable to manage their forests properly, or were unable to contain the fire from spreading. One interviewee described this dynamic, portraying how tribes face hardship given their proximity to federal lands that are managed (or undermanaged) in a way that makes them susceptible to wildfire.

Tribes have been trying to communicate primarily to the Feds, who are often not that good of a neighbor to Indian tribes, and Indian tribes share more than 3000 miles of common boundary with federal forests. When federal forests aren't cared for properly, those forests create hazard to Tribes, and not only is it a fire hazard, but then there's no raw material supply to sustain infrastructure, which sustains markets, which Tribes need markets to sell their logs.

Second, some media articles highlighted that tribal lands are not funding priorities for federal fire suppression, due to low population and infrastructure density. For example, one media article from the Seattle Globalist quoted the emergency manager for the Colville Tribe, commenting with regards to fire suppression resource allocation, "Quite frankly, because we're on a reservation, it's quite rural, so homes are very scattered. So we are at the bottom of the list." Third, one interviewee and several media articles, particularly ones focusing on the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (WOTFA), depicted tribes as victims of colonization.

Hero

NPF uses the term "hero" to describe the individual or entity who has the capacity to solve the problem or reduce the harm (Shanahan et al., 2017). Anchor Forest narratives portray tribes as heroes, holding unique capacities and powers that allow them to lead and convene cross-boundary partnerships. Many heroic narratives of tribes in Anchor Forest documents were echoed by interviewees, and I also found examples of similar narratives in the media. Anchor Forest documents generally emphasized tribal experience, rootedness, morality, TEK, and possession of infrastructure relatively equally, but mentioned legal authority less frequently, often secondarily after the other hero types. Media articles also sometimes presented other heroes, including legislators who passed WOTFA, federal or state agency staff engaging

in partnerships, local politicians, or even the partnership mechanism itself. I focused specifically on the types of narratives portraying tribes as heroes, to allow a richer comparison between Anchor Forest narrative portrayals of tribes as heroes, and those of the media. Through multiple rounds of coding, I reached saturation with eight “hero types” summarized in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Common tribal hero types and relative emphasis across data sources.

Hero type	Description	In Anchor Forest Documents	In interviews	In Media
Experience	Demonstrated experience of effective land management and stewardship (recent focus)	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in all contexts
Rootedness	Long-term permanence, investment, connection to land	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in sovereignty context, infrequent in wildfire context
Morality	Valuing long-term and holistic management for future generations and benefit of human and non-human communities	Frequent secondary emphasis	Occasional secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis in sovereignty and colonialism context; improper federal forest management contexts
TEK	Possession of TEK as informing more effective, holistic, and sustainable land management (long-term focus)	Frequent secondary emphasis	Occasional secondary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in climate change and wildfire contexts; environmentalist and university media
Possession of infrastructure	Possession of forest processing infrastructure like sawmills, which are relied upon by neighboring landowners/agencies	Occasional secondary emphasis	Occasional secondary emphasis	Infrequent in all contexts
Legal authority	Legal powers, treaty rights, federal consultation requirements, other sources of authority of tribes as sovereign	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent secondary emphasis	Frequent primary emphasis in sovereignty and colonialism context; secondary emphasis in wildfire and capacity challenge contexts
Governance effectiveness	Effective and streamlined decision-making and governance in tribal nations	Absent	Frequent secondary emphasis	Infrequent in all contexts

Economic efficiency	Ability to manage more land with less funding (do more with less)	Absent	Infrequent primary emphasis	Infrequent secondary emphasis in wildfire and capacity challenge contexts
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Narratives of tribes as heroes due to their experience tended to focus on tribal forestlands as demonstrations of successful active forest management. For example, one interviewee commented, “You know, the San Carlos and White Mountain Apache in New Mexico are also taking a leading role in promoting wildland fire applications, in treating large acres of land, you know leading by example in fuels reduction in that region as well.”

Narratives of tribes “leading by example” were common across all data sources. Also frequently highlighted across all data sources were tribal relationships to land through their rootedness, or long-term connection and investment to their homelands. One interviewee encapsulated this type of narrative when they stated, “Tribes have a different commitment. They're kind of quasi public landowners and quasi private landowners. Individually, the members of a Tribe live with the consequences of their choices.” Another interviewee used tribes’ legal authority to differentiate them from private landowners in the context of a partnership: “So those kinds of special political legal relationships bring something else to the floor that private industry, or small landowners can't really bring to the table.”

Narratives of rootedness were sometimes also linked to narratives of “morality of management,” which implied that tribal land management may be more focused on providing for future generations and the long-term, as opposed to federal agencies or other landowners. Also interrelated, but coded distinctly, were statements highlighting tribal possession of TEK as lending them unique vision and capability to lead in forest management partnerships, echoing TEK as a source of convening power highlighted in Chapter 4. Emphasis of “governance effectiveness” was an infrequent, but relevant hero type portrayed in some interviews and a few media articles. An article published by *The Missoulian* in 2013 about forestry partnerships between the Confederated Tribes of the Salish Kootenai Tribes and the USFS stated, “That means tribal members share ownership of the forest, and the forestry department manages it for their benefit. While that seems like an obvious definition of public lands, Harrington said it’s

rare to have the plan so clearly laid out” to demonstrate that the tribe has a clearer governance structure than other governmental entities. Sometimes tied to this “governance effectiveness” was “economic efficiency,” which was heavily emphasized by some interviewees, despite not appearing in Anchor Forest documents. One interviewee commented, “OK so I come from Indian Country, where we get \$3 for every \$10 they receive under the IFMAT report, and then they come and tell us they can't treat, and we can treat twice as much, we're treating ten times as much acreage with the resources we have.” This hero type did not show up frequently in media articles, but was the primary emphasis of a few articles.

Table 5.7 shows that there was generally consistency in terms of which hero types appeared in both Anchor Forest documents and interviews. Interviews focused more on experience and legal authority rather than focusing on all of the first five hero types relatively equally as in Anchor Forest documents. Media also focused on experience across all problem contexts and media types, but focused on rootedness, morality, and legal authority more often in contexts that framed the problem and/or villain as relating to sovereignty and colonization.

Tribal portrayal: power, powerlessness, and deservedness

I also used Ingram & Schneider’s Social Construction Framework (SCF) to compare how Anchor Forest narratives socially construct tribes in relation to policy benefits, to how they are portrayed in the media. I used SCF’s matrix of power and deservedness (Table 5.8) and looked at how different narratives emphasize power, powerlessness, or deservedness (concepts defined and operationalized in Chapter 3). Advantaged and dependent are highlighted to indicate that these were the only social construction categories that appeared in the data. I did not find any examples of narratives portraying tribes as undeserving or as negatively constructed actors, likely due to my targeted media search that included only articles about tribal forestry partnerships, which I would expect to portray tribes positively. This represents a limitation of this study, suggesting future research might explore comparisons across broader media contexts which might include negative social constructions of tribes in a policy context.

Table 5.8. Social Construction and Policy Design Framework categories, adapted from Schneider & Ingram (2007).

	<i>Deserving/Legitimate</i>	<i>Undeserving / Illegitimate</i>
<i>Powerful</i>	Advantaged	Contender
<i>Powerless</i>	Dependent	Deviant

To identify narratives of power, which in this context I define as perceived ability or capacity to be leaders or conveners of partnerships, I looked for statements like “we should look to tribes because....,” “tribes could be leaders because....,” “tribes could demonstrate....,” “tribes could use their power and authority to....” Narratives of powerlessness were drawn from victim narratives as listed above. To identify narratives of deservedness, which for my context I define as reasons why tribes deserve to receive benefits from forest partnerships, I looked for statements like “tribes depend on these lands for....,” “we should support tribes....,” “these are the ancestral lands / belong to the tribe.... “

I coded for power, powerlessness, and deservedness across all of the data, to look for patterns in the relative emphasis of each type of narrative. Overall, I found that Anchor Forest documents almost exclusively socially constructed tribes as powerful, employing the variety of heroic narratives described above, and often using statements that urge shifting leadership to tribes or looking to their lands as an example. Interviews were also dominated by social constructions of tribes as powerful, although there were statements that also portrayed tribal deservedness of benefits of sustainable forest management. I found that media narratives emphasized power, deservedness, or both in the same article, depending on the framing of the problem, victim, and villain. Table 5.9 demonstrates emphasis of power versus deservedness, with example quotes, across the data sources.

Table 5.9. Tribal social constructions across data sources.

	Tribal Social Construction	Example Quotes
In Anchor Forest Documents	Power	"Coordination of management efforts will require leadership, founded by tenure in sustainable forest stewardship and a dogmatic permanence focused on the future such as that exemplified through Indian lifeways and the traditional ecologic knowledge of tribes (Anchor Forests Final Report, 2016)
In Interviews	Power	"Beginning to recognize that the special perspectives, long-term perspectives, and place-based knowledge that Tribes have, and their legal-political relationships and rights, could play an extremely critical role in maintaining the healthy and providing the goods and services that the forest can provide."
	Deservedness secondary	"And the concept of Anchor Forests emerged as a potential solution in which Tribes, who also had the same need to manage resources for their Tribes and Tribal members, continuing to rely on forests for economic purposes, jobs, Tribal revenue... and still had the desire to want to actively manage the forests."
In Media	Deservedness*	"The TFPA empowers tribes to partner with public agencies to protect their own landscapes from environmental threats originating on adjacent federal lands. Forest fires in federal forests pose a real threat to tribal nations" (Brookings, 2016)
	Power*	"By melding both western science and traditional knowledge tribes could show us ways we could better care for our forests, address wildfire, insect and disease concerns, adapt to changing climatic conditions, and create more jobs" (Missoulain, 2013)

I explored how the media portrays deservedness or power depending on context by observing intersections between emphasis of power and/or deservedness, and NPF elements as introduced earlier, with results portrayed in table 5.10. I located frequencies of intersections using cross-tab queries in NVivo, and then checked the meaningfulness and reliability of these intersections by returning to the article or interview and observing whether the text cohesively linked problem, victim, or villain framing with statements about power or deservedness.

Table 5.10. Summary of problem, victim, and villain contexts that emphasized power versus deservedness in media articles.

	Problem	Victim	Villain
Power emphasized	Wildfire	Community	General capacity and resources
	Forest degradation	Society at large	Historic forest management: fire suppression and overharvesting
	Economic hardship	Tribe secondary	Lack of social license for active management
			Federal legal/administrative red tape
			Climate change and related impacts worsening
			Federal forest management practices
Deservedness emphasized	Legal sovereignty	Tribe primary	General capacity and resources
	Cultural sovereignty	Community and society secondary	Colonial history and tribal land dispossession
	Wildfire		Federal legal/administrative red tape
	Economic hardship		Federal forest management practices
			Historic forest management: fire suppression and overharvesting

Pulling narrative components together: five common cohesive narratives

After I broke the narratives down into components, I then went back to the data to explore how these different NPF elements and social construction dimensions link into cohesive stories, or narratives. Through iterative readings of the data, and using memos from the coding process as guidance, I was able to identify five main narratives that weave together a problem, victim, villain, tribal portrayal in terms of hero/victim types, and in terms of relative emphasis on power or deservedness. I then identified the data sources, including specific media types, where each narrative was found. This information is presented in Table 5.11.

All but one narrative featured wildfire as the primary problem. This reflects how the nature of Anchor Forests and its accompanying partnership mechanisms/authorities that guided my media search, are most closely related to the challenge of cross-boundary wildfire in

the American West. This may also reflect the fact that while Anchor Forest documents focused on the decline of the forest products industry as a major challenge, the media is less likely to pick up this issue than it is to present wildfire, due to its urgency in the public eye. The fifth narrative is different in that it focuses on tribal sovereignty and colonization as the problem itself, rather than a villain or contributor to the problem of wildfire and ecosystem degradation, as was exhibited by the rest of the narratives. Although this fifth narrative is not an “Anchor Forest” narrative, I felt it was important to include as a reference for comparison, as a narrative that showed up across all media on the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act, and conveyance of land to western Oregon tribes, including the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI).

The first three narratives share a common framing of the victim: the whole community that inhabits the landscape, including but not limited to tribal communities. This framing, which is used heavily by Anchor Forest documents, recognizes that everyone inhabiting the landscape suffers from improper forest management and decline in local forest products industry. This common framing of problem and victim then branch into the three different narratives based on portrayal of the villain. Then, based on the respective villain, the tribe is portrayed as having the capacity to solve the problem for a different reason or collection of reasons. In all three of these narratives, the tribe’s power or capacity is emphasized.

In the second narrative, power is still emphasized, but deservedness is also emphasized secondarily. This second narrative emphasizes that fire suppression and improper historic forest management was a result of colonization and tribal land dispossession, so tribes are portrayed not only as capable stewards of the land, but the original, rightful, and thus *deserved* stewards of the land who have faced injustices. The fourth narrative focuses on how tribes are victims of wildfires crossing from neighboring lands, often federally managed, and are especially impacted given insufficient resources for fire suppression. This narrative portrays tribes as deserving, in that they are unfairly and unjustly impacted from these cross-boundary fires, and powerful, in that they hold ancestral rights to the land and the legal authority to engage in co-management structures with neighboring federal land managers.

Table 5.11. Five types of narratives found in Anchor Forest documents, interviews, and media articles.

Problem	Victim	Villain(s)	Tribal portrayal	Power or deservedness emphasized	Data sources found
Wildfire	Whole community, including tribe	Federal/legal administrative red tape, general lack of capacity and resources, lack of social license for active forest management	Capable leaders due to - more streamlined governance, economically efficient management, legal authority	Power	Anchor Forest documents and media; Local/rural community media
	Whole community, including tribe	Historic fuel loads and lack of social license for active forest management, colonial history that removed Indigenous people from the land and ceased Indigenous use of fire	Experienced stewards, long-term investment in the land, rootedness, TEK	Power and deservedness	Anchor Forest documents and media; Environmentalist media, general media
	Whole community, including tribe	Fragmentation of land and need for cross-boundary coordination, capacity challenges	Rootedness, TEK, experience	Power	Anchor Forests documents and media; general media
	Tribe	Tribes not a funding priority, lack of resources for fire suppression and management, land is politically fragmented	Legal authority, rootedness	Deservedness and power	Local community media, tribal media, general media
Lack of sovereignty	Tribe	Colonization, loss of cultural practice and knowledge, lack of recognition of rights and treaties, lack of resources to assert rights	Powerless when not holding ratified treaty or land base, powerful in rootedness and ancestral connection to land/moral authority	Deservedness and power	General media, local media

As mentioned, the final narrative departs from the first four in that it frames the problem not as wildfire or ecosystem degradation, but as sovereignty itself. It is important to note that this narrative is not present in Anchor Forest documents or interviews, but does show up in tribal forestry media. In this narrative, the tribe's deservedness is emphasized because of their ancestral rights and relationship to the land since time immemorial. Any mention of power comes from these ancestral rights, and moral authority to the land – but these narratives can also portray tribes as powerless, when describing lack of federal recognition of sovereignty over ancestral lands, including cases where treaties were either never ratified or were broken.

Discussion

I start this discussion by emphasizing that this chapter's methodology is rooted in the notion that stories hold power, causing positive or negative impact in the real, material world. This is a core belief of NPF scholars (Shanahan et al., 2013) – but in Indigenous methodologies, the power of story takes a deeper and incomparable meaning. Kovach writes,

Stories remind us of who we are and of our belonging. Stories hold within them knowledges while simultaneously signifying relationships. In oral tradition, stories can never be decontextualized from the teller. They are active agents within a relational world, pivotal in gaining insight into a phenomenon. Oral stories are born of connections with the world, and are thus recounted relationally. They tie us with our past and provide a basis for continuity with future generations (Kovach, 2009, p. 94).

I emphasize this importance of story in Indigenous ways of knowing, to stress that the narrative analysis I have conducted in this chapter is in many ways conflicting with the idea that stories must exist in context and in relationship, as Kovach and other Indigenous scholars have asserted (Kovach, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). I have broken narratives apart and put them back together for the sake of understanding patterns. However, rather than attempting to understand truth through the simplified narratives I have observed in the media, I intend to understand what simplifications are already taking place in the media, simplifications that those involved in Anchor Forests may seek to rectify. From there, this analysis might support the ITC and others' work to make narrative interventions and facilitate a more holistic understanding of key issues from the perspective of tribal leadership.

Problem framing affects risk perception and acceptance of proposed solutions

The results of this chapter show a variety of ways that problems, victims, villains, and heroes are portrayed in Anchor Forest narratives and media narratives, and the combined use of these elements frame the rationale behind a given solution, such as implementation of the Anchor Forest concept, increased active forest management, or expansion of tribal leadership in forestry partnerships. Scholars have looked at narratives of wildfire risk using NPF or other analytical frameworks, finding that problem definition, context, and timing may play a key role in shifting societal understanding of the issue of wildfire and potential solutions (Crow, Berggren, et al., 2017; C. Davis, 2001, 2006; Fifer & Orr, 2013). Lawlor & Crow (2018) studied examples of “risk framing” to understand how the media packages or “frames” disaster risk such as wildfire through inclusion of specific pieces of context, framing the problem, villain, victim, and solution, as well as use of scientific information. The media inherently presents only portions of the full story, given the limited attention spans of media consumers, or limits to the journalist’s understanding of the issue. Additionally, NPF scholars contend that media outlets often are part of “advocacy coalitions,” or networks of organizations and individuals that share common policy beliefs. Media outlets may then have a normative agenda that prompts them to frame a problem or solution in a certain way (Shanahan et al., 2013).

Framing of problems, in this case, forest management challenges, then informs understanding of policy solutions, although it is more difficult to show how risk framing influences real policy change. Given some assertions that there has been a lack of drastic institutional change within federal land management agencies despite escalating forest and fire challenges (Busenberg, 2004; C. Davis, 2001; Sabatier, Loomis, & McCarthy, 1995), there is some doubt of the extent of direct influence that media narratives have in the policy realm. NPF scholars have still found media narrative analysis useful in characterizing societal beliefs and priorities, as demonstrated by a study exploring media coverage of wildfire risk (Crow & Jones, 2018). Results of this chapter cannot speak to whether or not media narratives influence public opinion and subsequent policy change, but do provide an example of how narrative analysis can inform understanding of broad societal conceptualizations of problems and solutions.

As discussed in depth in Chapter One, interviewees described institutional and individual-level shifts that need to occur to implement the Anchor Forest concept. Communicating and promoting Anchor Forest narratives could help increase social license among the broader general public for active forest management by federal agencies, tribal governments, and other partners working cross-boundary. Anchor Forest documents suggest that increased social license among the general public for active forest management could lead to the USFS facing less litigation and conflict, thus enabling the agency to accomplish more active management and generate increased levels of timber output called for by the Anchor Forest concept. Anchor Forest narratives could also be used to encourage agency staff to take risks and seek out partnerships, as part of the broader cultural shift described in Chapter 1.

My use of NPF to break down narratives into elements could facilitate this strategic narrative mobilization. Anchor Forest narratives are clear to define the problem and villain: increasing pace and scale of wildfire and the continued decline of the forest products industry (problem), caused by fragmentation of ownerships across the landscape, inconsistencies and inefficiencies in regulatory processes, timelines that don't align with ecological processes, and increasing pace of climate change (villains) (Corrao et al., 2016). The solutions proposed by Anchor Forests flow from this problem framing. Support for Anchor Forests or related projects or policies among both the general public and agency staff might then hinge upon acceptance of this problem-villain framing, and its urgency.

I found that media articles used some of the narrative elements common to Anchor Forest narratives, but in a less holistic fashion than in Anchor Forest documents. I found that media articles generally failed to connect all of the dots that Anchor Forest documents and interviewees do. For example, a media article might discuss ineffectiveness of past forest management practices in one context, but not link it to the ways that climate change is exacerbating the issue. Or an article might discuss federal bureaucracy but not connect this to capacity challenges or the decline of forest products industry. Anchor Forest narratives, on the other hand, weave these problems and villains into one overarching story. This was echoed by the interviewees who stressed that the Anchor Forest concept is "comprehensive." Scholars

have found that shared problem definitions can lead to both policy change (Fifer & Orr, 2013), and that collaborative dialogue can facilitate social learning and a shared understanding of the problem and solution (Brummel et al., 2010). Gaps in narratives identified in this chapter might imply places where more dialogue is needed, especially within partnership or collaboration venues, where involved parties might be more receptive to new information and storytelling compared to the broader public. Overall, results suggest that telling a comprehensive story, whether in a forest collaborative venue, a USFS staff meeting, a newsletter for a collaborative conservation nonprofit, could be key to building momentum for the shifts proposed through the Anchor Forest concept – a strategy to achieve the scale expansion proposed in Chapter One.

Anchor Forests represent a narrative intervention by emphasizing power over deservedness

In addition to the problem framing differences between Anchor Forest narratives and media narratives, I also found differences in the ways that tribes are socially constructed. Some media articles I examined tended to portray tribes as victims or powerless, reflecting findings from past research on media portrayals of Indigenous peoples (Belfer et al., 2017; Leavitt et al., 2015). One paper described that mass media reinforces harmful notions of identity among Native communities, finding that the media has typically underrepresented Native people, or if they are represented, they are depicted as weak, poor, and uneducated (Leavitt et al., 2015). Another paper looked specifically at how climate change media portrays Indigenous people, and found that they are often portrayed as victims of climate impacts in order to create a greater sense of urgency for action, but accompanying colonial context and history is generally lacking. Authors also found that Indigenous peoples are generally underrepresented in climate change media (Belfer et al., 2017). It is unclear whether my media search supports this finding about lack of representation, because I limited my search to media covering tribes. However, the small number of articles that met my criteria (41) implies that media coverage of tribal forestry partnerships may generally be lacking. One interviewee, when reviewing this result, mentioned that they had been following tribal forestry media for several decades, and has anecdotally observed an increase in coverage over recent years. My results also suggest that while victim

narratives are still present, power and hero narratives are also present, and may be prevalent in media coverage of tribal forestry partnerships than in other environmental contexts. Future research might explore these dynamics across a larger body of media.

One key difference between Anchor Forest narratives and media narratives was the relationship between tribal “hero types” and emphasis on power or deservedness. Across Anchor Forest documents, interviews, and media, I found many statements that emphasized the rootedness or permanence of the tribe on their ancestral forestlands. However, Anchor Forest narratives, exemplified both in documents and interviews, frame this rootedness and permanence as a source of power, as a reason why tribes are uniquely qualified and capable to lead in cross-boundary partnerships. Media narratives, on the other hand, were more likely to portray this rootedness and permanence on the landscape in the context of tribes as victims, powerless in the face of colonization and/or chronic injustice. This subtle difference in framing may mark a key intervention, core to Anchor Forest narratives: that aspects of history and culture that have been part of a story of victimization in the past, form part of the ITC’s rhetoric of empowerment. I did find that a substantial number of articles focused on tribal power and capacity, rather than powerlessness – perhaps implying that media on tribal forestry partnerships may not use victim portrayals as frequently as general media on Indigenous peoples and climate change. This could be an indication that the ITC’s strategic storytelling work is rippling outward and supporting greater understanding in the forestry partnership world, but more research is needed to explore this effect.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one interviewee felt strongly that a better word to describe tribal communities’ relationship to forestry challenges and the hardships they have faced is “survivor,” rather than “victim.” The word “survivor” more aptly describes how tribes have asserted their presence on the land, that links to empowerment, rather than the feedback loop caused by perpetual victim portrayals. This language-shift implies a limitation to the NPF’s use of “victim” – that we may need to use different language when conceptualizing how communities face and adapt to harm and injustice. My analysis of “recipient of harm” narratives showed that depending on framing, these narratives could go two ways: toward

victims of tribes as empowered survivors, or as victims. I propose that future NPF research might explore how shifting terminology from “victim” to “survivor,” especially in the context of Indigenous peoples, might expand understanding of how narratives construct reality.

Schneider & Ingram’s social construction framework has been used to identify which groups in society are allocated benefits or burdens in the policy process, positing that groups constructed as either powerful or deserving (or both) are allocated benefits, which then reinforces their positive construction, creating a positive feedback loop (Ingram & Schneider, 2017). Because my narrative analysis only reveals examples of positive constructions of tribes, as powerful, deserving, sometimes powerless but never undeserving, this would imply that in the context of forestry partnerships, tribes should be receiving ample benefits. Examples of benefits might include increasing leadership opportunities, funding for restoration or fire suppression, or the ability to access ancestral lands for management – all potential benefits that came up in my media and document analysis. My study cannot speak to the extent that these benefits have been realized, but given the prevalence of narratives showing that tribal forestry is underfunded, I suggest that tribes are likely not receiving the extent of benefits that their positive social constructions would imply. By observing that Anchor Forest narratives focus more heavily on power than deservedness, I suggest that future research drawing from Schneider & Ingram’s framework might explore possible differences in policy outcomes and benefits that result from social constructions of power versus deservedness. In the context of my study, I wonder if Anchor Forest narratives that emphasize tribal power and capacity might lead to more effective policy change that supports tribal sovereignty, self-determination, and livelihoods, intervening in a policy landscape that tends to portray tribes as victims and subsequently reinforces a feedback loop where tribes continue to be seen and treated this way.

Contribution to NPF and SCF literature: integrating frameworks with a critical and constructivist lens

There are few examples of studies that combine NPF and SCF (see Husmann, 2015), but I found that combining these frameworks presented a more comprehensive picture of problem and solution framing. NPF has been criticized for not focusing enough on the role of power

dynamics or institutions, but SCF is limited in its ability to show how broader context leads to social constructions, identifying chronic social constructions without the tools to suggest how those cycles could be broken. I found that each framework illuminates different dynamics embedded in narratives, and by combining them, I was able to understand a more complete picture of the framing of problems, solutions, and tribes as actors in the story. NPF provides the categorical tools to understand the functions of different narrative elements, and when combined with SCF, I could show how problem framing and character portrayals might reinforce social constructions and the subsequent benefits that are allocated to different groups on society. Both NPF and SCF are malleable frameworks with many theoretical components and propositions. I chose elements of each framework that are relevant to my research questions, and left other elements out. For the purpose of my study, NPF helped me categorize key narrative components, and SCF helped me further tease out how narratives focus on either tribal power or deservedness in forest management partnerships. Or flipped around, SCF helped understand key social constructions of tribes and how they might relate to policy, and NPF demonstrated how narratives or stories create the context in which those social constructions are embedded.

My study builds upon an increasing body of qualitative NPF work (see Gray & Jones, 2016; McMorris, Zanocco, & Jones, 2018), recognizing that certain research questions and types of data require qualitative methodology, and that NPF's analytical categories can be useful in these contexts. My research goals required a close and rich understanding of Anchor Forest narratives. My methodology flowed from my research paradigms, as a constructivist who sees research as co-constructed with my interview participants, and as a critical scholar seeking to support community interests, and specifically, Indigenous and Decolonizing methodologies. One might see these paradigms as at odds with a framework like NPF, which breaks narratives down into parts to understand patterns and come to generalizable understanding. However, with proper contextualization and member-checking with my interviewees, I do not think these paradigms must be at odds. I viewed myself as co-creating a "research narrative" alongside Anchor Forest leaders who have partnered with me in this study, about the narratives that exist

in the media or in society. By combining this NPF and SCF analysis that inherently draws out simplified stories, with the inductive and descriptive work done in Chapter 4, I can contextualize what the media's narratives mean in the context of the perspectives shared with me in interviews. Through member-checking with interviewees, I ensured that the research narrative constructed here aligns with their perspectives, as exhibited by the feedback I was given to change my framing of "victim" toward "survivor."

Why use these policy theory frameworks at all? A primary benefit is that they allow my research to speak to existing work in public policy theory. I also find that public policy frameworks are poised to link narrative and content analysis to policy implications, which is important given my goals for this research to present tangible recommendations. While making recommendations, I must constantly work against the risks associated with over-generalizing and removing stories from their context by actively situating this work in the broader context described in Chapter 4. I recognize that not only do the stories and narratives I observe in the world hold power, but I hold power, and therefore responsibility, in telling this research narrative. As a non-Native person, I am situated in a history of research that oversimplifies and stereotypes Indigenous peoples, and has contributed to colonial projects (L. T. Smith, 1999). Smith offers an important reminder in her introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies*: "Taking apart the story, revealing underlying texts, and giving voice to things that are often known intuitively does not help people improve their current conditions" (Smith, 1999, p.3). Applied to my research, this means that my narrative analysis does not on its own comprise any kind of beneficial contribution to the ITC's work on Anchor Forests. I am thus accountable to contextualizing the findings in the meaning intended by those who are invested in this work, and communicating the findings in a way that allows them to have positive impact. Chapter 7 will link the results and discussion of this chapter to the other chapters and suggest overarching insights, recommendations, and future lines of inquiry. First, I present the results of my final research question in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Case study of the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians' partnerships and collaboration on the Siuslaw National Forest

Introduction

The following chapter is intended as a practice-oriented working paper to be shared with the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI) Department of Cultural and Natural Resources staff, the Siuslaw National Forest (SNF), and NGO partners Cascade Pacific Resource Conservation and Development (CPRCD) and Sustainable Northwest. As such, the style and format differ from the other chapters and there is only a short discussion to connect the findings to key practice-oriented literature. In my conclusion in Chapter 7, I will draw connections between the findings of this working paper, themes that emerged in my other two chapters, and theoretical literature. While this chapter emerged from a distinct research need and context as described in Chapter 1, I found that perspectives shared in this chapter speak to my broader questions on Anchor Forests and the dynamics of tribal leadership and involvement in cross-boundary forest management.

The broad goal of this research was to document and communicate CTCLUSI's perspective on the creation of a Forest-wide collaborative on the SNF. Through conversation with key informants, we determined that accomplishing this goal would require also documenting the efficacy of current partnerships and collaborations in which CTCLUSI participates. Based on these goals, I posed the following research question:

How does CTCLUSI envision participating in multi-party collaboration and partnerships on the Siuslaw National Forest?

Chapter 2 provides background and context on the history of CTCLUSI, the SNF, and existing venues for collaboration, partnership, and engagement, which will be included in a version of this chapter to be distributed as a standalone working paper.

Executive Summary

In 2019, Cascade Pacific Resource Conservation and Development (Cascade Pacific), the fiscal sponsor and facilitator of the Siuslaw National Forest's (SNF) collaborative stewardship program, began exploring the idea of creating a Forest-wide collaborative. A Forest-wide collaborative would convene to discuss landscape-scale issues and management planning, and expand beyond the scope of restoration planning and stewardship contract funding discussions that take place in SNF's five existing Stewardship Groups. The group would be open to anyone to participate, including stakeholders or partners that may not currently have a venue to voice their concerns or interests. Given their vested interest in stewardship on ancestral lands, the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians' (CTCLUSI) natural resources staff participate in many collaborative venues and partnerships on the SNF, while also engaging with the SNF directly through government to government relationships. CTCLUSI staff saw a need to contribute their perspectives toward ongoing dialogue about the purpose, structure, and planning of the proposed Forest-wide collaborative. The following report summarizes findings from qualitative interviews with five CTCLUSI Cultural and Natural Resources Department staff on their experience engaging in partnerships and collaboration on CTCLUSI's ancestral lands currently held by the SNF as well as personal experience with collaboration outside of the SNF, and recommendations for how a Forest-wide collaborative could be designed to support CTCLUSI's interests and goals.

Key Findings

- CTCLUSI staff have seen benefit from engaging in watershed councils, stewardship groups, and direct government to government relationships with the SNF, but also see need for greater recognition of the tribe as an equal (or greater) governmental partner with the SNF in the management of CTCLUSI's ancestral lands.
- With deliberate planning, the creation of a Forest-wide collaborative could be an opportunity for the SNF to strengthen its relationship with CTCLUSI by involving tribal

natural resource staff early on in decision-making and planning processes as a governmental partner rather than a stakeholder.

- CTCLUSI staff voiced concern that participating in a consensus-based Forest-wide collaborative could undermine their direct Government to Government consultation relationship with the SNF.
- CTCLUSI staff voiced concern over sharing sensitive cultural information through a Forest-wide collaborative, but do see a Forest-wide collaborative as an opportunity for information-sharing and dialogue about landscape-scale management practices and planning, as well as building understanding across all partners and stakeholders about the Tribe's⁷ culture and sovereignty.

Introduction to CTCLUSI Natural and Cultural Resource Governance

The work of CTCLUSI's Department of Cultural and Natural Resources supports the tribe's goals on two scales: 1) the 14,700 acres of forestland parcels recently conveyed to CTCLUSI by the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act (WOTFA), managed by a small forestry staff, and 2) more broadly, the 1.6 million acres of ancestral lands that include lands held by the SNF, Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and private landowners. Staff work toward accomplishing the tribe's stewardship goals across the entire span of ancestral lands by entering into direct governmental partnerships with the SNF and BLM, providing feedback and recommendations through federal consultation requirements, and are involved in a variety of informal multi-party partnerships and collaboration through watershed councils and collaborative stewardship that were discussed and elaborated in the interview results. A more detailed history of CTCLUSI's lands is provided in Chapter 2.

⁷ I use "Tribe" in singular form to describe CTCLUSI despite the fact that CTCLUSI represents a group of multiple tribes/tribal bands, based on my observation of interviewees using it as singular. I will edit this convention if CTCLUSI staff or readers would like me to.

Methods Overview

Key informants from these departments provided feedback on my interview questions and generated a list of eight potential interviewees who work for the Department of Cultural and Natural Resources. From that list, I interviewed the five individuals who responded with interest in participating, with the following position titles:

- Forest Lands Manager
- Forester
- Water Protection Specialist
- Restoration Projects Manager
- Cultural Stewardship Manager

The Forest Lands Manager and Forester focus primarily on managing conveyed lands, and the work of the Water Protection Specialist, Restoration Projects Manager, and Cultural Stewardship Manager spans across the extent of CTCLUSI's ancestral territory. The key informant felt that those five were sufficient to represent the perspectives of CTCLUSI staff for the purpose of this study, but results should be interpreted keeping in mind this limited sample which may be biased toward those willing and interested in participating. Additionally, I stress that this group of staff interviewed does not represent views of tribal members at large, and not all staff members interviewed are tribal members. Key informants felt that a project of this size and scope did not need approval by tribal council, as long as I am clear in communicating the meaning and limits of this sample.

I conducted the five interviews myself in October and November 2019, in person at CTCLUSI's Coos Bay and Florence offices, and each interview lasted 1-2 hours. I asked interviewees questions on their personal experiences in their positions engaging in partnerships with the SNF, including stewardship groups and any other partnerships they wished to describe. I also provided some context on the ongoing conversation about creating a Forest-wide collaborative, asking interviewees to share their thoughts and how this venue could be designed in a way to fit their interests and needs. A full list of interview questions is provided in Appendix C.

I audio-recorded and transcribed each interview, then used NVivo qualitative analysis software to label text in the transcripts based on specific categories, points, or themes. I started with broad categories based on interview questions to generate a codebook, and then through multiple readings of transcripts, I inductively added more specific sub-codes based on emergent points and themes. This analysis allowed me to summarize the data and find patterns across all five interviews. All data have been kept confidential and responses or quotes will not be tied to specific individuals in any of the reporting of the results.

I also provided interviewees the opportunity to provide feedback on my results outline before writing this draft. I also welcome feedback or suggestions based on this draft, ideally before the deadline to turn it in to OSU on June 12th. I plan to share this working paper with CTCLUSI's natural resources partners, including the SNF, Cascade Pacific, and Sustainable Northwest – but will not do so until I have had explicit approval from the majority of the interviewees.

Results

Land History Shaping Basis of Partnerships

Interviewees discussed important elements of tribal land history that provide the foundation for CTCLUSI's natural resource management and partnerships, and the goals they are working toward. These elements included key points of colonial history, trajectories in land management approaches, and shifting forest policies and legal frameworks over time. Interviewees stressed that the 1855 Treaty that ceded 1.6 million acres of CTCLUSI's ancestral lands to the federal government was never ratified or paid for. One interviewee voiced that this dispossession from their homelands is a "wound that still hurts." One interviewee brought up this history specifically in reference to the why the USFS fails to acknowledge their vested interest in portions of their ancestral lands:

Because there's a misunderstanding of the history, I think that's why. I will just say that aboriginal title was never extinguished here.... Other tribes did negotiate into being paid later, although they did not receive a fair shake out. But for our tribes, we've still never been paid for our lands. So, I would say that the Forest Service doesn't really own their lands, we do. But

legally speaking, in the United States' eyes, to the victor goes the spoils. So, holding deed or whatever title for lands makes a difference in other people's eyes, I guess.

This point implies that the SNF needs to recognize this history, and CTCLUSI's unceded rights to the land, as the foundation for their interactions.

Interviewees also brought up the residual impact of the termination period in the mid 20th century. Like other tribes in Oregon, CTCLUSI was terminated under the Western Oregon Termination Act of 1954, and when restored in 1984, the tribe regained only the reservation lands it had possessed prior to termination: a six acre parcel that had been "gifted" to the tribe because the former landowner had logged the timber and no longer wanted to pay taxes on the parcel. This history was emphasized to provide context for how the tribe is currently rebuilding natural resource and forest management capacity, especially with the newly conveyed lands under WOTFA.

One interviewee from the forestry department described the governance implications of the "checkerboarding" of private lands and BLM lands, which creates the need for partnerships and reciprocal rights of way as landowners must cross property lines to access their lands and transport timber. This interviewee explained the history stemming back to the early 1900s when Oregon-California railroad lands were sold to settlers as private land holdings and some were placed under BLM management. This resulted in a checkerboard of ownership and produced logistical difficulties, so the BLM initiated a "Reciprocal Rights of Way" program to create easements across private lands to enable access for transportation of timber. They framed this history in the context of ongoing dialogue about the tribe's operational agreement with the BLM to move across neighboring lands for the purpose of managing their conveyed land parcels.

In terms of shifts in forest policy and management priorities, interviewees described that the BLM and USFS oversaw extractive and exploitative forest harvesting until the late 20th century and the onset of environmentally oriented forest policy including the National Forest Management Act and the Northwest Forest Plan (NWFP). Interviewees explained that the legacy of overharvesting of old growth and other extractive practices affect current landscape conditions today, as the forest continues to recover. Interviewees also felt the stringent

restrictions enacted by the NWFP have made it difficult for agencies to accomplish sustainable active forest management. This includes the SNF, where interviewees described that portions of CTCLUSI's ancestral lands have subsequently been under-managed, resulting in lack of forest diversity or overstocked stands of trees. One interviewee specifically commented that the NWFP's goals of more ecologically informed active forest management have not been realized, and the forestlands conveyed under WOTFA generally have not seen any timber harvest since the NWFP. These perspectives on the NWFP reveal a difference in management goals and approaches between CTCLUSI and past landowners, which relates to how CTCLUSI views their role as communicating more effective land management strategies to partners, which will be discussed further.

Overarching Management Goals that Guide Interest in Partnerships

Given this land history, interviewees shared goals and priorities that they work toward in their positions, which are guided by the oversight of tribal council. As demonstrated by the progression of interview conversations, these goals form the foundation of CTCLUSI's interest in participating in partnerships and collaboration. I list goals under two categorical umbrellas: cultural/ecological, and economic. While the natural resource management field often considers sustainability through three prongs (social or cultural, ecological, and economic), I interpreted from the interviews that from CTCLUSI's perspective, cultural and ecological goals are intricately intertwined and cannot be easily separated, so I group these goals under the same umbrella.

Cultural/ecological goals

A primary goal brought up by interviewees from the Department of Cultural and Natural Resources was the recovery and maintenance of culturally significant plants and animals, to allow for present and future tribal members to harvest those species in perpetuity. One interviewee stated that the recovery of coho salmon populations has been of special priority, due to both the tribe's important relationship to the species, and also availability of funding from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) for coho-specific

restoration projects, although they noted that these projects also benefit habitat for other important species. To support this goal of maintaining cultural relationships with significant species, interviewees also expressed the need to maintain and practice Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). One interviewee described that much TEK was lost (or temporarily forgotten) during the tribe's forced removal from their lands, and that access to ancestral lands for management and harvest allows tribal members to work toward regaining and passing along that knowledge. They mentioned the example of bringing tribal members out to the forest to learn to harvest cedar bark using traditional knowledge and practices. Two interviewees brought up the importance of educating youth on cultural practices and values as a model of stewardship for future generations. As stated by one interviewee:

It's my goal in my work to help tribal membership move forward, steward, propagate, and lift up our unique and traditional culture of our people. In order to do that, our culture is based on thousands of years of living in this place, and the natural resources that they grew out of. So a big portion of that is assisting wherever I can and making sure our 1.6 million acres, no matter how they're owned or divided amongst people, are stewarded for future generations.

Multiple interviewees were clear to stress that this long-term connection to the land and investment in the future makes the tribe's values and priorities in natural resource management inherently different from those of other landowners or even federal agencies whose presence on the land has been shorter and more recent, although specifics of this difference were not elaborated. One interviewee expressed frustration with the very phrase "natural resource":

Our culture's based on respect, basically. Respect of... I don't want to call them resources... respect of creation. Because water people for instance have great power and should be respected. If you truly respect things you can't take too much of them, because you have enough respect to have the forethought of how that is going to affect the future.

This quote emphasizes the need for greater awareness of different cultural relationships to land throughout partnership-based work in forestry and land management. However, given frequent use of the terms "natural resources" and "cultural resources" by CTCLUSI staff during interviews, as well as the use of these terms in the names of CTCLUSI departments, I have used these terms in my presentation of findings.

Economic goals for conveyed forestlands

CTCLUSI is still in the early stages of developing goals and plans for the recently conveyed forestlands under WOTFA. Forestry staff are working with an advisory board of tribal members to develop these goals and plans, which has involved multiple field trips to understand the condition of the landscape and collectively agree on desired future states. Overarching goals for these conveyed lands include cultural and ecologically minded stewardship and restoration as defined above, as well as economic goals of generating sustainable revenue for the tribe through timber harvest, providing employment opportunities first for tribal members and secondarily for the broader local community, and contributing a small quantity of timber to local sawmills. One interviewee stated that the timber output will be small given the small acreage of land, and thus will not represent a significant contribution to the vitality of the local economy or forest products industry– but will hopefully be a stable source of revenue and employment for the tribe over time.

Management Challenges

In order to understand how partnerships and collaboration might be a venue for supporting CTCLUSI's interests and helping them overcome challenges, I asked interviewees to describe what challenges they see associated with accomplishing the above goals. Interviewees cited early and foreseen challenges with beginning to manage the conveyed parcels, as well as ongoing challenges affecting their ability to achieve cultural and ecological goals across ancestral lands. First, most continued to emphasize that land history as described above has resulted in small and fragmented parcels of reservation and conveyed forestlands, making it difficult to manage the landscape as a whole for cultural needs. The forestry program specifically is very new and still developing capacity and structure. One interviewee felt that forestry activities need to focus on building capacity for management on conveyed lands before staff can begin to engage in cross-boundary partnerships with other landowners. Forestry staff also brought up the challenge faced by many landowners in the region of declining processing and milling infrastructure, which also affects the tribe's ability to sell timber that they harvest.

All interviewees brought up that limited staff, resources, and funding affect the tribe's ability to accomplish goals and engage in partnerships. One interviewee also mentioned that when utilizing grants from federal agencies such as NOAA, their work is sometimes constrained to projects that tend to promote single-species management as opposed to more holistic management that would better align with the tribe's philosophy.

Extent and Effectiveness of Partnerships with the Siuslaw National Forest

Interviewees described involvement in a variety of different types of partnerships with the SNF, who is the primary "landowner"⁸ of CTCLUSI's ancestral lands. I group these partnerships into three categories: government to government consultation and relationships, watershed-based partnerships, and SNF Stewardship Groups. Only staff from the Department of Cultural and Natural Resources described involvement in partnerships. As mentioned, forestry staff are continuing to build capacity within the bounds of conveyed lands and have yet to engage in cross-boundary or partnership work.

Government to Government Consultation and Relationships

One way that CTCLUSI interacts with SNF is through government to government consultation. SNF is required to consult with the tribe about proposed management activities on CTCLUSI's ancestral lands. Interviewees who had been involved in consultation voiced that these processes generally function well, with one describing SNF as a "good neighbor" who is making an honest effort to communicate and listen to CTCLUSI. However, some interviewees described a lack of clarity in how the feedback they provide is ultimately incorporated by the agency. One described that this can be especially difficult in the long term, given that staff who initially worked with CTCLUSI might leave the agency before a project is completed.

Interviewees did not specifically mention which SNF staff positions or levels they interact with

⁸ I use quotation marks intentionally when writing "landowner" due to the request of one interviewee, who commented, "And yeah it's ironic because like you say, we're a sovereign nation; they're just a federal agency. But they do hold more lands than us. We're using quotation marks when we say "own," for the record."

most frequently, and this would be a valuable point of follow up in order to document the specific links and points of contact underlying these relationships.

One interviewee also described that they have developed an increasing number of Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) to allow tribal members to harvest or gather culturally relevant species on the SNF without the need for case-by-case permits. This interviewee felt that these MOUs were a positive step toward greater access to ancestral lands and realization of cultural goals as described above.

Smith River Watershed Council and Associated Partnerships

Interviewees also described participating in the Smith River Watershed Council and the Siuslaw Watershed Council, commenting that they have had generally positive experiences with these partnerships. Interviewees did not cover the functions and inner workings of watershed councils in detail, but according to the Network of Oregon Watershed Council, Oregon Watershed Councils are “community-based, voluntary, non-regulatory group that meets regularly in their local communities to assess conditions in a given watershed and to conduct projects to restore or enhance the waters and lands for fish and native plants in their areas” (Network of Oregon Watershed Councils, n.d.). While these are not decision-making bodies, Watershed Councils bring together landowners and interested parties to come up with solutions for the watershed.

Interviewees described working with Watershed Councils to help implement successful projects including the Five Mile Bell restoration project, where CTCLUSI supplied logs for the large wood installation. They also mentioned that the SNF is currently working on targeting lands in the Smith River watershed as a “planning area,” and have invited a CTCLUSI representative to sit on their planning committee among other partners. One interviewee felt that this represents a move in the right direction toward involving the tribe as a governmental partner, but this structure was not described in more detail.

One interviewee described that the lands recently conveyed by WOTFA may already be lending CTCLUSI more perceived authority within watershed partnerships, because now they

can claim that actions within the watershed directly affect their conveyed lands. This interviewee commented that from their perspective, they had just as much authority over the lands before, as they were still ancestral lands, but the legal authority granted through WOTFA may have shifted implicit perceptions of partnering landowners or organizations. They also described that they hope CTCLUSI can demonstrate active watershed restoration and stewardship in the future on their conveyed lands, leading by example and encouraging other landowners to enact similar stewardship practices.

SNF Stewardship Groups

Of the five stewardship groups existing on the SNF, interviewees expressed that they had participated in the Siuslaw Stewardship Group and the Southern Umpqua-Dunes Stewardship Group, seeing benefit from interacting with partnering organizations who are involved in restoration projects on CTCLUSI's ancestral lands. Interviewees expressed that meetings can be a productive place for dialogue and that tribal staff can share knowledge or perspectives on a proposed project, or assist with acquiring more funding – in one interviewee's words, "having a tribe on board, no matter what level, looks good for a grant application." While participation has sometimes been a positive and valuable experience, two interviewees who had actively participated voiced frustration with certain dynamics. Specifically, one interviewee felt that during meetings, CTCLUSI has sometimes been seen as a competitor for limited funds for restoration. This interviewee commented,

It seems like some people are there because they genuinely care about stewardship and are trying to get the work done and get grants, and some people at these meetings just seem like they're looking to fund themselves so they can continue working and continue meeting. And that to me is always frustrating from a tribal perspective, because well, we don't have that need, to continue getting funding or whatever. So I just want to talk about what we are going to do.

Given that these conversations about funding are not always relevant to CTCLUSI, staff do not always view participation as the best use of limited time and resources, but they continue to participate when they can. Two interviewees also expressed frustration that projects put

forward or funded by stewardship groups do not align with their vision of “stewardship.” One commented,

You know also, some of the stakeholders who go to these meetings aren't for stewardship at all. They're for continuing to degrade an ecosystem to make a buck, but seems like they get to say that they're stewardship because they go to these meetings.

This interviewee also voiced concern particularly with “stewardship” activities that favor off-road vehicle recreation which they described as environmentally destructive. A different interviewee participates in the Dunes Collaborative meetings and has had a positive experience. They felt it has been beneficial to be in the same room with people coming from different interest groups including recreation, retired SNF staff, and members of the public, but did not provide specific benefits they had seen from participating.

Chronic Challenges Across Partnerships

Most interviewees described general capacity limitations that affect CTCLUSI staff's ability to participate in partnerships or stewardship groups. Interviewees expressed that collaboration and partnership processes take time, and require building long-term relationships with staff of other agencies and organizations. Most interviewees felt that staff are stretched thin and are careful to prioritize their time, attending meetings or engaging only when they see positive benefit from participating. Beyond these basic capacity limitations, interviewees expressed specific challenges related to misunderstandings or undermining of CTCLUSI's sovereign nationhood, as well as the inability of the SNF to share decision making power, elaborated in the following two sections.

Misunderstanding or Undermining Tribal Sovereignty

Interviewees described several ways that SNF falls short of meaningful engagement and partnership with CTCLUSI as a sovereign nation. Interviewees expressed that while staff usually have good intentions, issues stem from misunderstandings on the part of individuals and especially new staff, as well as the nature of USFS's power as an institution and federal agency. One interviewee commented that the SNF often consults or involves the tribe too late in

the process of planning restoration projects on ancestral lands, whereas the tribe should be involved or at least invited at the very beginning as an equal government partner whenever action will take place on ancestral lands. This interviewee also described that these partnerships do not always feel genuine. They stated:

Most of the time when I work with the FS, if I feel like a partner, it's a partner of convenience, it's not a partner of equal stand. I don't feel like I'm an equal of the FS by any stretch of the imagination, and I don't think that they view the tribe as an equal either. I mean they will go through the process if they have to do a formal consultation about NEPA, because that's what the law requires, but I don't think that they view the tribe as being on equal footing. They have more of a land base, they feel that since the American taxpayers are paying money for that, there's the possibility of forest fires, they feel that their responsibility is much greater than the tribe. Even though on paper you talk about tribal sovereignty, I don't know that.... even in your question about a partnership, I'm not quite sure it's a true partnership of true equals. They invite us because they have to sometimes.

Another interviewee felt that partnerships did not always feel meaningful because the USFS might involve them when they have something to gain, like logs for a large wood installation, or when it looks good on paper. In a multi-party collaboration setting, such as a Watershed Council or Stewardship Group meeting, interviewees expressed the challenge of participants viewing CTCLUSI as an equal stakeholder among the others in the room. One interviewee stated this clearly:

Tribes a lot of the time are treated as other stakeholders. I'm going to use this as another example, that recreational ATV riders are treated the same as the tribe. You know? That's just ridiculous to me. Same voice - "well they say this".... it's like listening to the scientists and then having a debate with a climate denier, it's like, let's debate gravity next. It's not OK, basically.

Two other interviewees affirmed this dynamic. One commented, "I think there's an inherent danger in putting all the "stakeholders" into the room, and you know, there's power dynamics that need to be considered." Interviewees cited examples of this dynamic occurring in Stewardship Groups but did not mention this explicitly in the context of Watershed Councils; however, that does not mean that the dynamic is not present in that setting.

Issues with USFS Sharing Power in Decision Making

In addition to challenges associated specifically with the tribe's sovereign authority, interviewees expressed challenges more generally related to collaboration and partnership with the SNF among all partners and stakeholders. Multiple interviewees felt that the USFS is unable to share power in decision-making and that this is frustrating for anyone who actively participates in meetings and steering committees. One interviewee cited a specific example of a cedar restoration project they had been involved in planning with the USFS. When asked in a previous interview to describe the positive outcomes of CTCLUSI's restoration partnerships with the SNF, they realized those outcomes had not materialized as they had imagined:

Because I'd been in these FS meetings for like 10-11 years now, and had that been implemented, there would be groves of approximately 10-11-year-old cedar by now, and there's not. So I'm like, wait a minute. That interview process really made me think, "Oh my god they're not freakin' listening to us."

This may be partially related to the issue described above where the USFS fails to fully honor CTCLUSI's sovereignty, but one interviewee felt that this dynamic extends beyond tribal partnerships, and that the agency is not able to share decision-making power with other partners and community member despite the promotion of engagement venues both through collaboration and NEPA processes. They commented,

Yeah and it's not just the tribe either. I don't want to say I agree with the community, but I've gone to meetings the FS held, just community meetings about all these different projects, like the Indian Creek or Deadwood Creek project or whatever, and the local communities just don't feel listened to. They just feel like they say everything they want to say and then the FS is like "OK that's nice, anyway be quiet for a second and we're going to tell you what we're going to do."

This specific example represents an example of public engagement, rather than collaboration, but reflects a general sentiment that the SNF may not always be willing or able to share decision-making power. Similar sentiments emerged through interviews of SNF stewardship group participants and stakeholders, particularly among environmentalist stakeholders who voiced frustration about the SNF not listening to their feedback through the variety of venues they use to engage (Kornhauser & Jacobson, 2020).

One interviewee from the forestry staff, who has not participated in SNF stewardship groups but has participated in collaboratives on other National Forests in the past, expressed frustration with consensus-based decision-making processes given that timber industry perspectives tend to get ignored and that consensus favors the “lower common denominator” of management activities. This also echoes the perspectives of timber representatives among SNF stewardship groups (Kornhauser & Jacobson, 2020). These challenges reinforce a need for more clarity and transparency about decision-making powers and authorities within any venue for engagement, collaboration, or partnership.

Perspectives on the creation of a Forest-wide collaborative

Some SNF partners and stakeholders have proposed the creation of a Forest-wide collaborative that would bring people together from across the forest to engage in dialogue about Forest-wide planning and management processes, that would span across a landscape-scale in contrast to the local, project-based nature of dialogue within existing Stewardship Groups. Some also feel such a venue could be a more conducive platform for certain interests, such as recreationists, to have their voices heard (Kornhauser & Jacobson, 2020). Given goals and challenges cited by interviewees above, we discussed the potential formation of a Forest-wide collaborative, how CTCLUSI would envision participating, and what structures would need to be in place to support CTCLUSI’s interests.

CTCLUSI Would Participate, but Governmental Authority Must Be Clear

Interviewees expressed general interest in participating if a Forest-wide collaborative was created, hinging upon staff capacity. Interviewees were clear to stress that the tribe’s participation in a Forest-wide collaborative should be clearly defined and understood by all those involved as not replacing direct government to government relationships and meetings that take place separately between the tribe and the USFS. Given that concern, interviewees also felt that a Forest-wide collaborative should not be a venue for tribal staff to engage in consensus-based decision-making, because such dialogue could undermine the tribe’s elevated voice and sovereignty. However, interviewees expressed that a Forest-wide collaborative could

be an effective venue for tribal staff to interact with other partners and share information or management strategies. Some interviewees also thought this could be a place for tribal staff to educate others on their culture, their history and presence on the landscape, and their sovereign status, clarifying to all partners in the room what their legal and cultural sovereignty means in the context of National Forest planning and decision-making.

There was uncertainty about what structures could help engage tribal staff as representatives of sovereign governmental partner, but there was general agreement on this need. One interviewee proposed an idea of what this might look like:

I'm not quite sure how the model will work, but if it's a model like a company and there's a board, you know, the tribe needs to be a member of that decision-making body. They can be involved in the bigger meetings, getting all the stakeholders together, but it needs to be made clear that the decision-making power of the tribe is highlighted. And I think that something that's difficult to do. I don't have a suggestion of how to make that possible.

Some interviewees thought the creation of a Forest-wide collaborative could be an opportunity to strengthen the USFS's relationships and partnerships with the tribe, but the USFS would need to deliberately engage with CTCLUSI from the very beginning of the process. Another interviewee who had been involved in collaboration when they worked for a different tribe, expressed how they feel a tribe can participate without undermining their governmental relationships:

But many Tribes, and I don't want to speak for our council, but many Tribes have chosen to participate fully in collaborative process, not because they think they're diminishing their role and not because the other agencies want to have a tribal representative on the board, because then they have tribal involvement, but because they're genuinely interested in what's going on out there, and most of those tribes still fully expect and those government agencies fully recognize that there still needs to be a level of consultation when it directly affects tribes. So you can have both, and I fully expect that we would be embedded.

Overall, interviewees felt that a Forest-wide collaborative could be an effective venue for strengthening partnerships and relationships, but would need to be designed carefully and intentionally to support productive and meaningful tribal involvement.

Structure Should Include Multiple Scales and Scopes

In addition to this clear delineation of tribal authority, some interviewees also thought a multi-scale approach or design to the Forest-wide collaborative would be most effective. Given limited capacity, interviewees thought that tribal staff would be more able to prioritize participation if meetings and discussions were targeted to specific areas, actions, or issues. Specifically, one interviewee thought that participation would depend on the relevance of the items discussed at a given meeting. They commented,

So, I think that [participation would depend on] not just the amount or duration or the scope of the ground activities, but you know what kind of cultural significance, how many members use a particular area for gathering, for example. I think that's how you prioritize what you want to be involved in.

Another interviewee commented that they would be more likely to participate in a meeting if the outcome of the meeting felt impactful and tied to change on the ground:

If you're just going to propose a forest plan revision, yeah, [the tribe] would probably be interested, but let's face it, those plans take a long time to develop, they're somewhat pie in the sky so to speak. They're nebulous, and they take a long time to put together, and they may not necessarily be real site specific anyway. So the closer you get on the ground, the bigger the impact.

According to these interviewees, a Forest-wide collaborative would need to find a balance or navigation of multiple scales, where discussion takes place on a Forest-wide level but breaks down into more locally focused or issue-specific conversations that would allow participants to prioritize their time. Interviews expressed other logistical considerations that should inform the design of the Forest-wide collaborative's structures and processes. One interviewee thought that neutral third-party facilitation would be important in a Forest-wide collaborative, citing the success of its use on the Dunes Collaborative. Another interviewee felt that rotating meeting locations would enable broader participation and would be a more equitable structure that would share the burden of travel time and costs across participants coming from disparate locations. These suggestions echo the opinions of other Stewardship Group participants and stakeholders who proposed similar structures (Kornhauser & Jacobson, 2020).

Sharing TEK Depends on Sensitivity of Information and Benefit to Tribe

I asked interviewees whether they think CTLCUSI staff would share TEK during Forest-wide collaborative meetings. All interviewees responded that this would depend on the type and sensitivity of the information, and some thought it would also depend on whether the tribe would benefit from sharing the information. First, interviewees stressed that sensitive information might include specific locations of culturally significant places, such as a burial site, or plants, such as areas where tribal members harvest bear grass. This type of information would not be shared generally, to protect these places from exploitation or damage by non-tribal members. One interviewee voiced that if there was some need to share this information to ensure its protection, this knowledge would be shared directly to staff with whom tribal staff have a trusting relationship. However, all interviewees expressed that tribal staff would be interested in sharing more general TEK such as management practices or observations of long-term ecological change on the landscape. This might include the timing and methods of cultural burning or bringing forward historic knowledge of forest structure and diversity to guide restoration benchmarks. One interviewee clearly expressed this delineation:

I think that there's sort of two degrees of the TEK... I think that the tribe would be comfortable sharing ideas of how the landscape was managed previously, and different strategies or things that can be done in different areas: the planting of different species, just pointing out basics, that these weren't all Douglas-fir plantations prior to industrial logging, that there was much more diversity in the forest, and the forest resiliency is based on that diversity. So I think the tribe would be comfortable discussing very high level TEK, and even sharing how harvest used to be done, and what was harvested, and things that were made. This is very clear here and out in the open. But the other degree would be about where things are harvested, or places that are sacred - geographic locations. I think that the generalities would be shared, but specificity would be more private... so there's sort of a two-staged thing.

Another interviewee also described how some cultural knowledge can only be shared in certain contexts, and cannot be shared outside of the tribe, which non-Native people do not always understand. They provided an anecdote to illustrate this point:

I got an email the other day from a person doing a school report on culture, and just wanted to talk about the tribe in general, and they were asking about songs and dances, and they needed so many references. And I'm like, "Well you won't find any of that and

I can't share it with you." I didn't say it like that, but just some of that stuff isn't able to be shared, because songs have a purpose, they have inspirational meaning. Some families have been doing the songs and dances and things like that, and they're not able to be shared.

Given this and previous commentary about how the Forest-wide collaborative could be a venue for learning about tribal culture and sovereignty, dialogue might also build greater understanding of the dimensions of CTCLUSI's TEK what can or cannot be shared, and why. One interviewee also mentioned that while recognition and understanding of TEK is very valuable, the term often focuses only on knowledge from pre-European times rather than also emphasizing the tribe's more recent forest management knowledge, experience and practice. I suggest that dialogue in a Forest-wide collaborative setting could also build greater awareness of the tribe's current forestry expertise.

Implications and Conclusion

Interviewees stressed at the beginning of this research process that perspectives shared represent those of the staff involved in this study only, and do not represent the views of CTCLUSI tribal members. Interviewees also stressed that agencies and partners sometimes problematically group all tribal partners together as sharing similar perspectives. I will stress again that views shared represent only those of CTCLUSI forestry, natural, and cultural resource staff, and not of the other tribes whose ancestral lands fall under "ownership" of SNF. SNF should engage with their other tribal partners to understand their perspectives about the issues and ideas explored in this report, and work toward distinct meaningful relationships with each tribe.

However, issues brought up by CTCLUSI staff echo past literature about involvement of Indigenous peoples in natural resource management partnerships and collaboration. This implies that there may be common questions and factors that need to be considered by federal agencies, collaboratives, and partners to design structures and processes to recognize tribal sovereignty and support tribal interests. Only through direct and distinct relationships can this dialogue, shared understanding, and meaningful change emerge.

An underlying implication of this study is the need for collaborative natural resource management processes to recognize and uplift tribal sovereignty, working with tribes as governmental authorities rather than stakeholders in collaborative processes. Scholars have found that in both theory and practice, the field of collaborative natural resource management continues to struggle to move past viewing tribes as stakeholders and fully recognize their sovereignty and self-determination (A. E. Cronin & Ostergren, 2007; Reo et al., 2017; von der Porten & de Loë, 2014). Reo et al. (2017) studied cases of successful involvement of Indigenous communities in collaborative, multi-actor environmental stewardship, and propose a number of factors that can support this involvement. These factors include:

- Respect for Indigenous Knowledge among all parties
- Indigenous community control of the use of knowledge to support their priorities and interests, and ownership/intellectual property rights over data
- Intergenerational involvement with an emphasis on youth engagement
- Recognition of tribal self-determination by involving Indigenous participants in leadership and advisory roles
- Intentionally facilitated cross-cultural learning, following Indigenous leadership
- Involving Indigenous communities early on, in the conceptual stage of planning

All of these factors also emerged in the perspectives of CTCLUSI staff shared in this research, suggesting importance of these practices as a starting place for building collaborative processes and structures that support Indigenous community involvement.

There are no clear answers for how the SNF and its partners can create a Forest-wide collaborative in a way that actively honors and uplifts CTCLUSI's sovereign authority over ancestral lands. But the suggestions uncovered in these five interviews, echoing best practices proposed by the literature, serve as a starting place for conversation and joint understanding. I will echo statements by interviewees as well as the Reo et al. (2017) paper in stressing the importance of involving tribal partners early on, with the honest intention of listening and following their lead. SNF and its nonprofit partners have an opportunity in the early stages of planning and designing a Forest-wide collaborative to embed these practices and commit to meaningful partnership, a conversation that must be ongoing. It is my hope that this report's documentation of perspectives can contribute some insight to that conversation.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This conclusion will summarize key findings of this research, and present overarching themes and implications that emerged through the interactions of the three research questions with which I began:

1. Why did the Anchor Forest concept emerge, and how do leaders envision its use in the future and in different contexts? (Chapter 4)
2. How do Anchor Forest narratives reinforce or depart from mainstream media narratives about tribal partnerships in forest management? (Chapter 5)
3. How do the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians envision participating in multi-party collaboration and partnership on the Siuslaw National Forest? (Chapter 6)

Chapter 4 took a deep dive into the emergence of the Anchor Forest concept as a conceptual framework for tribal leadership in cross-boundary governance, drawing heavily from interviews with key leaders and involved individuals and close document analysis. I described how the Anchor Forest concept emerged as a response to governance scale mismatches, proposing that tribal forestlands can act as an “anchor” to enable scale expansion, adaptive governance, and long-term forest stewardship. This chapter also revealed the need to overcome both institutional shifts, particularly in the ability of the USFS to make long-term commitments, as well as shifts in the mindsets of agency staff and the broader general public. Chapter 5 expanded on this finding, unpacking key narratives and social constructions embedded in the Anchor Forest concept, and comparing them to those found in general media. This chapter suggested how the Anchor Forest concept could shift individual mindsets, through key narratives that present a more holistic framing of the roots of forest management challenges as opposed to the simplified stories told by the mainstream media. This chapter also demonstrated how the Anchor Forest concept might act as a narrative intervention in emphasizing tribes-as-heroes and as powerful, capable stewards of the land, rather than focusing on tribes as victims of injustice or deserving of help. Finally, Chapter 6 demonstrated the specific complexities embedded in collaboration and partnership between CTCLUSI and the

SNF, through interviews with five staff closely involved in CTCLUSI's natural resource partnerships. In the context of my other two results chapters, this chapter presented a counter example of a tribe who lacks large reservation lands, but is working to enact management and uphold culture on the scale of ancestral territory regardless. This chapter provided reminders that a tribe's convening power should not be conceptualized only within the bounds of their legally recognized territory, but through their rootedness and permanence on the land, which exists regardless of territorial recognition. The results of this chapter, while ungeneralizable to other contexts, point to the types of considerations and questions that should be asked before beginning any partnership or collaboration between tribal and non-tribal entities, echoing findings of past studies in other contexts. The following sections highlight common threads and key implications that emerged across chapters, as well as unanswered questions that warrant more exploration in the future.

Shifting Forest Governance Paradigms: Inviting Dialogue on New Scales

Similar to how TEK could be seen as a “collaborative concept” to facilitate dialogue on different ways of knowing (Whyte, 2013), the results of this research suggest that the Anchor Forest concept might act as an invitation to dialogue on different ways of viewing scale of forest governance within cross-boundary partnerships. As demonstrated, the Anchor Forest concept can be seen as contributing to the rise of cross-boundary and multi-scalar institutions (Charnley et al., 2017; Bruce Evan Goldstein & Butler, 2010; Kelly & Kusel, 2015), by proposing a unique vision and governance structure, supported by in depth economic, social, and ecological feasibility analyses to demonstrate how it could function (Corrao et al., 2016). Specifically, the Anchor Forest concept may represent a more meaningful inclusion of economic dimensions of cross-boundary and adaptive forest governance than most examples described in scientific and practice-based literature on collaborative and cross-boundary governance thus far, demonstrating how sustainable levels of timber harvesting across neighboring lands can support broader goals of wildfire resilience and forest restoration.

As shown in Chapter 2, Anchor Forest narratives describe how all inhabitants of a landscape – tribal and non-tribal – are affected by the increasing pace of wildfire and the deterioration of forest health. This framing of shared challenges suggests that governments and entities enter cross-boundary partnerships with a sense of reciprocity, viewing mutual benefits to gain. In the case of CTCLUSI, their interests in natural and cultural resource management extend beyond the bounds of their small reservation and conveyed lands, with a vested interest in restoring their ancestral homelands for the sake of sustaining cultural practices and relationships to the land into the future. CTCLUSI staff see benefit from participating in multi-party collaboration because they see it as a venue to share their perspectives and values to guide how forestlands are managed into the future. Through the diverse partnerships in which CTCLUSI staff participate, from watershed councils to Stewardship Groups, they seek to influence and improve forest stewardship on the scale of their ancestral lands. This could be seen as an assertion of cultural sovereignty by enacting and perpetuating cultural relationships to the land, without waiting for political recognition or legal sovereignty (Coffey & Tsosie, 2001). In this way, the Anchor Forest concept could serve as an invitation to conceptualize an Indigenous notion of space that moves beyond the arbitrary property lines enacted through settler colonialism (Sarna-wojcicki et al., 2019), and all involved parties might benefit from this dialogue and learning. This particular moment in time, as exemplified in the history described at the beginning in Chapter 3, is opening up space in how society views natural resource governance, thinking beyond boundaries and acknowledging the role of diverse knowledges. I suggest through my research that this moment of emerging partnerships must be navigated carefully and consciously to actively support and uphold tribal sovereignty, as will be summarized next.

“Seeing” Tribes as Nations in Cross-Boundary and Collaborative Governance Institutions

This research supports existing literature that documents how collaborative environmental management institutions frequently fail to recognize tribal authority as sovereign nations, and treat them instead as stakeholders (Reo et al., 2017; von der Porten & de

Loë, 2014). By emphasizing tribes as conveners and leaders in cross-boundary forest partnerships, the Anchor Forest concept represents a move toward greater recognition of tribal authority within partnerships, but given that a true “Anchor Forest” has yet to be implemented, there are ongoing questions about what it would truly look like to uplift and uphold tribal sovereignty within a partnership. This ongoing uncertainty was echoed by conversations with CTCLUSI staff, who stressed that tribal authority should be viewed as at least equal, if not greater than, the authority of the USFS – but it is still hard to imagine what institutional structures should be in place to support that need. However, one finding is clear: to answer this question of what tribal authority should look like in a partnership, tribes should be brought to the table from the very beginning so that this dialogue can take place, and agencies must view each tribal partner as an individual entity rather than lumping them together. These conversations must involve an earnest desire to learn, listen, and follow tribal leadership, moving beyond a “partnership of convenience” as was described in Chapter 6.

This early dialogue should also allow tribes to define for themselves the appropriate boundaries or scales of governance, echoing one study of the Karuk Tribe’s natural resource partnerships in the Klamath region, where scholars found that watershed-based governance imposed scales that did not support the tribe’s interests and cultural values. This study suggested moving beyond the practice of “involving” or “consulting” tribes once key decisions have already been made, such as the decision to convening a watershed-scale partnership. Meaningful recognition of tribal sovereignty and support of tribal interest hinges on allowing the tribe to convene and define the scale of partnership (Sarna-wojcicki et al., 2019). Norgaard (2014) stressed that natural resource partnerships and collaborations between tribal and non-tribal entities must work to uphold “knowledge sovereignty,” ensuring that tribal partners have full control over their TEK and how it is shared. This notion of knowledge sovereignty rests upon the idea that TEK cannot be extracted from its context, and tribes must have access to their lands to continue to practice and perpetuate TEK. The concept of “knowledge sovereignty” also implies that tribes hold intellectual property rights and control over the mobilization of their knowledge (Norgaard, 2014). My research demonstrates how the Anchor Forest concept might

be one mechanism, or entry point, to generate greater awareness of tribal sovereignty and nationhood that would support upholding knowledge sovereignty and the power of tribes to define scales of governance. While the Anchor Forest concept may not contain concrete answers to these questions, the conceptual framing of tribal leadership and convening power could provide the foundation on which multiple entities could enter into dialogue on what an appropriate governance structure would look like. Given that much cross-boundary partnership work is convened by the USFS (Charnley et al., 2017; Cyphers & Schultz, 2018; Kelly & Kusel, 2015), and that collaborative governance scholars have found that conveners of collaboration exert influence on how the processes that emerge (Orth & Cheng, 2018), the Anchor Forest concept might lead to new governance dynamics that are better apt to center tribal leadership and sovereignty by the very nature of originating with the ITC rather than the USFS.

Permanence as Power: What it Means to “Anchor”

As described in Chapter 4, the concept of an “anchor” providing the stability needed to enable scale expansion and adaptive governance has not yet been explored in theoretical literature on resilience, scale, and governance. In this research, the concept of an “anchor” was often linked to a sense of “investment” in place. Investment came up in the results as related to economic investment in forest products infrastructure and industry, as well as in terms of commitment on the part of landowners to long-term stewardship. This chapter also documented how the data showed how “rootedness” or “permanence” on the land lends tribes convening power in the context of a partnership, through increased legitimacy and social license, as well as possession of long-term knowledge and experience.

Chapter 5 expanded on this power stemming from permanence or rootedness, by unpacking the ways that narratives portray tribes in the context of forestry partnerships. Results showed that rootedness on the land was sometimes used in media narratives that portray tribes as victims, where they depend on the land for survival and are harmed when the land is damaged, but Anchor Forest narratives, and some media narratives, describe tribal rootedness

on the land as a source of power, lending them the vision and capacity to be effective leaders in forestry partnerships. Viewing tribes as “survivors,” as suggested by one interviewee, can also reshape the narrative to emphasize how tribes have continued to inhabit the land and assert their existence despite hardship and attempts at cultural erasure. This dynamic was echoed in Chapter 6, when CTCLUSI staff shared that they see the tribe’s inherent power as the original inhabitants of the land: that they were on the land before the USFS, and will be on the land once the USFS is gone. By emphasizing survival and power, interviewees across chapters provided an important counter-narrative to the harmful victim framing, rooted in ancestral trauma and erasure, that has perpetuated depictions of Indigenous peoples in environmental media (Belfer et al., 2017).

This somewhat symbolic implication of the idea of an “anchor” may link to the more practical or logistical finding that agency staff turnover presents a chronic barrier to partnerships, as exhibited both in Anchor Forest documents and interviews as well as in CTCLUSI interviews. I return to a quote presented in Chapter 4 from a forest manager who is a tribal member:

So when I'm collaborating with people, one of the first things that's usually a test for them, when they're looking at me, is how sincere I am. There's a big benefit for me to have been born and raised in the vicinity of where I'm working. They know I'm going to grow old here. So I'm in it just like them. And they also take a lot of, it helps with the trust when they know I'm also a user of the forest, and not just a manager of it. Maybe I'm full of shit, but I think that helps. We're all just people trying to figure it out, right?

This interviewee attributes success as a forest manager to his personal and visible commitment to place, building trust among the community and stakeholders of the forest who know they will not leave. The chronic issue of perpetual staff turnover derailing collaborative governance has been well-documented in the literature (Amirkhanyan, 2009; Antuma et al., 2014; Corrao & Andringa, 2017; Vinyeta & Lynn, 2015). Turnover can sever trusting relationships and can also create a lack of long-term accountability and investment to the place and the community.

I see two implications from this emphasis of the importance of anchoring and investment in place: one, that it implies a need for non-tribal agencies and entities to center the perspectives, knowledges, values, and governance of tribal partners who hold long-term

relationships to the land. And two, it might invite deeper thinking on the part of non-tribal individuals about their own commitment to place. Results from Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 suggested that amidst frequent agency staff turnover, especially leadership, lower level employees who remain in the same region or National Forest can sometimes be the stabilizing force carrying long-term institutional knowledge and relationships. Given the power of permanence as exemplified in the results of this research, and awareness that lasting relationships between individuals are necessary to carry a concept like Anchor Forests forward, one key implication of this research is the need for change in the promotional and institutional structure of the USFS to support employees staying put in their communities and forests. Beyond institutional changes, individuals who participate in partnerships or collaborative governance, whether agency staff or ordinary citizens, must also see the value in “anchoring,” seeing themselves as accountable to the future of the forest that they inhabit.

Concluding comments on my role in this work

As described in Chapter 4, some interviewees voiced frustration that their work on Anchor Forests have not yet led to the tangible change they had envisioned. I hope that someday the Anchor Forest concept can be realized in its fullest form. In the meantime, I hope that my work on this thesis can contribute examples of the diverse lessons that can be learned from Anchor Forests, providing novel contributions to literature on collaborative and cross-boundary forest governance, and practical insights for collaborative practitioners. Recognizing that an identified strength of the Anchor Forest concept is its ability to shift individual mindsets, I feel it is meaningful to state how the Anchor Forest concept has concretely changed my own perspectives as a researcher and as a person.

Throughout this project, I have grappled with the tensions of being a non-Indigenous person engaging in research with Indigenous communities. By earnestly striving toward community-engaged and Decolonizing Methodologies (L. T. Smith, 1999). I viewed my role not as researching or learning “about” tribal forestry practices as some detached “other,” but learning *from* tribal foresters and entering a reciprocal relationship through the research. I have

much to learn from tribal foresters about non-Western paradigms of forestry and relationships to land, but rather than a one-directional extraction of knowledge, I also have my own offerings. As a social scientist in one of the largest forestry institutions in the world, and particularly a “land grab university” (High Country News, 2020), I aim to harness my privileges to support the work of the ITC, raising awareness about the importance of the Anchor Forest concept in my circles. As a non-Native person in the forestry field, I hope to continue learning from tribal foresters so I can educate other non-Native people about how to think about respectful engagement in collaborative partnerships with Native communities.

It has been a humbling experience to bear witness to the brilliant perspectives and wisdom shared with me over the course of the past two years. The perspectives have also brought me to consider the implications of the Anchor Forest concept for my personal life, having uprooted from the place I was born. I hope I can find ways to build long-term connections to land and community, finding my own form of “anchoring” – an orientation that can be difficult within the “ivory tower” of a university that maintains a distance from communities and work on the ground. But this research has inspired me to do what I can to work against this divide by spending time in the places where I work, honoring relationships in the long-term, and investing myself in my community. In this way, I hope I can honor the perspectives shared with me during this research and be part of the solution.

Still, while the idea of an “anchor” provides a valuable metaphor and conceptual vision for me to grapple with in my own personal ethics as a non-Native person, Tuck & Yang (2012) have offered the critical reminder that “decolonization is not a metaphor” – and that no matter how much I dive into this work with good intentions, I am still a settler on Kalapuya land, upon which all of this work took place. I am grateful opportunities to continue learning what that means and what I can do.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Anchor Forest Leader Interview Guide

Read: Hello, my name is NAME. Thank you for making the time to participate in this study. Before I begin asking questions, I will need to obtain your verbal consent: READ VERBAL CONSENT FORM.

Please respond to the best of your knowledge or ability, and feel free to ask any questions throughout the interview.

- 1) How have you been involved in the Anchor Forest idea or project?
 - a. How did you get involved?
 - b. Why did you get involved? m
- 2) When did you first hear the term “Anchor Forest”?
 - a. Why do you think the term “Anchor” is used?
- 3) Why do you think this idea emerged when it did?
- 4) What makes the Anchor Forest idea different from other forms of collaboration on forest management?
- 5) What motivated the Intertribal Timber Council to develop this idea through the Anchor Forest Pilot Project?
 - a. Who do you think its intended audience is?
 - b. Is anything left out?
- 6) What opportunities do you see to implement Anchor Forest management?
- 7) What barriers exist?
- 8) Has the way that you see the purpose of the Anchor Forest idea changed over time?
 - a. If so, in what way?
- 9) Where do you see the Anchor Forest idea headed next?
- 10) What role could it play alongside existing collaborative and co-management arrangements, including the Tribal Forest Protection Act, and changes under the 2018 Farm Bill?
 - a. How could these policies help accomplish the Anchor Forest vision?
 - b. How could the Anchor Forest vision help accomplish the goals of these policies?
- 11) Who needs to be on board for this concept to be successful?
- 12) What do you think it could accomplish?
- 13) Is there anything else you’d like to add about any of these topics?
- 14) Is there anyone else you suggest I speak to as part of this research?

Appendix B: CTCLUSI Staff Interview Guide

Read: Hello, my name is NAME. Thank you for making the time to participate in this study. Before I begin asking questions, I will need to obtain your verbal consent: READ VERBAL CONSENT FORM.

Please respond to the best of your knowledge or ability, and feel free to ask any questions throughout the interview.

- 1) What is your working relationship or connection to CTCLUSI forestlands?
 - a. What is your position title?
 - b. How long have you had your position?
 - c. What are some examples of projects you are involved in?
- 2) Could you describe the history of CTCLUSI's forestlands?
 - a. How does the land conveyed through the Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act affect the current state and goals of CTCLUSI's natural resource management?
 - b. What are the short, mid, and long-term goals related to management of the conveyed lands?
 - c. What issues, concerns, or challenges are there related to these conveyed forestlands?
- 3) In your position, do you work with or partner with the Siuslaw National Forest or other landowners?
 - a. What do you hope to achieve through these partnerships?
 - b. How effective have these partnerships been?
 - i. Why do you think that is?
 - c. How much influence do you think CTCLUSI has on Siuslaw National Forest management?
- 4) How would you describe the state of surrounding lands under other ownerships, including the Siuslaw National Forest?
 - a. Are these forests healthy? Productive?
 - b. How do you think they got that way?
 - c. Is CTCLUSI affected by the management of surrounding lands?
 - i. In what ways?

Read: The Siuslaw National Forest is currently exploring the possibility of restructuring the way it collaborates with stewardship group stakeholders on forest planning and management. One possibility is to create a Forest-wide collaborative that would bring together different stakeholders and entities to make recommendations or decisions about Siuslaw National Forest management.

- 5) Do you think CTCLUSI could benefit from participating in a Forest-wide collaborative?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. What do you think CTCLUSI could get out of participating?

- 6) What role do you envision CTCLUSI playing in a Forest-wide collaborative, if any?
 - a. Why?
 - b. Would it be different than the role played by Siuslaw National Forest stakeholders?
- 7) How could a Forest-wide collaborative support tribal goals, sovereignty, and self-determination?
- 8) What risks do you see associated with CTCLUSI participating in a forest collaborative?
- 9) What structures or formats do you think would make a Forest-wide collaborative effective at meeting your interests?
 - a. Meeting format?
 - b. Committees?
 - c. Membership?
- 10) Would CTCLUSI representatives have capacity to participate in a Forest-wide collaborative?
- 11) Would CTCLUSI share Traditional Knowledge with other forest collaborative participants?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. Under what circumstances?
- 12) What legal and cultural principles do non-tribal entities need to understand to enable effective collaboration?
- 13) Have you heard of the Anchor Forest idea?

Read: The Anchor Forest idea was developed by the Intertribal Timber Council to create large multi-ownership units of collaborative land stewardship centered around tribal lands and tribal leadership. Initial pilot communities studied include the Yakama and Colville Nations in eastern Washington. This idea seeks to create broad public buy-in and support for active forest management to address forest health challenges, and for shifting leadership to tribes to accomplish cross-boundary management projects, through leveraging policies like the Tribal Forest Protection Act and Good Neighbor Authority. While the Anchor Forest idea was developed in the context of tribes with large forestland holdings and timber processing capacity, there has been more conversation about how to use this idea as a communication tool in different contexts.

- 14) Do you see opportunities to apply this concept to CTCLUSI forestlands and surrounding forestlands?
- 15) How could implementing this concept benefit CTCLUSI?
- 16) What are the barriers to implementing this concept?
- 17) Do you think that tribes should be leaders in cross-boundary forest management?
 - a. Why or why not?
- 18) Is there anything else you'd like to add about any of these topics?

Appendix C: Anchor Forest Leader Verbal Consent Statement

The following script will be read before starting the audio recording and beginning the interview. Verbal consent must be confirmed before beginning the interview. Interviewees will be emailed a copy of this document for their records.

My name is Meredith Jacobson and I am a graduate student at Oregon State University conducting research with Dr. Emily Jane Davis. For my Master's thesis, I am researching tribal involvement in collaborative forest management. You were selected for an interview based on your position working in natural or cultural resources for the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI). Your contributions to this research may help contribute to a better understanding of the tribes' perspective on collaboration and partnerships with the Siuslaw National Forest and Siuslaw stewardship groups. At any time, if you have feedback on what kinds of deliverable products you would like to see come out of this research, please let me know.

The interview should last about one to 1.5 hours. If you are interested, we may extend the interview or schedule an additional interview. If you need to shorten the interview or depart for any reason, please let me know. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, there is no penalty for choosing not to participate or for leaving the study at any time, and you are free to skip any questions. There is no monetary compensation for participating. Your participation in this research is confidential; I will not share any information that identifies you and will do my best to ensure that any comments made public will not be easily identified to you as an individual. However, there is still a risk that your comments may be identifiable simply because of the small size of the community of individuals involved in this topic. In addition to this initial study, interview data may be used for graduate thesis research within the next five years. You will not be contacted again regarding your participation in this research. All data will remain confidential and your personal identification will not be associated with your responses. Verbal consent for this research will apply to the thesis research as well.

We would like you to ask us questions if there is anything about the study that you do not understand. You can contact me at Meredith.jacobson@oregonstate.edu; (301) 807-5837. You may also contact my advisor who is the principal investigator of this study, Dr. Emily Jane Davis, by phone at (541) 520-2688 or email at emilyjane.davis@oregonstate.edu. You may also contact the Human Research Protection Program with any concerns that you have about your rights or welfare as a study participant. This office can be reached at (541) 737-8008 or by email at IRB@oregonstate.edu. If you have any questions about the study, please ask them now or at any time throughout the interview. So that I'm sure you understand what the study involves, could you tell me what you think this interview is about? Do you see any general risks or risks to your personal or working relationships from participating? Do I have your consent to move forward with the interview? Do I have your consent to audio record this interview? Audio recording is optional but will assist in ensuring accurate and detailed data collection.

Appendix D: CTCLUSI Staff Verbal Consent Guide

The following script will be read before starting the audio recording and beginning the interview. Verbal consent must be confirmed before beginning the interview. Interviewees will be emailed a copy of this document for their records.

My name is Meredith Jacobson and I am a graduate student at Oregon State University conducting research with Dr. Emily Jane Davis. For my Master's thesis, I am researching tribal involvement in collaborative forest management. You were selected for an interview based on your position working in natural or cultural resources for the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI). Your contributions to this research may help contribute to a better understanding of the tribes' perspective on collaboration and partnerships with the Siuslaw National Forest and Siuslaw stewardship groups. At any time, if you have feedback on what kinds of deliverable products you would like to see come out of this research, please let me know.

The interview should last about one to 1.5 hours. If you are interested, we may extend the interview or schedule an additional interview. If you need to shorten the interview or depart for any reason, please let me know. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, there is no penalty for choosing not to participate or for leaving the study at any time, and you are free to skip any questions. There is no monetary compensation for participating. Your participation in this research is confidential; I will not share any information that identifies you and will do my best to ensure that any comments made public will not be easily identified to you as an individual. However, there is still a risk that your comments may be identifiable simply because of the small size of the community of individuals involved in this topic. There is also chance we could accidentally disclose information that identifies you.

In addition to this initial study, interview data may be used for graduate thesis research within the next five years. You will not be contacted again regarding your participation in this research. All data will remain confidential and your personal identification will not be associated with your responses. Verbal consent for this research will apply to the thesis research as well. We would like you to ask us questions if there is anything about the study that you do not understand. You can contact me at Meredith.jacobson@oregonstate.edu; (301) 807-5837. You may also contact my advisor who is the principal investigator of this study, Dr. Emily Jane Davis, by phone at (541) 520-2688 or email at emilyjane.davis@oregonstate.edu. You may also contact the Human Research Protection Program with any concerns that you have about your rights or welfare as a study participant. This office can be reached at (541) 737-8008 or by email at IRB@oregonstate.edu. If you have any questions about the study, please ask them now or at any time throughout the interview. So that I'm sure you understand what the study involves, could you tell me what you think this interview is about? Do you see any general risks or risks to your personal or working relationships from participating? Do I have your consent to move forward with the interview? Do I have your consent to audio record this interview? Audio recording is optional but will assist in ensuring accurate and detailed data collection

Appendix E: RQ1 Codebook

Parent node	Child node	Description
<i>Anchor Forest History</i>		background historical context that helps explain why the Anchor Forest concept emerged when it did
	Environmental litigation	lawsuits and objections by environmentalists against federal agencies, typically related to timber harvesting activities
	Gary Morishima	statements about Gary Morishima as the originator of the Anchor Forest concept
	Historic injustice to tribes	statements about colonial history and injustices imposed on tribes by colonialism and the United States
	IFMAT	descriptions of the importance of the Indian Forest Management Assessment Team (IFMAT) reports
	Industry decline	statements about decline in forest products industry, timber economies, infrastructure
	ITC history	history of the Intertribal Timber Council
	Past collaborative efforts	statements about past examples of collaboration and partnership, including motivating forces as well as challenges/barriers
	Past racism in Forest Service	direct experiences of racism or lack of cultural competency toward Native Americans within the US Forest Service
	Tribal forestry history	history of tribal forestry including the role of the BIA, federal trust relationships, increasing self-determination, key policies and legislation
	Tributary areas	Statements about "tributary areas" as a concept for areas of continuous timber production to support local sawmills
<i>Motivating Challenges</i>		rationale behind initial project and concept development, what challenges was it trying to address

	Forest fragmentation	statements about how landscapes are fragmented by political/ownership boundaries
	Investment for infrastructure	statements about the need for sufficient investment to sustain forest processing infrastructure, which has been at insufficient levels
	Bureaucratic red tape	statements about bureaucratic, legal, and administrative processes that hinder streamlined forest decision-making and management
	Increasing wildfire severity	statements about increasing pace and scale of wildfire in American West
	Forest health decline	statements about deteriorating forest health, including impacts of pathogens, insects, soil degradation, watershed contamination
	Climate change	statements about increasing threat or impacts of climate change on forests
	Consolidation of forest products industry	statements about consolidation of forest products industry into large centralized corporations as opposed to dispersed local companies and mills, reducing local capacity and economy
<i>Uniqueness</i>		Statements about what makes Anchor Forests unique or different from other forms of collaboration and partnership
	Spatial scale	Statements about "tributary areas" as a concept for areas of continuous timber production to support local sawmills
	Time scale	Statements about how long-term commitments and management planning is necessary to sustain investments and create Anchor Forests
	Comprehensiveness	Statements about the holistic integration of social, economic, and ecological values or dimensions
	Empowered leader convener	Statements about the role of a central leader who is empowered to convene surrounding landowners into a joint partnership
	Investment commitment	Statements about how the Anchor Forest concept would generate commitments that would sustain investments for forest processing infrastructure

	Tribal leadership	Statements about how tribes are uniquely positioned to lead partnerships and convene Anchor Forests, and why
	Like other collaborative processes	Statements about how Anchor Forest concept is <i>not</i> different from other models of collaboration or partnership
<i>Barriers</i>		Statements about barriers or challenges facing Anchor Forests, or why the concept has not been implemented thus far
	Federal capacity for commitment	Ability, or inability, of federal agencies to make long-term commitments to management, levels of timber harvest, or restoration projects
	Federal resources	Lack of federal resources including funding, institutional capacity, staff
	Tribal resources	Lack of tribal resources including funding, institutional capacity, staff
	Lack of understanding policy	Lack of understanding of how to use policies, legislation, authorities, and contract mechanisms that would enable Anchor Forests or cross-boundary partnerships
	Red tape	Administrative, legal, or bureaucratic barriers/hurdles
	Staff turnover	Frequent turnover of agency or tribal staff or tribal leadership, either due to promotional structure of agencies, tribal council elections, or some other reason
	Anti-harvest mindsets	Statements about individual environmentalist attitudes that are opposed to active forest management or timber harvesting, among the broad general public or within agencies.
	Federal fear of litigation	Federal agency staff or offices afraid to enact active forest management due to the potential for lawsuits, appeals, or objections from the public
	General mistrust	Lack of trusting relationships between different entities engaging in partnership or collaboration
	Historic injustice	Poor relationships between tribes and federal agencies due to historic injustices including displacement from lands, lack of treaty recognition,

	Individual personalities	Personalities of agency staff or other partnering entities not amenable to collaboration or partnership (introverts, "just want to be in the woods alone")
	Misunderstandings about tribes	Individual staff members not understanding government to government relationships and tribal sovereignty, tribal history, or tribal governance
	Need culture of collaboration	General statements about the need for agency offices and individuals to have the willingness and interest in engaging in collaboration or partnership
	Separation of people from land	Statements about how people (general public ,generally non-Native) do not see themselves as part of nature, and many people are disconnected from forests in their daily lives
<i>Opportunities</i>		Statements about how data frames the potential future use of the Anchor Forest concept
	Educational tool	Anchor Forest concept could be used to educate or communicate to potential partnering agencies and landowners about values, management strategies, and governance approaches, as well as tribal values, forest management, and governance
	Leveraging policies and authorities	Anchor Forest concept could be used to build momentum and leverage implementation mechanisms across a larger scale
	Overarching vision	General statements about how Anchor Forests represent an overarching vision or conceptual framework that is larger than any one project
<i>Accomplishments</i>		Statements about what the Anchor Forest concept has accomplished thus far
	Projects on ground	Statements about projects implemented on the ground that were supported by work on Anchor Forests
	Starting conversation	Statements about how the Anchor Forest concept has prompted or shifted conversation among land management agencies and partners
	Produced useful information	Statements about how the information collected for the pilot study is useful in communicating the potential efficacy of partnerships to agencies, congress

	Local FS support	Statements about how some local Forest Service offices supported or did not support development or implementation of Anchor Forests
	National FS support	Statements about how Forest Service on the national level supported or did not support development or implementation of Anchor Forests
	Collecting dust	Sentiment that the Anchor Forest concept has not yet materialized or been implemented as it was designed or imagined
<i>Audience</i>		Statements about who the ITC intended to communicate to with publishing reports on Anchor Forests
<i>Contextual Factors</i>		Place or context-specific factors that affect how the Anchor Forest concept would be implemented
	Ecosystem differences	Statements about how local ecological characteristics, such as frequency of fire, timber productivity, and water scarcity/health affect utility of Anchor Forest concept
	Governance structures	Statements about differences between state, federal, and tribal governance structures, and how partnerships look different between different agencies or entities
	Regional infrastructure capacity	Statements about existing local forest products infrastructure and forestry capacity
	Tribal history	Statements about how unique tribal history, including relationships to federal government, sovereignty over ancestral lands, and treaties guide what partnerships look like today
	Every National Forest is different	Statements about how every National Forest has its own personality or culture
	Child Code	Description
		Some form of harm done to specific communities or society in general

Forest degradation	Unhealthy forests, insect or disease outbreaks, poor watershed quality
Wildfire hazard	Impacts of wildfire to human infrastructure and communities
Economic hardship	Economic impact to communities including loss of jobs, poverty, diminished local economy
Cultural sovereignty	lack of ability of tribe to practice traditional culture, food gathering, rituals, land management practices
Legal sovereignty	lack of sovereignty/self-determination and legal rights to access and use ancestral lands
	the reason for the harm, or the entity or policy that inflicts damage or pain on the victim, or opposes the aims of the hero
Federal forest management	Federal forest management practices as not effectively accomplishing beneficial outcomes for the forest
Environmental challenges	Environmental issues such as climate change, drought, ecosystem complexity
Capacity challenges	Includes lack of infrastructure, lack of funding, lack of knowledge, bureaucratic inefficiencies, agency turnover
Legal challenges	Includes inflexible regulatory environment, litigation, land fragmentation, administrative inconsistencies
Cultural challenges	Includes weakened social license for active forest management, perceived separateness of humans and nature, lack of understanding of history/colonization/sovereignty
Colonization	includes tribes' lack of access to or sovereignty over land, displacement, legacy impacts of settler colonialism
	statements that describe the entity or group who endures or receives the harm

	statements that describe an entity that has solved the problem or has the capacity to solve the problem, who acts with purpose or agency
TEK	statements describing the Traditional Ecological Knowledge held by Tribes as a reason why they are able to manage land effectively
Experience	statements describing Tribes as having demonstrated effective land management and stewardship in the past
Economic efficiency	statements describing Tribes as managing land with less money and resources than other governments / land management agencies
Morality	statements that describe Tribes as enacting land management based on social/ecological/holistic/cultural values, as having a moral priority
Governance effectiveness	statements that describe Tribal governance structures and decision-making processes for land management decisions as being more efficient, streamlined, straightforward, effective than other governments
Possession of infrastructure	ability to assert treaty rights, mandate consultations, use Tribal Forest Protection Act / Good Neighbor Authority / Reserved Treaty Rights Lands etc
Legal authority	ability to assert treaty rights, mandate consultations, use Tribal Forest Protection Act / Good Neighbor Authority / Reserved Treaty Rights Lands etc
	statements that portray tribes as deserving of the benefits of policy, more effective forest management, collaboration, funding (looked for statements like "tribes deserve," "tribes depend on")
	statements that portray tribes' ability or capacity to influence federal forest management decisions and enact cross-boundary forest management, as well as capacity to lead in partnerships or set an example of active forest management (looked for statements like "we should look to tribes," "tribes could lead")

Appendix F: RQ2 Codebook

Parent Code	Child Code	Description
Problem		Some form of harm done to specific communities or society in general
	Forest degradation	Unhealthy forests, insect or disease outbreaks, poor watershed quality
	Wildfire hazard	Impacts of wildfire to human infrastructure and communities
	Economic hardship	Economic impact to communities including loss of jobs, poverty, diminished local economy
	Cultural sovereignty	lack of ability of tribe to practice traditional culture, food gathering, rituals, land management practices
	Legal sovereignty	lack of sovereignty/self-determination and legal rights to access and use ancestral lands
Villain		the reason for the harm, or the entity or policy that inflicts damage or pain on the victim, or opposes the aims of the hero
	Federal forest management	Federal forest management practices as not effectively accomplishing beneficial outcomes for the forest
	Environmental challenges	Environmental issues such as climate change, drought, ecosystem complexity
	Capacity challenges	Includes lack of infrastructure, lack of funding, lack of knowledge, bureaucratic inefficiencies, agency turnover
	Legal challenges	Includes inflexible regulatory environment, litigation, land fragmentation, administrative inconsistencies
	Cultural challenges	Includes weakened social license for active forest management, perceived separateness of humans and nature, lack of understanding of history/colonization/sovereignty
	Colonization	includes tribes' lack of access to or sovereignty over land, displacement, legacy impacts of settler colonialism
Victim		statements that describe the entity or group who endures or receives the harm

Hero		statements that describe an entity that has solved the problem or has the capacity to solve the problem, who acts with purpose or agency
	TEK	statements describing the Traditional Ecological Knowledge held by Tribes as a reason why they are able to manage land effectively
	Experience	statements describing Tribes as having demonstrated effective land management and stewardship in the past
	Economic efficiency	statements describing Tribes as managing land with less money and resources than other governments / land management agencies
	Morality	statements that describe Tribes as enacting land management based on social/ecological/holistic/cultural values, as having a moral priority
	Governance effectiveness	statements that describe Tribal governance structures and decision-making processes for land management decisions as being more efficient, streamlined, straightforward, effective than other governments
	Possession of infrastructure	ability to assert treaty rights, mandate consultations, use Tribal Forest Protection Act / Good Neighbor Authority / Reserved Treaty Rights Lands etc
	Legal authority	ability to assert treaty rights, mandate consultations, use Tribal Forest Protection Act / Good Neighbor Authority / Reserved Treaty Rights Lands etc
Deservedness		statements that portray tribes as deserving of the benefits of policy, more effective forest management, collaboration, funding (looked for statements like "tribes deserve," "tribes depend on")
Power		statements that portray tribes' ability or capacity to influence federal forest management decisions and enact cross-boundary forest management, as well as capacity to lead in partnerships or set an example of active forest management (looked for statements like "we should look to tribes," "tribes could lead")

Appendix G: RQ3 Codebook

Parent Node	Child Node	Description
<i>Land history</i>		Descriptions of relevant or important pieces of CTCLUSI's land history
	Colonization	History of colonization of CTCLUSI's lands by the United States
	Treaty never ratified	Statements about how CTCLUSI's treaty was never ratified and CTCLUSI was never paid for land by U.S.
	Termination	Descriptions of termination period and effects on tribal sovereignty and culture
	Conveyed lands	Statements related to the conveyance of land through Western Oregon Tribal Fairness Act
	O&C Lands	Statements about checkerboarding of Oregon and California Railroad Lands and impacts on governance
	BIA Involvement	Description of the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in overseeing management of CTCLUSI's lands
	Extractive harvesting	Statements about how the federal government over-harvested forestlands or conducted unsustainable/extractive management
	Northwest Forest Plan	Statements about impacts of the Northwest Forest Plan, particularly decline in timber harvesting
	Historic presence on landscape	Statements about CTCLUSI's long-term history stewarding their lands since time immemorial
<i>Management goals</i>		Descriptions of goals that staff work toward in their positions, to meet needs of tribe/tribal members
	Educating youth	Need to educate youth on culture, ecology, land management to sustain culture into the future

	Harvesting culturally significant species	Stewarding abundance of plant and animal species harvested and used by tribal members for cultural practice
	Maintaining culture for future generations	Sustaining culture through land management in perpetuity, for future generations
	Maintaining TEK	Maintaining and practicing Traditional Ecological Knowledge (must specifically mention TEK)
	More than resource	Statements about how CTCLUSI views plants, animals, and land as "more than a resource," reciprocal relationships
	Coho recovery	Recovering coho salmon populations (for intrinsic value, to allow for harvest)
	Holistic management	Managing beyond a "single species approach," viewing ecosystem and culture holistically
	Large trees	Promoting survival and growth of large, old trees and habitat
	Watershed health	Promoting health of watershed as a whole
	Community employment	Generating jobs for community at large in forestry, restoration, timber harvesting, timber processing
	Tribal employment	Generating jobs specifically for tribal members
	Sustaining local mills	Contributing lumber to support local sawmills
	Revenue through timber harvest	Generating revenue for the tribe through timber harvesting on conveyed lands
<i>Management Challenges</i>		Descriptions of challenges or barriers that make it difficult to accomplish management goals
	Federal funding restrictions	Stipulations or limitations of federal grants that dictate the types of projects that they can be used for
	Fragmentation of parcels	Challenges related to the fact that conveyed parcels are small and spread across a large landscape
	Funding	Perpetual funding challenges limiting capacity

	Lack of institutional experience	Statements about how forestry program is new and still developing capacity and structure
	Lack of land (recognized by US)	Statements about how the size of reservation and conveyed land parcels is small and limits the scope of forestry activities
	Workforce capacity	Lack of workforce to accomplish management
<i>SNF Partnerships</i>		Examples of partnerships with the Siuslaw National Forest and other entities working jointly in the area
	Consultation	Fulfillment of federal government's mandate to consult CTCLUSI on projects taking place on CTCLUSI's ancestral territory
	MOU to harvest cultural species	MOUs developed by SNF to allow CTCLUSI tribal members to harvest culturally important species without securing specific permits
	Watershed Councils	Involvement or participation in Watershed Councils - meeting attendance, project involvement, general experience
	Stewardship Groups	Involvement or participation in Stewardship Groups - meeting attendance, project involvement, general experience
	Dunes Collaborative	Involvement or participation in Dunes Collaborative - meeting attendance, project involvement, general experience
<i>Barriers to Effective Partnerships</i>		Barriers or challenges described across different types of partnerships
	Conflicting views of restoration	CTCLUSI staff not sharing the same view of "restoration" as others within the partnership, partnerships not actually accomplishing "restoration" as CTCLUSI staff would like it defined, "restoration" not informed by tribal stewardship and experience
	Difficulty of consensus	Challenges related to efficacy and fairness of consensus decision making processes with the SNF and collaboration venues
	Failure to communicate/too late	SNF not communicating adequately, communicating too late

	SNF unable to share power	SNF not able to allow tribe or other partners to influence decision-making, due to national priorities, rigid institutional structures, other reasons
	Individuals Misunderstanding Tribal Sovereignty	Agency staff or partners not understanding tribal sovereignty, nationhood, authority and how that affects their role in forest decision-making
	Institutional lack of recognition of sovereignty	SNF / USFS as an institution not being able to recognize or uphold tribal sovereignty given structure and processes out of the control of individuals
	Lumping all tribes together	Tendency of agency partners to view all tribes as sharing similar perspectives, or lumping them together for communication purposes
	Seen as equal stakeholder	CTCLUSI treated as an equal stakeholder to other public stakeholder groups, without uplifting authority as sovereign nation
	Seen as funding competitor	Stewardship Group participants viewing CTCLUSI as competing for funding for restoration projects, hindering collaborative environment
	Staff turnover	Perpetual issue of SNF staff leaving positions, breaking relationships
	Time	Time as limiting factor for engaging in partnerships
	Partnerships of convenience	SNF partners with CTCLUSI when convenient, relationships are not meaningful, only to get something from CTCLUSI
<i>Interest in Forest-wide collaborative</i>		Whether they think creating a Forest-wide collaborative is a good idea, whether they would see value in participating, what kind of value
	Would participate	Staff envision participating if a group was formed
	Capacity is limited	Participation would be limited by staff capacity and time
	Depends on cultural relevance of project	Would prioritize participation depending on projects being discussed at a given meeting and their relevance to CTCLUSI
	Depends on size of project	Statements about the scale of project affecting decision to participate

Information sharing platform	Statements about how collaborative could be a space for information sharing, dialogue, ideas
Strengthening partnerships	Collaborative could be a space for SNF to strengthen partnership with CTCLUSI as a governmental partner through early involvement
Not in place of government to government	Collaborative would not substitute for direct governmental relationships between CTCLUSI and SNF
Involved early	CTCLUSI should be involved in early planning stages, invited early
Acknowledge complicated intertribal relationships	Statements about how SNF must communicate to each tribal partner and build separate relationships, statements about tensions and conflicts between tribes with ancestral lands under SNF
Should not be consensus based	Statements about how meetings should not use consensus processes
Third party facilitator	Meetings should have third party facilitation
Sharing TEK	Statements about how and when CTCLUSI would share TEK within a Forest-wide collaborative, and why