

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract approved:

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Marine protected areas (MPAs) are an area-based tool used to manage and protect areas along the coasts and ocean that face impacts from development and climate change. Local communities both impact and are affected by the creation of MPAs and as such, it is important to include their knowledge and perspectives in the process of creating a MPA. Scholars are calling for analyses of knowledge and power in ocean governance and its consequent effects on marginalized voices. Using political ecology as a framework in this study provides the foundation to understand how the political, economic, and social power dynamics shape access and control over marine landscapes. The first Indigenous-led proposal for a marine sanctuary within the U.S. was made in 2015 by the Northern Chumash Tribal Council in California. Using the current unfolding case of the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary (CHNMS) in California, this thesis aims to understand the mechanisms for including community voices in the sanctuary designation process as well as how those voices share knowledge and shape the broader communities' understanding of this process. This research advances the literature on political ecology in marine contexts because by framing arguments about MPAs in terms of

knowledge claims and connecting formal and informal institutions in this process, I am able to analyze how power is distributed in the governance of MPAs, but also how power dynamics influence the formation of MPAs and who is included (or not) in these processes. This study asks whose knowledge claims are used in MPA creation, how people are included in the designation process and how community led initiatives share and spread knowledge. Findings are generated from thematic analysis of 1,276 public comments and 20 semi-structured interviews conducted with a range of stakeholders and rightsholders along the central California coast. The findings reveal that the broader social, economic, and political climates are strong influencers in who is included in the process, why decisions are made, and for whom sanctuaries are designated. Furthermore, this study identified barriers to people's involvement in the designation process, which are shaped by systemic and structural inequalities. Coalitions were found to be the central way organizations shared knowledge and resources, increasing the capacity of the individuals and organizations within them. This study improves our understanding of how knowledge is tied to power in the governance of MPAs and how power dynamics influence who is included in creating them. The findings emphasize the need for NOAA to rebuild broken relationships with stakeholders and provide funding and resources for communities wanting to nominate a sanctuary. These findings also shed light on the impacts of settler colonialism and how it influences Indigenous-led marine conservation efforts.

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Power and Participation in Ocean Governance Processes: A Case of the Proposed
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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.

Abigail Knipp, Author

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CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CREATION OF NATIONAL MARINE SANCTUARIES AND THEIR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Coastal communities and marine environments are being impacted by development, pollution, and degradation as a result of increased demand over resources (Grorud-Colvert et al. 2021). Marine protected areas (MPAs) are an area-based tool used to manage and protect areas that are being impacted from such development. The term MPA may refer to a variety of spatially designed protected areas that prioritize the conservation of nature; examples of such are marine sanctuaries or marine reserves (Grorud-Colvert et al. 2021; Dudley 2008; Jentoft et al. 2007; Agardy et al. 2003). Currently, MPAs cover only 8% of the ocean with less than 2% of those being no-take reserves (Waldron et al. 2022). Studies have shown that actively including local communities in the process of creating MPAs increases compliance in MPA regulations and helps governing bodies inform more equitable and accessible resource management decisions (Flannery and Ó Cinnéide 2012; Linke and Jentoft 2012; Jentoft and Chuenpagdee 2009; Pomeroy and Douvère 2008). Local communities impact and are affected by the creation of MPAs and as such, it is important to include their knowledge and perspectives in the process of creating a MPA. In this thesis I define a stakeholder as someone who has a stake, or interest in the creation and management of the MPA (Röckmann et al. 2017). A rightsholder moves beyond the definition of a stakeholder referring specifically to Indigenous communities and tribal nations who have lived on/with and cared for the area being protected since time immemorial (Carroll et al. 2019).

Recently, following the 15th Conference of the Parties (COP 15) in 2022, a new plan emerged called the Global Biodiversity Framework (GBF) (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2022). One of the most important objectives agreed upon by 196 participating countries, is the draft target 3 of the GBF, otherwise known as the ‘30x30’ conservation target

which aims to conserve 30% of the world's lands and waters by 2030 (Waldron et al. 2022). The primary mechanism to reach 30x30 goals is through the establishment of protected areas. While the US is not a signatory of the international plan, the Biden-Harris administration has adopted their own version of 30x30, specifically as it relates to protecting 30% of US lands and waters by 2030. The administration is attempting to do this specifically through Executive Order 14008 and the America the Beautiful (ATB) plan. The ATB plan encourages federal agencies to honor tribal sovereignty and support the priorities of tribal nations (Principle 4), which is one of the first of its kind in US history that aims to advance inclusivity and collaboration with tribal nations (U.S. Department of the Interior). Deb Haaland, the first female Native Secretary of the Interior contributed to this advancement of tribal inclusion through Secretarial Order 3403 which designates federal agencies to protect tribal interests and enter into co-stewardship agreements with tribal nations. The Biden-Harris Administration has adopted the term co-stewardship to represent the collaborative nature between sovereign tribes and the US government over natural resource decisions; however, their policies lack a clear definition of what co-stewardship is, leaving the term and subsequent implementation ambiguous (Order No. 3403, 2021).

As efforts increase to protect coastal and ocean space, it is even more essential to include the voices of stakeholders and rightsholders in the creation of these spaces, particularly because they influence the quality of MPAs and are also affected by them (Gronrud-Colvert et al. 2021). The US's emphasis on equity in the ATB plan makes it even more critical that historically underrepresented and disadvantaged communities, such as rightsholders, are actively included and involved from the start in order to achieve desired MPA outcomes.

Using the current federal designation process for the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary (CHNMS) in California, this thesis aims to understand the mechanisms for including diverse voices in MPA designation processes as well as how those voices share knowledge and shape the broader communities' understanding of this process. This real-time process provides the opportunity to study the inclusion of stakeholders and rightsholders during the initial phases of the designation. This is particularly important as the Biden-Harris administration has prioritized conservation and tribal inclusion in processes such as this sanctuary designation, it provides a unique chance to further our understanding of how local knowledge claims shape the designation process.

The specific research questions are:

- 1) During the designation process for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary, which knowledge claims about the sanctuary are circulated and which fall to the side?
- 2) Whose voices are incorporated into planning for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary and in what ways?
 - a) How do people perceive their ability to have influence in this process?
 - b) What are the barriers to inclusion in the process?
- 3) What role do community organizations play in circulating knowledge of the sanctuary or process?

This project draws on approaches in political ecology to explore how knowledge is circulated within power-laden contexts that shape whose perspectives carry more weight in sanctuary designation decisions. The following section provides background information on sanctuary designation processes, the history of MPAs within California, and important history on the Chumash Indigenous communities that are central to this study.

Description of proposed sanctuary

The proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary is located between the Monterey Bay NMS and Channel Islands NMS in central California. It is proposed to be 7000 sq miles in size and stretch 156 miles from Cambria to Santa Barbara (See Figure 1.1). In addition to the neighboring sanctuaries, there is an offshore wind farm, Morro Bay 399 Wind Energy Area (WEA), that is currently going through the designation and implementation phase. This WEA is proposed to border the proposed CHNMS and is located approximately 20 miles offshore and encompasses approximately 376 sq miles at the northwestern end of the proposed sanctuary (BOEM, n.d.). Typically, NMS do not permit any sort of drilling or alterations to the sea floor, however, at the time of writing this thesis, the draft documents for the proposed sanctuary have not been released, thus, there is the potential for the proposed sanctuary boundaries to change or a halt on the WEA development.

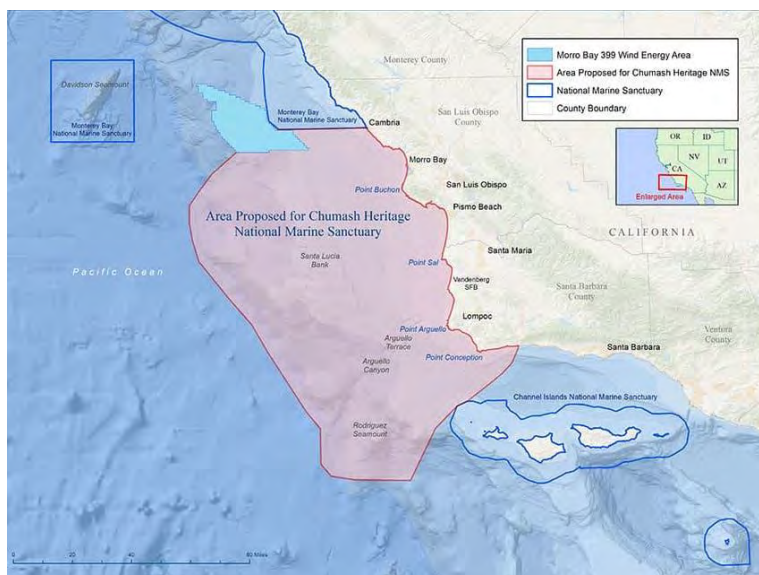


Figure 1.1 The location of the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary. Source NOAA.

Background

Process to designate a national marine sanctuary

The National Marine Sanctuaries Act (NMSA) of 1972 appointed the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to oversee the designations and regulations of national marine sanctuaries (NMS) in the US. A NMS may be designated in two ways: through the Secretary of Commerce, with Presidential approach or through an act of Congress (National Marine Sanctuaries Act 1972). The NMSA dictates that the public must be granted the opportunity to review the draft documents prior to its official approval. However, before a sanctuary is designated, public members must nominate a site. Since the inception of the NMSA, there have been four iterations of nomination processes to identify and nominate sites of national significance (Denman 2017). The current nomination process, implemented in 2014, is unlike any previous nomination process because it requires the nominators to demonstrate broad public support across a variety of stakeholders (See figure 1.2) (Federal Register, 2014; Sanctuary Nomination Process, n.d.). This allows the public to be involved earlier on in the process and encourages community collaboration to nominate a sanctuary of national significance. This community nomination process requires interested members to build a 25 page nomination packet that showcases the national significance and management considerations of the potential

site. To this date, only two community nominated NMS have completed the designation process, the Malloes Bay-Potomac River NMS and the Wisconsin Shipwreck Coast NMS. However, there are five others currently going through the designation process. One of those five is the Chumash Heritage NMS.



Figure 1.2 The steps of a community-led nomination process. Author created.

Once nominations are accepted, the designation process is conducted by NOAA (See Figure 1.3). The public has two opportunities for commenting, shown in Step 1 and Step 3 of figure 1.3. Public scoping periods are an important step where stakeholders and rightsholders can communicate what is important to them or their community (Raimondo et al. 2022). Once NOAA has gone through both public scoping periods and incorporated public concern, the management plan has to be approved by a series of administrators at the federal level before its final approval by the governor of California and the US Congress (Personal communication, August 5th 2022).



Figure 1.3. Designation process of a national marine sanctuary. Author created.

Following the official designation of a NMS is the implementation of a sanctuary advisory council (SAC). The NMSA authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to establish sanctuary advisory councils (SACs) to assist sanctuary managers by providing advice and recommendations to the sanctuary staff (Morin 2001). Each NMS has a SAC with, at maximum, 15 voting members that are selected by the sanctuary superintendent or NOAA representative (Raimondo et al. 2022). Each member is expected to serve two to three years on the council. Applicants are chosen based on the following: experience in relation to the seat they are applying for; community and professional affiliations; views regarding the protection and management of marine resources; and length of residence in the area (Morin 2001). While the SAC may provide input on a variety of sanctuary related concerns, it is ultimately up to the Office of NMS to decide which course of action to pursue on any given issue. SACs may also provide input to the sanctuary managers on other proposed NMS. For example, SAC members of the Channel Islands NMS and Monterey Bay NMS may recommend, advise, or guide input on the proposed CHNMS designation (Personal communication, August 5th 2022).

California's Marine Protected Areas

While the process described above for establishing a sanctuary is one of several federal processes for establishing a protected area, coastal states each have their own processes for the creation of protected areas and oftentimes have different goals. The CHNMS is going through

the federal designation process, which is a slightly different process mainly because it is governed by NOAA, a federal agency and as such, the process must adhere to federal laws, such as public participation, during the process (National Marine Sanctuaries Act 1972). States have their own laws and requirements governing their implementation of MPAs, but it is generally a similar designation process (California Fish and Game Code, n.d.). However, understanding the history behind California's MPA system is critical to the CHNMS because it provides a backdrop to understanding how people were previously included (or not) in California's MPA processes.

The participatory decision-making process for MPAs in California was established in 1999 and 2000 when the Marine Life Protection Act (MLPA) and the Marine Managed Areas Improvement Act (MMAIA) were signed into law, shifting from a single-species management approach to an ecosystem-based management approach (Van Diggelen et al. 2022). The MLPA directed California to redesign the state's system of MPAs to function as a network. By 2012, this network created 124 MPAs comprising 16% of the state waters as protected areas (Van Diggelen et al. 2022; Ordoñez-Gauger et al 2018). California currently contains 57% of the no-take zones within the United States (Van Diggelen et al. 2022). The purpose of the MLPA was to increase effectiveness and connectivity of the state's marine ecosystems as well as improve research and educational opportunities (California Fish and Game Code, n.d.) Similar to the federal designation process for national marine sanctuaries, the MLPA required an open public process through engagement with stakeholders to establish the MPAs (Pomeroy and Hunter 2005). The first two efforts to establish MPAs under the MLPA guidelines failed to successfully designate the MPAs due to insufficient resources to implement the state-wide public process. Additionally, the MPA proposals were largely developed by scientists which resulted in an absence of public acceptance (Gleason et al. 2013).

The first successful, yet controversial public process finally resulted in the creation of 13 MPAs in central California at the Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary (CINMS) in 2003 and extended into federal waters in 2007 (Gleason et al. 2013; Osmond et al. 2010). In 2004, a public-private partnership, called the MLPA Initiative, was launched to guide regional planning efforts in redesigning existing MPAs and was divided into four regions: north coast, north central coast, central coast, and south coast. The initiative was designed to increase capacity and

resources in the planning process, conduct efforts in a regional approach, and more effectively include stakeholders in the process (Gleason et al. 2013). This Initiative created a formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) to guide the relationship between agencies and private foundations, build deliverables and timelines, and create a Blue Ribbon Task Force (BRTF) to oversee the process (Gleason et al. 2013). Between 2004 and 2011, four regional planning processes were conducted to identify proposed areas. A Regional Stakeholder Group (RSG) consisted of local stakeholders involved in an iterative planning process for each MPA. Each proposal was evaluated by the MLPA Master Plan Science Advisory Team (SAT), reviewed by the CDFG, and guided by the BRTF (Gleason et al. 2013). The BRTF provided the recommendations for MPAs to the California Fish and Game Commission. The Commission was made up of five members appointed by the California Governor and had statutory authority to implement MPAs and issue regulations associated with the MPAs (Gleason et al. 2013). While the Initiative had an advisory role to the Commission, the Commission ultimately made the final decisions on MPAs for each region (Gleason et al. 2013).

The MLPA fails to specifically mention California tribes or tribal governments or provide guidance on how to address cultural or subsistence harvest within the MPA networks (Murray and Hee 2019). During the beginning of the planning process for the central coast, tribes were not consulted until the RSG had already created their proposals (Fox et al. 2013). However, the inclusion of tribal interests improved for the north central coast and south coast regions by including two representatives from tribal communities in each RSG and incorporating tribal objectives into MPA designs. Early in the north coast process, the tribal members asserted that this land had not been ceded and that they should be exempt from MPA regulations (Murray and Hee 2019; Fox et al. 2013). While non-tribal stakeholders on the RSG agreed, there were issues under the current statutory authority that indicated that the State of California could not grant exclusive rights to any one group (Fox et al. 2013). After considerable debate and controversy in the final phase of MPA planning for the north coast, the state decided to support tribal uses within MPA boundaries; however, they still maintained no-take areas as protected from all forms of harvest (Murray and Hee 2019). Meaningful engagement with tribes in MPA design and management is still an on-going process; however, the north coast was the first example of how the State of California can partner with tribes to advance ocean conservation initiatives.

The history of implementing MPAs in California and their engagement (or lack of) with tribes and community members, has current implications for who is included and how they are included in the current process to designate the CHNMS. While the MLPA was a state-led effort and the CHNMS is a federal effort, the impacts the MLPA left on the community may impact the perception some have about the current designation process.

Chumash Indigenous Communities

Chumash identity

The Chumash and Xolon-Salinan tribes have resided along California's central coast and offshore islands since time immemorial. This paper focuses specifically on the Chumash, because of the NCTC's work in nominating this sanctuary. There are many different family groups, clans, and tribes that comprise the Chumash Nation (Cordero et al. 2016). Prior to European invasion, over 15,000 Chumash lived throughout this region (Dunivant 2012). In the 1700's Spanish Missionaries invaded what is now California, with the goal of converting the Indigenous peoples into Catholic subjects of the Spanish empire. The Chumash were forcibly removed from their island and coastal homelands, inward, to join these missionaries; however, once Mexico won independence from Spain in the early 1800's, the missions were sold. These territories were divided into land grants given primarily to Mexicans in the 1850s (Dunivant 2012). Sadly, this was not the end of the violence towards Chumash people. Once California was ceded to the United States in 1848, the first governor of California issued an ethnic cleansing of Indigenous communities throughout the state, murdering over 90% of Native Californian Tribes (Dunivant 2012; Anderson 2020). The governor organized men to conduct what was called the 'Expeditions against the Indians'. Of those who survived, the 1850 'Act for the Government and Protection of Indians' facilitated the enslavement of Indigenous people to white people for up to 25 years. This law also allowed for public auctions of Native Americans who were deemed as 'vagrants' and who could not provide sufficient bond or bail (Johnston-Dodds 2002).

As a result of increased violence towards Native Americans in the late 1800's, Chumash individuals took to disguising themselves as Mexican in order to gain acceptance and survive in the lowest levels of the American economy (Anderson 2020). According to ethnohistorian John Anderson, while the Chumash may have publicly presented themselves as Mexican, they

continued practicing their way of life within their inter-family circles. This was the only way that the Chumash communities could save themselves from extinction; however, because many Chumash adopted Mexican identities, the adoption of this ‘new identity’ became reflected on official documents over time and has contributed to many Chumash tribe’s inability to gain federal recognition (Anderson 2020).

Legal Rights

Shifts in policy since the mid-1700’s have coincided with shifts in relationships between the US government and tribes. The US began to establish treaties with tribes in the late 1700’s. Establishing a treaty with the federal government meant that you entered into a government-to-government trust relationship giving you inherent rights to self-govern and the ability to receive certain federal benefits, services, and protections because of this legal relationship (Montana Budget and Policy Center, 2020). The Indian Appropriation Act of 1871 ended the treaty-making relationship with tribes and the US government. Tribes were no longer seen as sovereign nations, rather they became individual ‘wards’ of the federal government and allowed the government to seize lands previously owned by tribal nations (La Porte 2023). A series of policy decisions by the US government continued to impact Native American lives by forcibly removing them from their land onto reservations that were inhabitable, forcing children into boarding schools in an effort to intentionally strip Native people of their identities, and using policy to assimilate Native people into whiteness (La Porte 2023). Between 1953 and 1966 Congress terminated their trust relationships with 109 tribes, terminating all federal benefits and services given to those tribes. It wasn’t until 1968 that the US government began establishing relationships with tribes based on self-determination (La Porte 2023).

Upon investigation into California’s treaties, the California Research Bureau found that the California Legislature was involved in stopping the ratification process of 18 treaties between Californian tribes and the federal government during the mid-1900s (Johnston-Dodds 2002). These treaties were never ratified and were kept secret for over 50 years (Johnston-Dodds 2002). Due to this history of unratified treaties in California and the harsh relationship between tribes and the government, the only federally recognized tribe in the central California coastal region is the Santa Ynez, who make up less than 2% of the entire Chumash population today (Dunivant

2012). In 1986 in *Chunie v Ringrose*, representatives from the coastal band of Chumash Indians and other Chumash individuals went to court to gain ownership and recognition of their ancestral homelands, the Northern Channel Islands and waters. However, they were denied rights on the basis that their aboriginal title was extinguished by their failure to present a claim for the land under the Act of 1851 (Cordero et al. 2016). The court declared that the Spanish (not the Chumash) held claims to the islands and eventually that claim was transferred to the US through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The court based their decision on *Johnson v M'Intosh* (1823) which held that Indigenous people do not have rightful ownership of land. That decision, in turn, was based on the Doctrine of Discover, a European religious colonial conquest that gave the rightful ownership to Christian Europeans who 'discovered' land (Cordero et al. 2016). While these islands are not included within the boundaries of the new proposed sanctuary, it is important and relevant to the Chumash's many attempts at trying to recover their ancestral lands.

The NCTC became a state-recognized tribal government in 2006 under the California Senate Bill 18. A state recognized title means that they are acknowledged by the state and may have some collaborative arrangements with state-level governments. However, it does not guarantee funding from the state and federal recognition remains the primary way tribes seek to be recognized (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2016). The absence of a federally recognized title means that they are not seen as a sovereign nation through the eyes of the federal government and may not enter into collaborative management agreements with any federal agency (Sorenson 2017). Today, in order for a tribe to gain federal recognition, they must prove their Indigenous identity to the US government through anthropological or genealogical methods which may be challenging for Chumash families who adopted Mexican heritage as a way to escape genocide and may now have a Mexican ethnicity listed on their official documents (US Department of the Interior n.d.).

As shown by this history, settler colonial power has affected Chumash families and communities through stolen land and labor and has contributed to wide economic disparities between Chumash and settler populations in central California, particularly in housing insecurity. The central California coastline is a coveted area, with a high level of amenities such as educational and job opportunities. This capitalist development and population growth have driven increases in property prices and cost of living in this region, supporting the beneficiaries

of colonialism while the Chumash are priced out of their homelands (Cordero et al. 2016). The Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary and surrounding waters have generated a vast history of wealth to the settler colonists through land value, fishing, tourism, recreation, jobs, and research, but this wealth is not shared with the Chumash people. Due to systemic poverty in Chumash communities, most Chumash cannot afford to travel into local sanctuary waters and many have never even set foot onto their ancestral islands (Cordero et al. 2016). This severely constrains the opportunities and capabilities the Chumash people have to participate in governance of their traditional lands and waters, and it increases barriers to their participation and rights.

Literature Review

This research contributes to the growing body of literature on social equity in marine management. By examining how the decision-making process for the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary unfolds through a political ecology framework, this study will highlight how diverse knowledge shapes the representation of the proposed sanctuary and the process of sanctuary establishment. Historically, ocean spaces have been underrepresented in political ecology literature; however, scholars have advocated for studies to address the power dynamics that impact ocean resources and space (Aswani et al. 2018; Barbesgaard 2019; Bennett 2019; Bennett et al. 2021). This project aims to address this gap by understanding how knowledge as a form of power develops, circulates, and influences the decision-making processes that create ocean protection and whose knowledge is valued in that process. The following literature review engages scholarship in the field of political ecology, theories on power/knowledge, co-management, and grassroots coalitions to support this project's aims to understand how community voices inform ocean governance processes.

Political Ecology

Political ecology is an approach that examines power relationships in socio-environmental systems that control use and access to the environment (Blaikie and Brookfield 2016; Robbins 2011; Nygren and Rikoon 2008). Political ecology does this in multiple ways. First, it examines how uneven power relations in capitalist economics at global, regional, and

local scales cause natural resource degradation that further harms already marginalized communities (Bassett 1988; Robbins 2011). Second, it considers the ways that social and political power dynamics (within the household, community, region, or nation) constraints resource access and related decision-making to a few. Political ecology thus offers a critical means to address *why, for whom, by whom and with whom* protected areas should be implemented. It also offers a mechanism for uncovering how different powerful actors perceive, decide, and comply with the regulations established by the managers (Aswani et al. 2018).

Within this field, there is a dense amount of literature on how land grabbing, as a part of capitalist expansion, concentrates natural resources into the hands of the few powerful elite (Barbesgaard 2019; Hall 2013; Wolford et al. 2013; Corson and MacDonald 2012). This enables those few to have much control over the environmental resources and spaces. More recently, scholarship has turned its attention to the new frontier of land grabbing opportunities, the ocean (Bennett et al. 2015; Campling and Colás 2018; Barbesgaard 2019). Ocean grabbing may take place through reallocating a space from public to private or through removing resource users, such as local fishers, through its designation as a no-take MPA (Bennett et al. 2015). However, ocean grabbing is multidimensional with social, spatial and political processes that act to legitimize control over marine space and resources. Ocean grabbing is not as developed as the literature on land grabbing and as such, there continues to be discussions around what ocean grabbing is and how it happens (Foley and Mather 2019).

Political ecologists have also examined the power dynamics at play in managing fisheries around the world, providing critical theoretical approaches for thinking about how multiple stakeholders engage with ocean governance. For example, Mansfield (2001) argues that the depletion of the Pacific Coast fish stocks is not due to a simple “tragedy of the commons” situation where fishers over consume out of greed, but rather is due to the infrastructure of laws, regulations, and markets aimed at economically developing the region. In her study, overcapitalization is a key driver of declining fish stocks and the collapse of fishing livelihoods. Other studies have explored how the establishment of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1982 created a political economic landscape of control over ocean spaces. The EEZ provided the legal framework for coastal and island states to acquire jurisdictional power over portions of the ocean and coasts,

allowing them to influence resource management and industry regulations within the EEZ (Barbesgaard 2019; Campling and Colás 2018). These studies show how economic development through the EEZ and capitalization schemes create inequities within fishing communities themselves as those who have more capital (through financial resources or otherwise) are able to sustain themselves more readily than those who may not (Nolan 2019). Impacts to fishers are not homogenous because they are influenced by state and federal politics, and as states adopt measures to protect their local marine resources, it may have inequitable effects on fishers whose stock varies spatially (Menon et al. 2015).

The creation of MPAs are a method to control the extraction of resources or limit culturally significant activities within the boundaries. Looking through a political ecology lens allows us to question how the creation of MPAs restricts or allows certain users from interacting in these spaces, providing a foundation to address who these areas are designed for, why they are being implemented, and uncover how local voices are included in the creation of these areas.

Power/Knowledge

Questions about who lost or won, whose opinions were ignored and whose were amplified, how change happened, or how influence was exerted all address questions about power. These questions point to the structure of social relations that produce different outcomes, which can be understood as the field of power (Reed 2013). Power does not simply exist as a tangible, cohesive object that one can hold; rather it comes to be through the social relationships we create (Boonstra 2016; Valdivia 2015; Winter 1996; Weber 1978). Philosophical theorist, Michel Foucault, describes power as the ability to have influence over someone or something, including multiple dimensions of power (i.e., the many ways a person influences the possibilities of another) (Foucault 1979). Foucault explains that power is exercised, it is not possessed (Foucault 1977). Those in a dominant position in society have more ability based on their position to exert influence over others, however power is not always bad; it can be used to elevate, support or create desirable conditions for those who don't hold such positions (Valdivia 2015; Foucault 1977). In this way, power is enacted by establishing social truths, values, beliefs, institutions, and structures that influence people's actions (Valdivia 2015; Foucault 1977).

It is with this understanding that power becomes inseparable from knowledge (Valdivia 2015; Foucault 1982; Foucault 1977). Foucault argues that power and knowledge are inseparable because it is through the production of knowledge that we categorize and delineate the world into governable subjects and naturalize social structures that shape our lives and life possibilities (Valdivia 2015; Foucault 1977). As such, Foucault describes this relationship as power/knowledge, the two tied together, which is how I will refer to this connection throughout the rest of this thesis. According to Foucault, you cannot separate the two, “there is not knowledge on one side and society on the other, or science and the state . . . only the fundamental forms of knowledge/power” (Sheridan and Foucault 1980: 283). Systems of power, whether it is governmental, cultural, academic, or scientific, are upheld by a complex web of beliefs that are accepted as ‘truth’ or ‘knowledge’ by people within a society and which can be different between different societies (Foucault and Gordon 1980). These knowledges are constantly being reinforced or redefined in each society (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Knowledge about what is and what isn’t, what should and what shouldn’t be, has formed “through a historically produced system of communications, records, accumulation, and displacement—a language or system of exchanges, or discourse—which itself is also a form of power” (Valdivia 2015: 468).

Knowledge is constructed and produced in ways that reflect the cultures, values, and beliefs of those producing the knowledge (Walker 2012). Whose knowledge counts as valid, accepted, or true is “wrapped in inequalities of recognition, participation, and distribution” (Walker 2012: 63). Those who are able to participate in a process, who are a part of the same social group and who hold similar values, are able to present their knowledge claims and make them count in ways others are not (Walker 2012; Jamison 2001). When dominant bodies produce knowledge or discourse about the environment, it can lead to transformative shifts in the policies and practices associated with the particular environment (Valdivia 2015; Goldman et al. 2011). For example, Goldman (2001) examined how the World Bank, through producing knowledge about nature in a series of new “green” practices, ended up mediating policies that prescribed new global regimes about nature and the formation of new authorities. These new “green” practices by the World Bank produced new knowledge about the environment and resulted in policies that influenced social conduct and rule (Valdivia 2015; Goldman 2001). This example demonstrates “how the production of environmental knowledge is internal to, and constitutive of,

the exercise of power” (Valdivia 2015: 472). Dominant bodies and governing agencies produce knowledge about what is true and which flows from the top-down, thus reproducing the idea of power-as-domination (Valdivia 2015).

Colonization has shaped a large way in which we think about knowledge/power and whose knowledge is deemed as valuable to society (Emard and Nelson 2021; Smith 2021; Asher 2017). Colonial practices have constituted Eurocentric forms of knowledge production as the dominant way of knowing and thus, marginalized other forms of knowing and being in this world (Asher 2017). There is growing concern in the anticolonial literature about the ways in which knowledge is produced and how that knowledge lays the groundwork for the continuation of colonial power structures (Emard and Nelson 2021; Collard et al. 2015; Middleton 2015; Cusicanqui 2012). For example, colonial power dynamics are realized through the production of colonial knowledge that is upheld as the ultimate ‘universal truth’ categorizing the world into binaries (developed/developing, modernity/tradition, good/bad, etc) (Asher 2017; Mollett 2017). This binary way of thinking about what is or isn’t valid in the world is used to rationalize the application of practices that reproduce inequitable relationships and further marginalize those who do not align with Eurocentric ways of knowing, for example, by belittling pastoral and nomadic livelihoods as “backwards” or “uncivilized” (Emard and Nelson 2021; Middleton 2015). Thus, it is important to acknowledge and recenter the voices of those who have been marginalized to reframe our understanding of knowledge/power dynamics upheld by the colonial apparatus to advance decolonial practices (Smith 2021; Denzin et al. 2008). Approaching this study with an understanding of knowledge/power is important because it allows us to examine how the narratives of community members are knowledge claims and can allow us to uncover which knowledge claims are elevated in this process and which are washed to the side.

The ocean is not an empty space, devoid of social meaning, but rather it is a populated space “where social contradictions are worked through, social change transpires, and future social relations are imagined” (Steinberg 2001: 209). The marine environment is multiscalar with local, regional, and global economies and knowledges acting on this resource (Goldman et al. 2011). As such, dominating bodies such as governments, large NGOs, or private organizations produce policies that seek to manage human activities and their impacts on the ocean (Bennett 2019). Marine protected areas are one way in which governing bodies respond to and mitigate

human-driven influences (Bennett 2019). The narratives, or knowledges, about what influences or changes the marine landscape and whose knowledge is counted as valid, shape the political outcomes (Goldman et al. 2011). Narratives about why a space is protected, how it should be protected, and who might be impacted are strategically used to “define what constitutes rational or logical policies or actions and can be employed by actors to provide legitimacy, drive momentum, and shape political change” (Bennett 2019: 71).

This study will contribute to analyzing the power/knowledge relationship in the process of designating marine protected areas. As I have described, power/knowledge is embedded in the social structures we fall into and as such, there will be varying understandings of the marine landscape and decision-making process depending on the social grouping that each participant aligns with (Englander 2019; Walker 2012; Jamison 2001; Eden 1999). When a participant makes a claim about the reasons for protecting ocean spaces, they are making a knowledge claim about what they understand to be true (Englander 2019; Walker 2012; Jamison 2001; Eden 1999). This information will contribute to the growing body of literature on power/knowledge in marine spaces which may help inform decision-makers of the power dynamics hindering the success of conservation practices.

Co-management

Collaborative management, or co-management, is one governance structure that attempts to bring the local community into environmental management by including local and traditional knowledge and bridging the gap between managers and resource users (Gorris 2019). This relationship allows governmental and non-governmental actors to engage in a formal agreement over the management of their shared resources.

Co-management is an approach that promotes the sharing of power and responsibility between user groups and the government; however, it should not be viewed as a stable or linear system. Rather, co-management is a dynamic, iterative, and adaptive process where the positions and activities are readjusted based on the state and community’s needs (Carlsson and Berkes 2004). It should be noted that in the ideal world, co-management improves communication, collaboration and knowledge-sharing between communities and the state; however, much of the

literature has glossed over the institutional complexities that make shared management of common resource pools difficult (De Pourcq et al. 2015; Carlsson and Berkes 2004; Reed 1993). Traditional approaches to co-management viewed the state-community collaboration as though each side experienced co-management (and conflict) in the same way (De Pourcq et al. 2015; Carlsson and Berkes 2004; Agrawal and Gibson 1999). This treats each side as a homogenous unit, whereas in reality, communities are often made up of divergent opinions and perceptions of resource management and individuals may experience co-management differently than their governing counterparts (De Pourcq et al. 2015; Carlsson and Berkes 2004). Previous studies have critiqued the decentralized nature of co-management as reinforcing local elite power because it does not necessarily equate to poverty reduction or empowerment of the marginalized (Berkes 2009; Carlsson and Berkes 2004). Despite these risks, co-management also has the potential to increase justice, equity and empowerment by giving a voice to local people whose livelihoods and cultures are affected by management decisions (Berkes 2009; Natcher et al. 2005). In this way, co-management is about managing and improving relationships just as much as it is about overseeing resources (Berkes 2009; Natcher et al. 2005).

Co-stewardship has also recently emerged in natural resource management literature and is used synonymously with co-management (Baumflek et al., 2021; Brewer II & Johnson, 2023). The term co-stewardship has been derived from Indigenous sciences that describe the intimate relationship between Indigenous peoples and nature, where caring for the environment and accepting responsibility is a core belief (Appiah-Opoku, 2007). Bennett et al. define environmental stewardship as “the actions taken by individuals, groups, or networks of actors, with various motivations and levels of capacity, to protect, care for or responsibly use the environment in pursuit of environmental and/or social outcomes in diverse social-ecological contexts” (2018: 597). In the US, the Biden-Harris Administration has adopted the term co-stewardship to represent the collaborative nature between sovereign tribes and the US government over natural resource decisions (Order No. 3403, 2021). Through Secretarial Order 3403, they have required that all federal agencies establish co-stewardship with federally recognized tribes. However, the secretarial order lacks a clear definition of what co-stewardship is, leaving the term and subsequent implementation ambiguous.

While co-managing marine protected areas has the potential to redistribute power back into the hands of those that directly rely on the ocean for cultural or economic values, there are potential setbacks to a co-managed approach. Studies have highlighted local power asymmetries and weakness in community organizations that ineffectively represent their opinions (Gorris 2019). A study by Beitzl (2012) found that, while the shift towards co-managed mangrove commons seemed to redistribute power, it created social conflict and inequity within the community itself allowing for an unequal flow of benefits towards specific community members. However, a study by De Pourcq et al. (2015) found that implementing co-management of protected areas can actually reduce conflict, as long as inclusive participation and trust are fulfilled.

Indigenous traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), is an interconnected belief system rooted in culture, spirituality and language of Indigenous people through their connection to land (La Porte, 2023). There are potentials for Indigenous knowledge-holders to enter into co-management relationships with western agencies for the benefit of environmental conservation, however settler colonial violence and removal of Indigenous people from their land has significantly impacted TEK. Additionally, simply integrating TEK in conservation spaces without addressing settler colonial attempts at removing Indigenous people and their knowledge, is just another form of settler-violence (La Porte 2023; Baumflek et al. 2021; Reo et al. 2017). Co-management agreements between a tribe and a governing agency may not always include TEK and the use of TEK should only be applied by Indigenous knowledge-holders (Ban et al., 2018; Ens et al., 2015). TEK is not pan-Indigenous, nor is it an answer to all scientific problems. However, by uplifting and providing Indigenous people the opportunity to co-manage their ancestral homelands, has the potential to integrate TEK on their terms, allowing for a more equitable approach to co-management (Smith 2021; (Ben-Hur 2020; Ens et al. 2015).

As discussed, effectively implementing co-managed protected areas is more complex and dynamic than it may appear. In the continental United States, the Olympic Coast National Marine Sanctuary (OCNMS) is the only MPA co-managed with tribes. It is co-managed between NOAA, Washington State and four Federally-recognized tribes: the Quileute, Makah and Hoh tribes, and the Quinault Indian Nation (Coastal Tribes) (IPC Condition Report Addendum, n.d.). These Coastal Tribes are federally recognized tribal nations which have Usual and Accustomed

treaty fishing areas within the boundaries of the OCNMS. Outside of the continental US, the Papahānaumokuākea Marine Monument observes a co-trustee relationship through a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between NOAA, US Fish and Wildlife Service, Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. This collaborative agreement allows the interests of the Native Hawaiians to have a say in decisions within the boundaries of the marine monument (NOAA, n.d.). However, we have yet to see the US government enter into co-management with a tribe that does not have the federal-recognition status.

The Northern Chumash Tribal Council has requested co-management with NOAA in the governing of their ancestral homelands and cultural resources within the proposed sanctuary (Chumash Sanctuary, n.d.). Unfortunately, their status as a state-recognized, not a federally recognized tribe, presents a challenge in terms of co-management because they are not viewed as a sovereign nation in the eyes of the federal government (Crepelle 2018). For co-management to be effective, changes within state and national laws and policies are necessary that would “[inscribe] Indigenous forms of cultural practice and [embrace] pluralistic approaches to legislative and policy development” and which would allow for co-management of non-federally recognized tribes (Bohensky and Maru 2011: 7). There is optimistic potential to use the OCNMS and the Papahānaumokuākea Marine Monument as examples that could lead the proposed CHNMS in the right direction.

Grassroots Coalitions

Coalitions, alliances, and collaborations between organizations offer possibilities of combining resources and influence, enhancing a movement's goals (Steinman 2019). Understanding how social movements form coalitions or collaborations will help address the third aim of this study which seeks to understand the role of community organizations in circulating knowledge claims and influencing the process. In the social movement organizations (SMO) literature, coalitions have been described as “collaborative, means-oriented arrangements that permit distinct organizational entities to pool resources in order to effect change” (Mix 2011; Levi and Murphy 2006: 654). This increase in resources can result in coalitions having greater political influence than they would have otherwise (Mix 2011; Murphy 2006). Coalitions provide

an enhanced constituency base for direct action activities, knowledge-sharing on political institutions and processes, organizational skills, networking, sharing of monetary resources, as well as outreach and media skills (Mix 2011). Steinman (2019) identifies three factors affecting SMO's: threats, shared ideologies, and social ties. A threat towards a shared interest pushes groups to work together in order to create a force strong enough to advance against the threat (Steinman 2019). Shared ideologies facilitate coalitions as group beliefs and motivations are similar (Steinman 2019; Mix 2011). Lastly, social ties significantly enhance collaboration between organizations with members overlapping with partnering organizations (Steinman 2019; Mix 2011). Shared social and cultural experiences enhance intergroup trust and solidarity, providing for a more secure relationship. Conversely, significant differences can impede them (Steinman 2019; Lien 2001).

Most commonly, coalitions form to address issues relating to the environment, civil rights, and social justice (Mix 2011). Of these, many members are comprised from racial, ethnic, or low socio-economic identities who use their collective voices to enact change (Mix 2011; Cole and Foster 2001). It is important to note that the struggles of Indigenous peoples and their participation in grassroots coalitions is founded in a resistance to settler colonial forms of power that have affected them disproportionately differently than other minoritized communities in the United States (Steinman 2019, 2016). Consequences of settler colonialism, genocide, and dispossession further complicates alliances between Native and non-Native groups (Steinman 2019). In particular, the complicated and ambiguous nature of the tribal recognition system has profound impacts on Indigenous lives (Steinman 2019). It should also be recognized that Indigenous relationships with land influence the relationship between organizations, as others may hold contrasting beliefs (Steinman 2019). However, research has found that environmental justice movements have the strongest inter-organizational and intra-Indigenous ties that work together to advance their common goals (Parker and Grossman 2012; Steinman 2019). Interestingly, work by Grossman (2017) found the presence of unlikely alliances between rural white resource users and Native Americans, to unite together in protest against an energy project that impacted both the resource users and the Native Americans. Thus, grassroots coalitions become an important social structure in which communities and organizations utilize to influence local decisions.

The CHNMS was pushed forward by the NCTC, with support from inter-organizational and intra-Indigenous coalitions. Threats of offshore oil production, coastal development, and climate change drove many environmental organizations and Indigenous communities to unite for protection of this region. This Indigenous-led proposal by the NCTC is elevating Indigenous voices and culture into the mainstream environment (Steinman 2019). The social movement literature provides a baseline understanding of the mechanisms in which community organizations form, values and beliefs that underlie these groups, and the role Indigenous communities play in navigating these structures.

Together, these four bodies of literature work together to provide the necessary conceptual framework to investigate community voices in the decision-making process of MPAs. More specifically, using political ecology literature as a framework will highlight the broader political-economic processes that impact local resource rights, access and use to the marine landscape. Theories on knowledge/power will contribute to advancing our understanding of how claims about the environment, process, or people shape legitimacy in the designation process. The literature on co-management provides a foundation in which we can grasp the benefits and limitations co-management has on managing marine spaces and furthers our understanding of how Indigenous communities are impacted by such structures. Lastly, the literature on social movements advances our knowledge on how community coalitions form and use their networks to advance influence in the decision-making process.

Positionality Statement

My personal commitments to social-justice and advancing inclusivity to the ocean and its governance informed the research motivations and methodologies of this project. Before my graduate studies at Oregon State University, I worked on a diversity of marine research projects related to coral reef ecosystem health within marine protected areas and their effectiveness in restoring coral reef populations. The uniting theme across these experiences was not the ecosystem itself, but the disconnect between local governing bodies and the communities they served. These experiences highlighted issues of inequity within science, policy, and management, and are what ultimately led me to pursue graduate education. I felt compelled to understand how we could improve inclusivity to better protect ecosystems and the people who

rely upon them. My research became a stepping stone towards understanding dimensions of power that have historically excluded disenfranchised communities in the management of MPAs.

I began my master's program focused on studying issues of access and inclusion to MPAs and their governance. I focused specifically on MPAs because of my previous knowledge on the ecological impacts of MPAs as well as my understanding of how MPAs can restrict access, specifically for fishing activities. In the development process of my research, the literature guided me to the Channel Islands NMS, which had previously worked through controversial stakeholder issues in the process of redesigning their management plans. I reached out to a sanctuary manager at Channel Islands to see if it was possible to use the Channel Islands as a case study for my research. While the manager thought my ideas were interesting, he felt that these questions would be better suited for a different, more current process - the proposed Chumash Heritage NMS.

Using the proposed sanctuary as a case study, I developed research questions, methodology, collected and analyzed the data from the public comments and interviews and interpreted the results. My theoretical and conceptual understanding of the sanctuary process and underlying power dynamics was informed by classes I took while pursuing my degree. Because I had no prior experience with qualitative research, the process towards developing my questions and methodology was iterative; integrating core ideas and concepts until I had a foundation to begin my data collection.

I position myself as an outsider to my study; I do not hold an intimate, life-long connection with the central California coast. I currently reside on Kalapuya Land in what is now known as Corvallis, Oregon, but this research is situated within the traditional homelands of the Chumash and Xolon-Salinan tribes. My role as a white settler on this land and the lands I have had the privilege of living and working has prompted me to work towards understanding and dismantling settler colonialism and its frameworks, particularly in relation to the ocean.

While my experiences and interests were motivational to the creation of this study, it was important to me that I remained honest to what the data was telling me and truthful to the experiences interviewees shared with me.

Thesis Outline

This thesis, submitted for the completion of a Master's of Science in Marine Resource Management, comprises 3 chapters. This introductory chapter provided detailed and pertinent background information, theoretical framing, and positions for the study. Chapter two consists of the research study, methodology, and findings. Eventually I plan to submit a portion of the findings from chapter two for publication in the *Ocean and Coastal Management* journal following the completion of my thesis defense. The third chapter discusses social justice implications for ocean governance practices particularly as it relates to my study site. Chapter 3 is written and prepared for submission to the Hakai Magazine. The appendices contain copies of the interview guide, codebooks for the public comments and interviews, and demographics.

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CHAPTER 2: ADDRESSING KNOWLEDGE, POWER, AND INCLUSION TO MARINE SANCUTARY DESIGNATIONS: A CASE OF THE PROPOSED CHUMASH HERITAGE NATIONAL MARINE SANCTUARY

Introduction

Marine protected areas (MPAs) are an area-based tool used to manage and protect areas along the coasts and ocean that face impacts from development and climate change (Gorud-Colvert et al. 2021). Local communities impact and are affected by the creation of MPAs and as such, it is important to include their knowledge and perspectives in the process of creating a MPA. Including stakeholders and rightsholders has been shown to increase compliance in MPA regulations and help governing bodies inform more equitable and accessible resource management decisions (Flannery and Ó Cinnéide 2012; Linke and Jentoft 2012; Jentoft and Chuenpagdee 2009; Pomeroy and Douvere 2008). In this thesis I define a stakeholder as someone who has a stake, or interest, in the creation of the MPA (Röckmann et al. 2017). A rightsholder moves beyond the definition of a stakeholder referring specifically to Indigenous communities and tribal nations who have lived on/with and cared for the area being protected since time immemorial (Carroll et al. 2019).

The term MPA may refer to a variety of spatially designed protected areas that prioritize the conservation of nature; examples of such are marine sanctuaries or marine reserves (Gorud-Colvert et al. 2021; Dudley 2008; Jentoft et al. 2007; Agardy et al. 2003). Currently, MPAs cover only 8% of the ocean with less than 2% of those being no-take reserves (Waldron et al. 2022). Recently, international efforts have set goals to increase global ocean protection to 30% by 2030 which has been coined the 30x30 plan [known draft target 3 of the Global Biodiversity Framework, developed at the 2022 UN Biodiversity Conference with 196 participating countries] (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2022). Establishing MPAs is the primary mechanism proposed for reaching 30x30 goals. While the United States is not a part of the

international efforts, the Biden-Harris administration has committed to addressing 30x30 goals for US lands and waters. The administration is attempting to do this specifically through the America the Beautiful plan (ATB). This plan also encourages federal agencies to honor tribal sovereignty and support the priorities of tribal nations which is one of the first plans in US history to do so [Principle 4] (U.S. Department of the Interior). The Biden-Harris Administration has adopted the term co-stewardship to represent the collaborative relationship between sovereign tribes and the US government over natural resource decisions; however, their policies lack a clear definition of what co-stewardship is, leaving the term and subsequent implementation ambiguous (Order No. 3403, 2021).

Using the current unfolding case of the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary (CHNMS) in California, this thesis aims to understand the mechanisms for including community voices in the first part of this sanctuary designation process as well as how those voices share knowledge and shape the broader communities' understanding of this process. As efforts increase to protect coastal and ocean space, it is even more essential to include the voices of stakeholders and rightsholders in the creation of these spaces, particularly because they both impact and are affected by MPAs. The current emphasis on equity in the ATB plan makes it even more critical that historically underrepresented and disadvantaged communities, such as rightsholders, are actively included and involved in order to achieve desired MPA outcomes.

Background

Process to designate a national marine sanctuary

The National Marine Sanctuaries Act of 1972 (NMSA) authorized the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) to oversee the designations and regulations of national marine sanctuaries (NMS) in the US (National Marine Sanctuaries Act 1972). The process to designate a NMS consists of two processes: the nomination process and the designation process. The nomination process requires a community to nominate a site for sanctuary designation (Federal Register, 2014; Sanctuary Nomination Process, n.d.). If the community nomination meets NOAA's required criteria, NOAA accepts the proposal and then begins the second process: sanctuary designation (See Figure 2.1). The sanctuary designation process is a federally

regulated process which, according to the NMSA, requires public input throughout the process. Before a sanctuary is officially designated, it has to be approved by a series of administrators at the federal level before its final approval by the governor of California and the US Congress (Personal communication, August 5th 2022). Following the official designation of a NMS is the creation of a sanctuary advisory council (SAC), which consists of 15 members of the public who assist sanctuary managers by providing advice and recommendations to the sanctuary staff (Raimondo et al. 2022; Morin 2001).

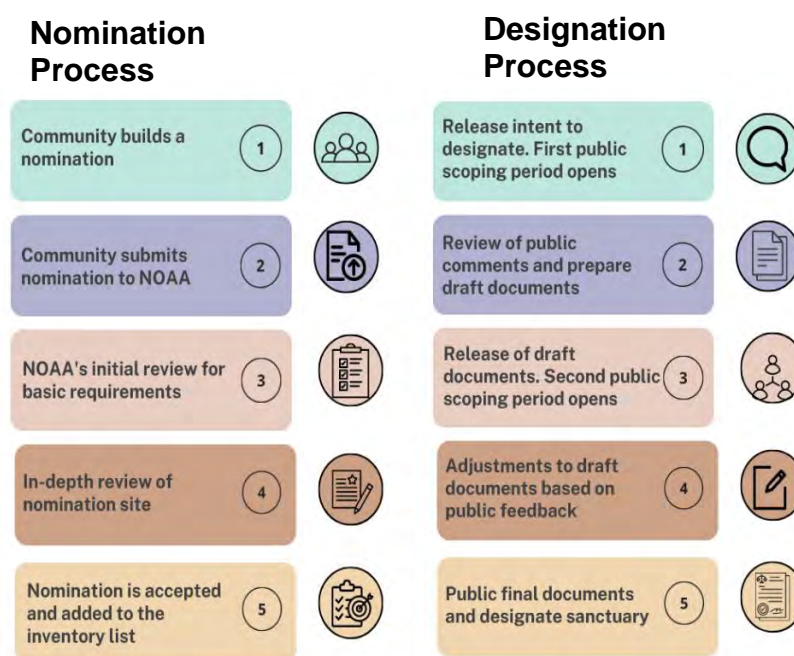


Figure 2.1. The two processes required to create a national marine sanctuary begin with the nomination process (left), and then move into the designation process (right). Author created.

Chumash Indigenous Communities

Both the Chumash and Xolon-Salinan tribes have resided along California's central coast since time immemorial; however, this paper focuses specifically on the Chumash because of the NCTC's work in nominating this sanctuary. Since the creation of the Spanish missionaries in the 1700's, there have been a series of attempts at removing and eliminating Chumash peoples from their homelands through policy efforts (Anderson 2020; Dunivant 2012). Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the first governor of California declared all Mexican nationals to be Mexican-American citizens and were safeguarded under US rule. However, he performed

horrendous acts of violence against the Chumash, attempting to eliminate them. It was during this time that some Chumash individuals began integrating into Mexican society as that was safer than being seen as Native American (Anderson 2020). However, because many Chumash adopted Mexican identities, the adoption of this ‘new identity’ became reflected on official documents over time and has contributed to their inability to gain federal recognition.

The nominators for this sanctuary, the Northern Chumash Tribal Council, is a state-recognized tribe, not a federally recognized tribe. The absence of a federally recognized title means that they are not seen as a sovereign nation through the eyes of the federal government and may not enter into collaborative management agreements with any federal agency (Crepelle 2018; Sorenson 2017). Today, in order for a tribe to gain federal recognition, they must prove their Indigenous identity to the US government through anthropological or genealogical methods, which may be challenging for some Chumash families who adopted Mexican heritage as a way to escape genocide, which may be reflect on their official documents (US Department of the Interior n.d.).

Literature Review

This research contributes to the growing body of literature on social equity in marine management. By examining how the decision-making process for the proposed CHNMS unfolds through a political ecology framework, this study will highlight how the circulation of knowledge shapes who is included in the process of designating a NMS. Historically, ocean spaces have been underrepresented in political ecology literature; however, recently scholars have advocated for studies to address the power dynamics that impact the marine environment (Aswani et al. 2018; Barbesgaard 2019; Bennett 2019; Bennett et al. 2021). This thesis addresses this gap by analyzing how knowledge as a form of power develops, circulates, and influences the processes that create ocean protection and whose knowledge is valued in that process.

This approach builds on work in political ecology, an interdisciplinary field that examines the political, economic, and social power dynamics that shape access and control over natural resources and the impacts of environmental change (Robbins 2011). I draw especially on work within political ecology that attends to the relationships between knowledge production and

power (e.g., Goldman et al. 2011). Systems of power, whether it is governmental, cultural, academic, or scientific, are upheld by a complex web of beliefs that are accepted as ‘truth’ or ‘knowledge’ by people within a society and which can be different between different societies (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Power, then, becomes inseparable from knowledge (referred to as power/knowledge) because it is through the production of knowledge that we categorize and delineate the world into governable subjects and naturalize social structures that shape our lives and life possibilities (Valdivia 2015; Foucault 1982; Foucault 1977).

When people make claims about the reasons for protecting ocean spaces, for example, they are making a knowledge claim about what they understand to be true (Englander 2019; Walker 2012; Jamison 2001; Eden 1999). Whose knowledge counts as valid, accepted, or true is entangled in inequalities of participation; thus, those who have more access to participating in a process are able to present their knowledge claims and make them count in ways that others do not (Walker 2012; Jamison 2001). Political ecology thus offers a critical means to address *why*, *for whom*, *by whom* and *with whom* protected areas should be implemented. This study advances the literature on political ecology in marine contexts because by framing arguments about MPAs in terms of knowledge claims and connecting formal and informal institutions in this process, I am able to analyze how power is distributed in the governance of MPAs, but also how power dynamics influence the formation of MPAs and who is included (or not) in these processes.

Methods

Study Area

The proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary is located between the Monterey Bay NMS and Channel Islands NMS in central California. It is proposed to be 7000 sq miles in size and stretch 156 miles from Cambria to Santa Barbara (See Figure 2.2). In addition, there is an offshore wind farm, Morro Bay 399 Wind Energy Area (WEA), proposed to border the proposed CHNMS at the northwestern end of the proposed sanctuary (see Figure 2.2) (BOEM, n.d.). NMS have site-specific regulations, meaning the regulations can differ depending on the sanctuary, but typically prohibit drilling or dredging to the seabed (Olympic Coast

National Marine Sanctuary, n.d.). Therefore, there is the potential for the proposed sanctuary boundaries to change or halt the WEA development.



Figure 2.2 The map of the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary. Source: NOAA.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study aims to understand the mechanisms for including community voices in MPA designation processes as well as how those voices share knowledge and shape the broader communities' understanding of this process by asking:

- 1) During the designation process for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary, which knowledge claims about the sanctuary are circulated and which fall to the side?
- 2) Whose voices are incorporated into planning for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary and in what ways?
 - a) How do people perceive their ability to have influence in this process?
 - b) What are the barriers to inclusion in the process?
- 3) What role do community organizations play in circulating knowledge of the sanctuary or process?

To answer research question (RQ) 1, I compared the claims made by the nominator's in their 2015 proposal, the claims communicated by NOAA on their sanctuary website, the claims

made by people who submitted a public comment, and the claims expressed in 20 semi-structured interviews. To answer RQ2 and RQ3, I used qualitative data collected from the same 20 semi-structured interviews.

Collection and analysis of claims made by the nominators and NOAA

To answer RQ1, I performed a textual analysis of the NCTC and NOAA's claims about the sanctuary and compared them to the claims made by the public comments and interviews (Smith 2017). A textual analysis is appropriate for gathering information about how each party contextualized the sanctuary designation. I analyzed the 2015 nomination by the NCTC because it was the proposal accepted by NOAA and contains the motivations from the Chumash's perspective (Northern Chumash Tribal Council, 2015). I compared the language in the proposal against NOAA's website for the proposed sanctuary, which represents NOAA's motivations for the sanctuary to the public. The public may be referring to either the NCTC's proposal or NOAA's website to inform their stance on the sanctuary and the claims they make about it. I grouped the NCTC's claims into six overarching categories because multiple related claims about Indigenous recognition could be grouped within a broader Indigenous category. I also grouped NOAA's claims into six categories. I then compared and contrasted the categories, breadth and depth of information conveyed, and examples provided by the NCTC and NOAA to understand differences in the knowledge claims the two organizations made about the CHMNS.

Collection and analysis of public comments

To further answer RQ1, I analyzed 1,276 comments submitted during NOAA's public comment scoping period from November 2021 to January 2022. The NCTC's proposal for the CHNMS was accepted onto NOAA's sanctuary inventory list in 2015. It wasn't until 2021 that NOAA officially informed the public of their intent to designate this sanctuary, thus opening up the public comment period from November 2021 to January 2022 (docket number NOAA-NOS-2021-0080). Any member of the public was able to provide input on the proposed sanctuary through mail, submitting a comment online via the federal register, or by attending a public hearing in-person or via zoom. The public was informed of this opportunity via NOAA's NMS newsletter, email listserv, news sources or through outreach conducted by the NCTC or other

NGOs. During the time that they were accepting comments, NOAA received 1,276 comments about the proposed sanctuary.

Of those 1,276 public comments there were 15 comments that contained sign-on signatures. Sign-on signatures exist when an organization asks their members to sign their names in support of their statement. In this case, 15 organizations wrote a public comment, and before submitting to the federal register, they circulated their comment to their members asking for members to sign their names in support of the public comment. Those 15 public comments received a total of 30,001 signatures across them in support of their public comments. When analyzing the public comments, I recorded each public comment as one respondent, even if they had sign-on signatures. In other words, even if a public comment contained 10,000 signatures from people supporting the comment that the organization posted to the federal register, that comment was only counted as one respondent. This decision was made because the goal of the analysis was to evaluate the number of times particular knowledge claims were mobilized in the public comments. Sign-on signatures did not express their own arguments or use any of their own wording, so I counted them as one knowledge claim, expressed and circulated by an organization/entity that represented multiple individuals.

In this thesis, I refer to people/organizations who submitted a public comment as respondents. I identify the reasons given by commenters in support of their position as knowledge claims, because, as explained in my literature review, they are claims about what is true, valid, and relevant to each person/organization in relation to the sanctuary designation. The public comment data allowed me to understand the range of claims made about the sanctuary from the larger public and compare them to those made by the nominators and NOAA.

I used a thematic content analysis to analyze the public comments because of its flexible approach in allowing researchers to examine patterns (known as themes) based on the data (Guest et al. 2012; Braun and Clarke 2006). This approach is considered appropriate for analyzing public comments because it allows for themes to emerge inductively from the data (Haynes-Maslow et al. 2018). Each public comment was coded to identify key knowledge claims put forth in either support of or opposition to the sanctuary. Codes representing different categories of knowledge claims were created inductively as patterns emerged from the data (See

appendix A for public comment codebook) (Bernard, 2017; Creswell & Poth, 2016). I also collected contextual information such as commenter names, location, agency, position, and relationship to the CHNMS. Finally, I documented contact information when available to use in recruitment of interviewees. All information was recorded using excel.

After coding all comments into themes according to the knowledge claims they used to support their arguments (many comments were coded into multiple themes because they mobilized multiple knowledge claims), I divided these claims according to whether they were in support of or opposition to the sanctuary. This allowed me to analyze the ways that the same knowledge themes, such as conservation, were mobilized in different ways by different groups to support different stances on the national marine sanctuary. There were 87 public comments that I could not identify a stance on. This was because they only talked about the WEA with no discussion of the sanctuary, their comment was redacted by NOAA, or the comment was illegible. This is not included in the analysis.

In addition to dividing the coded public comments by support/opposition, I also sorted the public comments based on the stakeholder or rightsholder groups of the commenter. I determined this information based on details provided in the public comment; however, not all of the public comments contained enough information to categorize into a user group and are therefore not included in the portion of the analysis that examines knowledge claims by stakeholder groups. The four types of stakeholder groups I identified are NGOs, resource users, government officials, and tribal affiliation.

Collection and analysis of semi-structured interviews

To supplement my findings for RQ1 as well as to answer RQ 2 and 3, I conducted 20 semi-structured interviews between August and November of 2022. Ethics review and approval by Oregon State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) was obtained prior to beginning interviews. Interviewees were selected through purposive and snowball sampling (Bernard, 2017). I recruited participants through networking with the NOAA Channel Islands NMS and the National Ocean Protection Coalition¹. I also contacted people who provided their contact

¹ The National Ocean Protection Coalition is a coalition of organizations and ocean advocates that collaborated with the NCTC in the nomination and designation processes.

information in the public comments. Lastly, I conducted snowball sampling from contacts interviewees shared with me (Bernard, 2017). Each interviewee was asked to recommend others for the study; however, not all interviewees provided a recommendation. The thematic analysis of the public comments aided in the creation of the interview guide (see Appendix C) by highlighting key concerns or interests of the public.

I conducted interviews until I reached data saturation and had interviewed a relatively even distribution of stakeholder groups. I also intentionally aimed to recruit a sample which stratified the interviewees to represent the percentage of those in support and opposition to the sanctuary from the public comment period. In other words, because 28% of the public comments were in opposition of the sanctuary, I aimed to recruit approximately the same percentage of interviewees in opposition to the sanctuary. I also stratified the sample across stakeholder groups, intentionally recruiting participants from NGO, resource users, government officials, and tribal affiliation. To participate, the interviewees had to be 18 years old and have a stake in the outcomes of the decisions.

Interviews were conducted via Zoom or phone, lasted between 1 to 2 hours, were audio-recorded per consent of the interviewee, and then transcribed. Informed by the literature review and thematic analysis of public comments, the interview questions asked about their knowledge of the sanctuary and the interviewees' perceived ability to influence the process. A semi-structured interview approach was taken because it allows for the use of an interview guide while also permitting the interviewee to explore other topics not on the guide (Bernard, 2017). To answer RQ1, I asked interviewees questions pertaining to why the sanctuary is proposed, what is the purpose, and if they are involved in the process. To answer RQ2 I asked interviewees about their ability to influence the process, to identify voices they believed to be over-amplified or missing in the process, as well as potential negative impacts to communities. To answer RQ3, I asked interviewees about the strengths and weaknesses in the process and any challenges they saw for community organizations being involved in the process (see the full guide in Appendix C). These questions allowed me to capture what knowledge claims interviewees made about the sanctuary, who is perceived to hold power in this process, and barriers to being included in the process.

I personally transcribed each audio recording using a combination of Microsoft Word's auto transcription tool and manual transcription. I then used the qualitative analysis software, Nvivo, to thematically code the interview transcripts. Codes were developed deductively from the research questions and the public comments analysis and inductively as patterns emerged in the data. Each code was categorized into broad themes which were used to answer the research questions (Bernard, 2017; Creswell & Poth, 2016) (see Appendix B for the interview codebook). Lastly, a demographics questionnaire was given to interviewees, but their completion of the questionnaire was optional and only 16 of the 20 interviews provided demographics data (See Appendix C for the demographics questionnaire; See Appendix D for demographic data). I divided the interviewees into the same broad stakeholder and rightsholder groups that I used for public commenters - NGO, resource user, government official, and tribal affiliation.

Limitations

A limitation to this study was that I could only analyze comments that were submitted to the federal register or conduct interviews with informants who responded to my email and actively wanted to participate in this study. Self-selection bias could have occurred, meaning that only the perspectives of those who wanted to participate or those who left their contact information were collected (Heckman 1990). This might not accurately represent the perspectives and understandings of all stakeholders and rightsholders who have an interest in this sanctuary. Furthermore, each public comment that had sign on signatures was only recorded as one respondent, so my data presented in this thesis does not represent the quantity of people who support the message their organization submitted to the federal register. While I was able to get a wider range of NGO, resource users, and government officials to participate in the interviews, I only had one person affiliated with a tribe participate in an interview. While I attempted to get in contact with more local tribal members through emails and pre-established networks, they either declined to participate due to their limited capacity or they did not respond. The lack of tribal representation is a limitation of my study that mirrors the larger lack of tribal representation in protected area governance in this country.

Results

The results section is broken down into three sections to address each RQ.

RQ1: During the designation process for the CHNMS, which knowledge claims about the sanctuary are circulated and which fall to the side?

The NCTC, in their 25-page nomination packet, claimed that this sanctuary should be designated for the following reasons: 1) the unique Indigenous cultural components including the elevation of Chumash traditional knowledge in natural resource management, promotion of Chumash maritime and cultural heritage, and protection of Native archeological sites; 2) protection of significant ecological transition zones and critical species; 3) protection against offshore industrial threats; 4) increasing research and education of marine resources, climate change, and human occupation (of the past and present); 5) enhancing collaboration across sectors and scales; and 6) protection of economic health of the area via tourism, fisheries, outreach, and education (Northern Chumash Tribal Council, 2015).

Similarly, NOAA claimed this designation was being sought for the following reasons: 1) recognition of Chumash tribal history; 2) protection of important ecological transition zones; 3) protection of commercially important habitats and endangered species 4) protection of nationally significant shipwrecks; 5) protection against threats [does not describe what threats]; and 6) stimulation of research, education, stewardship, tourism, and recreation (NOAA, n.d.). One key difference between the nominators' proposal and NOAA's website is the limited details on NOAA's website on the Indigenous components of the heritage site (summed into "recognize Chumash tribal history") which was discussed in far greater detail by the nominators. NOAA's summarization of the Indigenous component is important because it may act as yet another way the federal government continues to minimize Indigenous history. Comparing NOAA and the NCTC proposal was important because the public may be looking to either party for information on the sanctuary and as such, their different claims may influence what the public understands in this process.

Analyzing public comments allows us to understand which of the claims put forth by NCTC and NOAA are most frequently circulated in the public and by which stakeholder groups. From the

public comment analysis, I identified six general themes that captured the breadth of knowledge claims commenters put forth about the sanctuary: Indigenous recognition, federal governance, economic impacts, conservation efforts, recreational access, and sense of place (See Table 2.1). With the exception of sense of place, these themes map onto the claims put forth by NCTC and NOAA fairly directly. Among the six broad themes, more specific sub themes also emerged, as shown in Table 1. Interestingly, both commenters in support and commenters in opposition frequently drew on the same knowledge claim themes, such as economic impacts or federal governance, but the specific claims they made about the theme differed, as I explore in more detail below.

Table 2.1 The key themes and subthemes that emerged from the public comments analysis with the number (n) of times mentioned by a respondent. The numbers under each subtheme do not always add up to the total number for each theme. This is because one person may have commented under multiple subthemes, which would result in a higher frequency per subtheme.

Public Comment Themes and Subthemes		Definitions	Support frequency (n)	Oppose frequency (n)
Indigenous Recognition			608	237
	Chumash culture and heritage	Comments related to Chumash culture and heritage, tribal legitimacy such as recognition status or Indigenous ancestry, and Indigenous history	295	235
	Environmental Justice	Equity concerns related environment, comments on environmental justice and how the sanctuary would impact justice issues for Indigenous peoples	68	0
	Co-management	Comments on co-management between Indigenous people and managers; comments on the inclusion of TEK through co-management	248	2
Federal Governance			137	327
	Government influence/control	Comments on the Biden-Harris administration, climate initiatives (ATB, 30x30, secretarial orders), governmental control, political challenges, fear and distrust	100	262
	Transparency/communication	Transparency of communication in the process, awareness of this process or sanctuary development	2	49
	Sanctuary logistics	Mentions of sanctuary boundaries or future sanctuary advisory council	35	15
Economic Impacts			446	270
	Economic development	Economic development including tourism, business, or other monetized m	118	60
	Livelihoods	Comments specifically related to livelihoods	47	236
	Energy development	Comments related to oil, gas, nuclear, or wind energy developments	357	27
Conservation efforts			585	3
	Environmental protection	Comments about environmental protection and/or climate change	731	0
	Scientific research and education	Comments related to scientific research or education	178	3
	Stewardship	Comments related to feeling responsible to protect the environment	15	0
Recreational Access		Physical ability to recreate	64	241
Sense of Place		Comments about one's personal connection to place, benefits derived from place, and sources of pride/belonging	160	205

Themes related to Indigenous recognition (n=608), conservation efforts (n=585) and economic impacts (n=446) were listed most often by those in support; whereas those in opposition mobilized a wider range of claims including federal governance (n=327), economic impacts (n=279), Indigenous recognition (n=237), recreational access (n=241), and sense of place (n=205). Some respondents mobilized many themes or subthemes to support their position on the sanctuary, this will be discussed in more detail later.

In figure 2.3 below, these six emerging themes are reflected and stratified across support or opposition to the sanctuary. Claims from those in opposition were spread around most of the themes (except conservation), so that there was no single reason for opposition; whereas, those in support tended to focus specifically around themes regarding economic outcomes, conservation efforts, and Indigenous recognition.

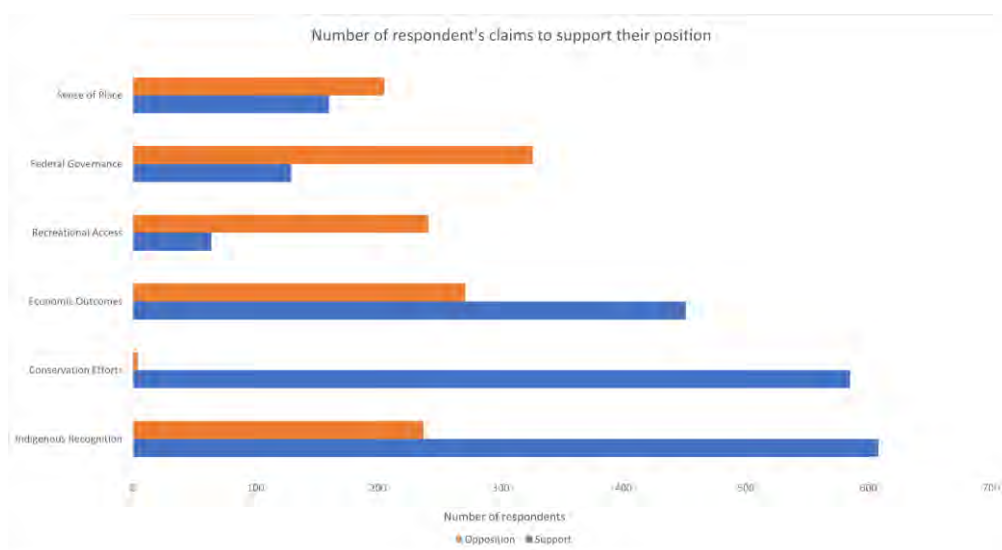


Figure 2.3. Claims respondents used to back up their stance on the sanctuary designation.

Out of the 1,276 respondents, 850 were in support, 339 were in opposition. Of those total respondents, 870 listed their location. Of those, 90% were from California with most of those respondents supporting the sanctuary (75%). While the data shows most respondents as current California residents, this does not reflect the number of sign-on signatures (30,001 signatures) collected from organizations whose members may reside outside California. However, the relatively small number of respondents outside of California (10% of respondents) also largely supported the sanctuary (97%).

My ability to understand how support/opposition and knowledge claims in the public comments differ across user groups (NGOs, resource users, government representatives, and tribal affiliates) is limited by the relatively small number of respondents (n=262) who provided information about who they were. Of the 262 commenters who did provide information, 216 (82.5%) were in support and 46 were in opposition (17.5%). Those in opposition consisted mostly of resource users and government representatives, while stakeholders of all types were in support. The knowledge claims made by this smaller sample followed the same patterns shown in Figure 22.3 (See Figure 2.4 and 2.5 for distribution across stakeholder groups).

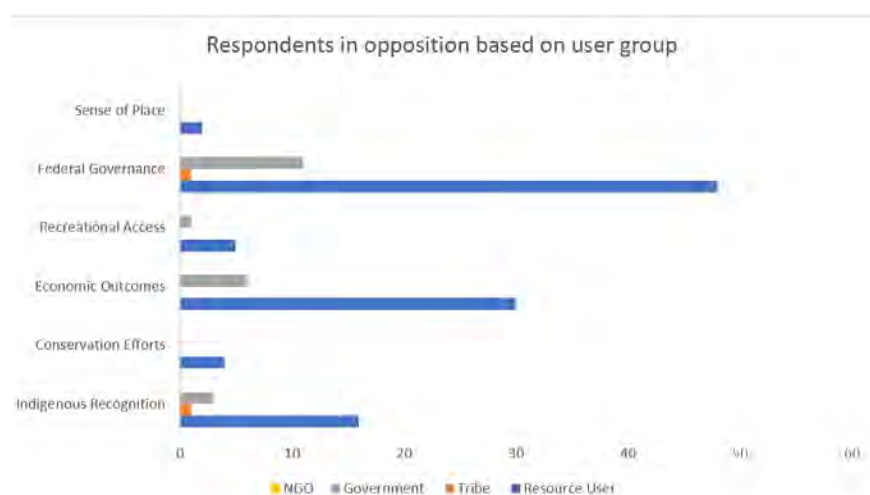


Figure 2.4 Knowledge claims made by opponents based on their user group.

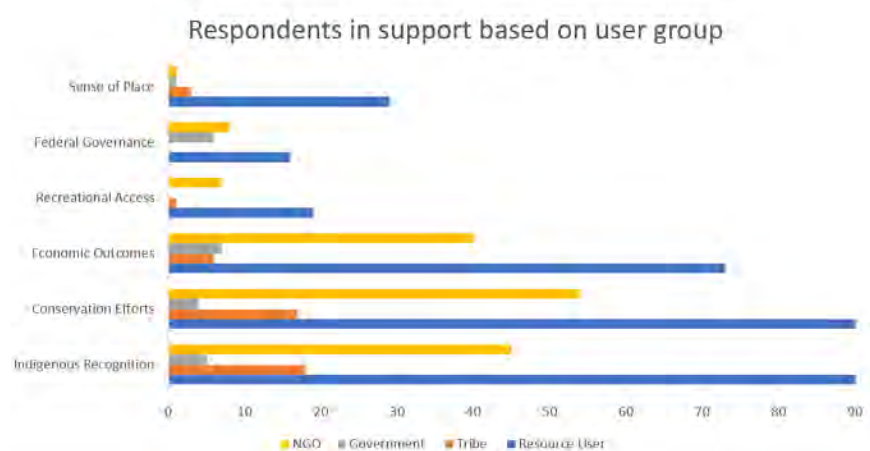


Figure 2.5. Knowledge claims made by supporters based on their user group.

The public comments enhanced my understanding of what knowledge claims were being made about the sanctuary across supporters and opponents and how these compared to the claims circulated by NCTC and NOAA. This analysis allowed me to quantify which claims people mobilized to denote their stance and how supporters and opponents used them similarly or differently. The NCTC and NOAA's claims relating to conservation, economic impacts, and Indigenous recognition were largely propelled through the public comments, however those relating to federal governance, recreational access and sense of place differed to that of the NCTC and NOAA. Additionally, when broken down further, the public comments tended to align more similarly with the NCTC claims in depth; for example, limiting offshore oil development or the breadth of knowledge claims regarding the Chumash's history and relationship with this proposed sanctuary.

I also used my 20 semi-structured interviews to further examine the question of which knowledge claims were circulated and by whom. While thematically coding the interviews, similar themes of Indigenous recognition, federal governance, economic impacts, conservation efforts, recreational access, and sense of place emerged (See Table 2.2). Some of the themes were not mentioned as frequently compared to the public comments, for example, sense of place or recreational access. This may be attributed to the questions I asked or to the user groups in which the interviewees belonged. While the themes that emerged in both the public comments and interviews were similar, the sub themes varied slightly. This could be because many interviewees were local residents or collaborated with the nominators throughout the process, whereas, the respondents may not have had as close a relationship with this area or process, thus leading to subtle differences in their perceptions of the sanctuary designation. Additionally, the structure of the interviews allowed for conversation or storytelling on behalf of the interviewee which allowed for a deeper discussion about the sanctuary; whereas the public comments were limited to what the respondent wrote. This could have influenced the sub themes that emerged.

Table 2.2 Themes and sub-themes from the interview data that reflect claims made about the sanctuary including how many interviewees made claims under each category. There were 15 interviewees in support and 5 interviewees in opposition.

Interview Themes and Subthemes		Definitions	Support frequency (out of 15)	Oppose frequency (out of 5)
Indigenous Recognition				
	Chumash culture and heritage	Comments related to Chumash culture and heritage, tribal legitimacy such as recognition status or Indigenous ancestry, and Indigenous history	10	4
	Correct past injustices	Desire to correct injustices towards Indigenous peoples	4	0
	Co-management	Co-management between the tribe and NOAA, involvement in managing cultural resources, inclusion of traditional knowledge in management	11	0
Federal Governance				
	Political priorities/pressure	Biden-Harris administration goals (ATB, 30x30, secretarial orders), governmental power, political challenges or pressures	7	5
	Distrust/fear	Distrust or fear over increased federal oversight or regulations	0	5
Economic Impacts				
	Economic development	Economic development including tourism, business, or other monetized means	4	3
	Livelihoods	Comments specifically related to livelihoods	2	5
	Energy development	Offshore oil or renewable energy development	9	3
Conservation Efforts				
	Environmental protection	Comments about environmental protection and/or climate change	13	0
	Stewardship	Comments related to feeling responsible to protect the environment	6	1
Recreational Access		Physical ability to recreate	1	2
Sense of Place		Comments about one's personal connection to place, benefits derived from place, and sources of pride/belonging	5	1

From the interviews, I found that supporters tended to mobilize claims around Indigenous recognition, conservation efforts, and economic impacts (particularly energy development). Those in opposition tended to mobilize claims around federal governance, economic impacts (particularly livelihoods), and Indigenous recognition. Interestingly, similar to the public comments, interviewees also tended to mobilize the same claim, but in different ways. This will be discussed in further detail below.

Of the 20 interviewees, there were 3 government officials, one board member on the NCTC, 10 resource users, and 6 NGO representatives. Importantly, all the interviewees who opposed the sanctuary were resource users, and when broken down further, consisted of 2 fishermen, 2 recreationalists, and 1 farmer (See Figure 2.6). This demonstrates that opposition to the sanctuary is coming from only one particular set of stakeholders and highlights the need for attending to different stakeholders' relationships to proposed sanctuaries during the designation process and writing of the management plan. However, although all the interviewees in opposition were resource users, it is also important to note that not all resource users were in opposition. Rather the resource users I interviewed were split evenly between support and opposition.

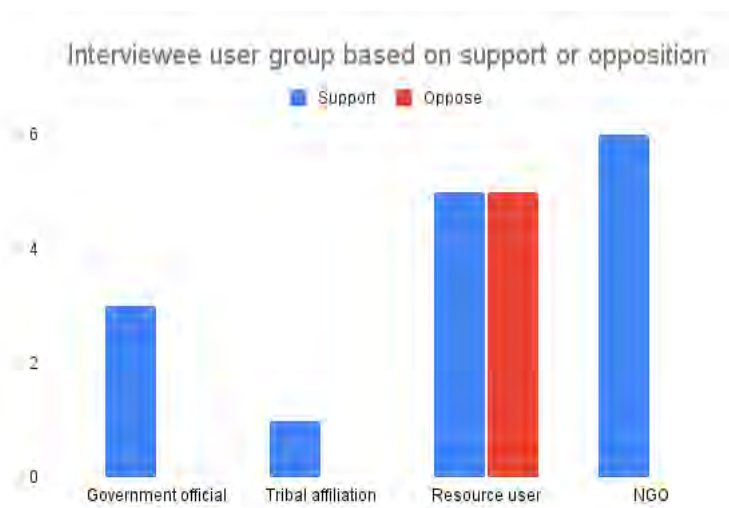


Figure 2.6 Interviewee user groups based on support or opposition to the proposed sanctuary.

Of the interviewees who provided demographic information, 87% of my sample was white and 75% had a graduate degree. This is not reflective of the racial diversity and education level of the Monterey or San Luis Obispo counties where this sanctuary is proposed (US Census Bureau,

n.d.). The stakeholders and rightsholders for this sanctuary are widespread and there is not available demographics for them as a cohesive group, but I compare the interviewee demographics against the Monterey and San Luis Obispo County demographics as an approximation. Only 28% of the population are white in Monterey County and 68% are white in San Luis Obispo County, and only 27% and 37% respectively hold bachelor's degrees or higher. This suggests that my sample does not fully represent the population this study seeks to represent (See Appendix D for Demographics).

For the rest of this section I examine the central narratives put forth using quotes from the interviews and public comments to illustrate the emerging themes. Each section is stratified between claims of support or opposition.

Indigenous Recognition

Support

Both the respondents and interviewees made claims about promoting Chumash culture and preserving sites of cultural significance as reasons for supporting the sanctuary similar to the motivations described in the NCTC's 2015 proposal. One respondent described the rich cultural resources of this area as it relates to Chumash culture which, to them, is a motivator for why this area should be protected:

I am among the remaining, original members of the first tomol to sail in over 100 years. I was elected as Wot (Chief) of the Brotherhood in 1976. The position of Wot is a lifelong position. In 1976 the Brotherhood built a tomol using traditional resources and methods. Only after much spiritual preparation and training, the Brotherhood took the Helek on an epic journey, rowing amongst the Channel Islands, visiting places our ancestors lived and thrived. Many of the original members of the Brotherhood have passed into spirit in recent years, but younger Chumash men have been initiated into the Brotherhood. The tomol is an example of how the Chumash have used natural resources from the sea. . . We believe that this designation may enable our Chumash communities and youth to re-discover a closer relationship with the sea and our maritime lifeways. Already, there has been a surge of interest among young people for the building of traditional tomols.
(public comment)

People often mentioned supporting this sanctuary as a mechanism for the Chumash people to reconnect with their cultural heritage. The interviews supported that claim, but highlighted potential values underlying their support by using this designation as a way in which non-natives

can correct past injustices towards Indigenous people. The following quote by an interviewee describes this:

I feel a strong need to support people who have been harmed by my dominant white culture in the past. (Resource user interviewee)

What was not mentioned by the supporters in the public comments, were narratives combating opponents' claims of illegitimacy towards the nominators (examples of such claims are discussed in the following section). In response to the claims around illegitimacy of the Chumash tribe, one interviewee who collaborated with the NCTC, expressed frustration at the attempts made to delegitimize the NCTC such attacking the validity of their Indigenous ancestry. Another elaborated on the history of California Indigenous people and how the state has hidden this history from the public, which has influenced the claims opponents are making to delegitimize the tribe. The following quote reflects this history and its current implications for this process:

This summer when I was out at their 'reunite the rock event', I saw first hand the importance of not only protecting marine life, the kelp forest, but also what we've been talking about: community. Not to bore you with a history lesson, but when Mexico sold Alta California to the United States and it became California and Mexico stayed with Baja California. The first Governor of California made a pact that they could not harass and they could not kick out Mexican nationals. They immediately had to be Mexican Americans, and they had to be left alone. But that wasn't the case for the Chumash people. The Chumash people. . .the first question comes up. . . Why had no one taught me this about our own California history? Where over 16,000 men, women and children of Chumash and local native from California were murdered. They were murdered. Human genocide existed here. Our first Governor of California did a very horrendous act towards the Native American people, so I say all that because I learned something first hand, that if you were Mexican from Santa Monica, CA all the way up there towards the Monterey area. There's a very good chance that they're not Mexican, but they're Chumash. Because when the first, you know, the bounty was set, that if you killed a Native American, the Chumash people decided to hide to save themselves and to save their children. They started teaching them Spanish. They started learning our professions and they integrated life as Mexicans to save themselves. So when we were at the 'reunite the rock event', one of the tribal elders was giving this story lesson and in front of my booth there was a Mexican that grew up in that area that always thought he was Mexican. And through the genealogy and through the whole. . . He was Chumash. And his ancestors were Chumash. . .when I really mean that the Hispanic community needs to walk with the Chumash, not only do I mean it with a personal conviction, but I mean that they're actually our family. We are intertwined. It's again . . . I only believe in one race and it's the human race. But ultimately when culture separates us, It's the Hispanic

community that is really literally walking side by side and there's a possible good chance that they're not even Mexican, that they're Chumash. . . we cannot erase histories, but we can start by designating this as the first tribal led marine sanctuary designation and in honor and memory and somehow, I mean it's not enough, It never will be enough. . . You know, but somehow pay penance to what happened (NGO employee who collaborated with the NCTC)

This history reveals why the Chumash are in a position where claims of illegitimacy are being made about them. These claims clearly reinforce a long history of marginalization of the Chumash peoples. Additionally, results from the interviews emphasized the larger systemic injustices made by the US government that have limited tribes from pursuing a federal recognized status. One interviewee in particular described the government's relationship with tribes and its current detriment to the process:

The history of federally recognized or state recognized tribes is inherently kind of racist. And so even now, like, through this process, some folks are like, well, he's not actually Indigenous, he's not actually tribal. He's, you know, I think they call it like, "pretendians", like pretend Indians. Which is super rude. (NGO employee working in ocean conservation)

With the Biden-Harris administration's focus on recognizing tribal priorities, sovereignty, and co-stewardship, both respondents and interviewees made claims about co-management related to their support for the sanctuary. However, interviewees tended to weave in opinions on government control and power as it relates to Indigenous co-management, whereas respondents tended to only comment on their support for co-management. Interviewees reflected on concerns that the US government will be unwilling to release control and establish a co-managing relationship over marine resources. The narratives described in the interviews about co-management referred to the complex nature of the recognition system and struggles state recognized tribes have in managing their resources.

One interviewee described this exact difficulty as it relates to the NCTC's desire to co-manage this sanctuary. Other interviewees related this difficulty to federal power and control, enforcing the narrative that shared management will not be impossible because the government will not give up control. One interviewee who sits on the NCTC board described such challenges about proposing co-management:

We are negotiating on the issue of co-management, the federal government does not give up power and control and especially when it comes to indigenous people. . . . the fact that the northern Chumash Tribal Council who are the nominator's are state recognized and not federally recognized has been a really landmine, like 'don't walk over there! don't walk over here!', you know? It's been really interesting. . . .the federal government has a problem with recognizing that history. (NCTC board member)

Relatedly, both respondents and interviewees reflected on the benefits co-management would have on elevating TEK into western management. People described the necessity for Indigenous leadership in conservation which would give Indigenous people control over including their traditional knowledge in management practices. Many reflected that this would be beneficial for ocean conservation.

Both respondents and interviewees expressed support for the sanctuary using the inclusion of Chumash heritage, traditional knowledge or leadership as reasons why they support. However, results from the interviews went beyond public comments to demonstrate the complex relationship between the US government and tribes, particularly as it relates to the claims of illegitimacy opponents are making in this process.

Opposition

Both respondents and interviewees who opposed the sanctuary mobilized claims against the legitimacy of the NCTC. This tended to focus on the NCTC's status as a state recognized tribe not a federally recognized tribe, attempting to reduce the tribe's power in this process. Additionally, opponents challenged the heritage of the Chumash, making claims that they are not of Indigenous origin as a reason for why they do not support the sanctuary. Respondents and interviewees used either or both of those claims of illegitimacy to defend their opposition to this sanctuary:

Approval of this sanctuary will place the illegitimate claims of the NCTC's heritage as the sole priority and consideration over the real, established, historic heritage of every citizen who resides in the region (public comment)

The northern Chumash tribe, which is like the lead tribe advancing this proposal, is actually not even a tribe. It's a nonprofit organization, and it's led by a white man, and it

doesn't have federal recognition. It's a very newly formed organization and so I feel like that's one of the most obvious and blatant kinds of slap in the face to what the sanctuary is supposed to represent and the people it's supposed to serve at its core . . . This is not only hypocritical but rather disgusting (Resource user interviewee).

While the above quotes may hint that they may have supported the sanctuary had the Chumash not been involved, I don't have the data to confirm that. Rather, I suggest that they oppose Indigenous involvement and leadership, and as such, oppose this sanctuary entirely. Comments relating to tribal legitimacy were a frequent narrative for both respondents and interviewees and they used claims around tribal legitimacy as a means to support their position.

Key claims mobilized around Indigenous recognition

Claims about Indigenous rights and recognition were the most frequently mobilized by both public commenters and interviewees and were frequently mobilized by both those in support and opposition. However, the types of knowledge claims articulated by those in support and those in opposition were wildly different and demonstrate how groups aim to maintain or challenge power through knowledge. While those in opposition aimed to reduce tribal influence in the process by questioning their legitimacy as a sovereign nation and a tribe with rights to the region, those in support countered these claims and advocated for tribal influence by bringing to light the obscured history of how and why the Chumash people are not recognized in today's legal structure. This is a critical example of the ways that knowledge and power are interwoven and how the knowledge claims that are circulated as part of MPA designation processes can shape who ends up having power and influence in decisions.

Federal Governance

Support

Both respondents and interviewees in support of the sanctuary made claims about how federal governance has implications for this designation, specifically highlighting narratives about the focus on the ATB plan related to 30x30 and tribal priorities. Many respondents and interviewees reflected that this sanctuary designation will advance the administration's priorities, and as such, there is political influence in the process. Both noted that the current administration and social climate of the US is focused on repairing injustices towards Indigenous peoples in a way that has not happened in the past, which they perceived as a reason this sanctuary is being designated. However, the data from the interviews emphasized just how central politicians such as Deb

Haaland, the first female Native Secretary of the Interior, are to sanctuary development, which is not something that emerged in the public comments data. An example of this narrative is shown in the following quote:

I think the cultural and social mood, if you will...is amenable right now to doing Chumash, partly because of the heritage issue...So what I see at Chumash [sanctuary] now is an opportunity, particularly now that we have the first ever female Native Secretary of Interior, who I think would really like to get this done. (Employee for a conservation NGO)

Interviewees made comments reflecting on limitations or challenges associated with this federal designation process, describing their fear that this sanctuary will get stalled in congress or impacted with the new presidential elections in 2024. They used this narrative as a way to encourage NOAA to move faster in the designation process. One interviewee, who is a part of the writing team for the new sanctuary, reinforced this claim that political pressure is urging NOAA to move fast to designate this sanctuary, but not without impacts to outreach:

The reason we're moving fast is you know, we started at the beginning of Biden's term. And for a controversial project like this, there's going to be a lot of stakeholder issues to sift through.. . if this thing doesn't go from draft to final during the Biden administration, well before the next presidential election, then it's vulnerable to whatever happens. It's vulnerable to political change, basically. It's sort of redirecting NOAA saying stand down, because of that, you'll never hear a federal agency employee say that we're playing politics here in terms of the timing but I think everybody knows it. . and going fast is not necessarily the best way to do the best outreach, the most interaction with the public, and certainly it puts me in an uncomfortable place with the tribes (Government employee).

However, interviewees in support of the sanctuary also made comments about their fear and distrust in the federal government, relating their involvement and support of the sanctuary as their mechanism to ensure the government does not take control of their resources. Others described how difficult it is for the Chumash to get the government to prioritize their work, relating how the federal government only prioritizes federally recognized tribes, limiting others from having an active voice in this process:

How difficult it is to get the state and the federal government to prioritize your work, to prioritize the value that you bring to these discussions like you know, the

state and NOAA has been talking to [the Chumash tribe]. But at the end of the day, they - like the federally recognized tribes - are the ones that get the most attention, the most funding (NGO employee who collaborated with the NCTC)

Clearly, even supporters of the sanctuary recognize their limited power and control compared to the federal government and they also mobilize claims around fear of governmental control as a reason for their involvement in this process.

Both respondents and interviewees in support made claims regarding the federal government's influence in the process, particularly through the ATB plan with its prioritization on tribes and increasing ocean protection through 30x30. However, the interviews highlighted the significance of Deb Haaland's role, and fears that changes in the federal government will halt the process.

Opposition

On the other hand, opponents mobilized claims against federal governance to denote their stance on the sanctuary. A strong concern from opponents resides around fear towards the federal government in the form of ocean grabbing and increased regulation. Opponents claimed that the federal government is using 30x30 goals to advance control over marine resources and impact livelihoods. Interviewees in opposition similarly claimed that, no matter what the public says, this sanctuary is moving according to the larger political agenda. The following quotes reflects these claims:

[NOAA] has no statutory authority to designate the Marine Sanctuary in order to fulfill the 30x30 theft of our natural resources. (public comment)

I think it's pretty clear that there's like a rigging of the outcome, and while these processes are supposed to, you know, engage and involve the public, there is definite pre-decisional action where that the outcome that's desired is the outcome that will be achieved and they'll craft and allow public input to get to that end (Resource user interviewee)

Similarly, claims related to Deb Haaland's role were also used as a way to denote their stance on the sanctuary. In particular, interviews highlighted how some opponents used Haaland's role in the federal government to back up their claims, not only against the sanctuary, but for the

broad shifts currently happening in California such as renewable energy. What the following quote highlights is the opposition not only to increased federal oversight, but to Indigenous leadership:

[Since] Deb Haaland's been in office, she's the secretary of interior, everything went, everything went to hell. OK. I blame it all on her. The sanctuary, the wind farms, trying to get out fossil fuels. . . all this stuff in California. Pushing this 30x30 thing, 'Make America Beautiful Again'. Let's make America great again [laughs] That's what I say. Isn't America beautiful already? How do they think they're going to make it more beautiful? Put more parks in the ocean? Yeah, it is pretty disgusting. . . basically trying to get rid of the commercial fisherman. . . it's all because the administration changed and they put an Indian in-charge. That's the only reason why it's happening (Resource user interviewee)

Furthermore, similar to what the previous quote describes, respondents and interviewees who oppose the sanctuary distrust NOAA because of previous experiences (specifically related to fishing). Interviews highlighted personal experiences between resources users and federal agencies such as NOAA, and used their personal experiences to back up their claims in opposition. Examples of these fears are reflected in the following quotes:

They're [fishing community] really upset about it because they have a long history of experiences with them, and I'm not just talking about a generalized fear, but actual experiences with the sanctuary program does not go very well for them at all. Yeah, there's a severe lack of trust from the fishing community towards the sanctuary program. (Resource user interviewee)

Due to historical evidence, there are issues with trusting the National Marine Sanctuary (NMS) who have used federal money to support local anti-fishing causes. (public comment)

Issues with transparency from NOAA was a subtheme from the public comments, which is related to NOAA's sanctuary website and the limited information they provided the public. Respondents used this lack of transparency as a way to affirm their oppositional stance on the sanctuary designation. This is exemplified in the following quote:

The NOAA website provides open ended and very vague statements without any substance to review, verify or comment on, such as: "Numerous threats have been

identified to resources within the proposed area". What threats? Where are they? What is the basis of the claim? (public comment)

Opponents to the sanctuary mobilized similar claims about the current administration's goals to defend their stance, however their narratives also brought to life fear and distrust towards increased federal oversight and issues around NOAA's transparency in the process.

Key claims mobilized around federal governance

Those in support generally felt positive about the federal government and 30x30 priorities, and thus, wanted the designation to move forward quickly by using their influence to make the sanctuary happen. In contrast, those in opposition felt negatively about federal governance, based on past experiences where they felt their perspectives were not valued and on the lack of transparency of how these decisions are made, and thus feared and opposed the sanctuary because they saw it as an extension of federal governance into/over their lives. Interestingly, the knowledge claims about federal governance mobilized by both those in support and those in opposition showed that they feel the federal government and government structures ultimately have significant power in MPA establishment.

Economic impacts

Support

The potential for positive economic impacts to result from sanctuary designation was a theme discussed by both respondents and interviewees in support of the sanctuary. Both emphasized the financial incentive to designate the NMS as a tourist destination to boost the economies along the central California coast. Additionally, economic benefits such as increased funds for research were reasons for their support of the sanctuary:

Sanctuaries are economic drivers...people want to fish in sanctuaries where there are no-take zones and people want to snorkel in sanctuaries where there are no take zones...People want to go to parks and sanctuaries for their tourism (Resource user)

If it is designated as a sanctuary, then there's opportunities to leverage state and federal dollars to do more research around that area (NGO employee who collaborated with the NCTC)

Interestingly, those in support highlighted local economic benefits, while simultaneously recognizing that the sanctuary would reduce corporate, economic power in the region. For example, many people in this group mentioned how this sanctuary will stop offshore oil drilling and emphasized that the sanctuary will prevent energy empires from capitalizing on their local marine environment. Additionally, some people mobilized claims about the potential positive impacts of the WEA for the local economy. The advancement towards a green economy, focused on renewable energy instead of oil, was conflated with their support of the sanctuary. One interviewee made an interesting comment on his support for the WEA and sanctuary, describing that his support of the sanctuary rests on the approval of the WEA. The following quote reflects the complexity of pursuing a green economy while at the same time, promoting ocean conservation:

If this did lead to blocking of wind farms, I would be opposed to [the sanctuary]. I think that I need to see the language [in the management plan] and I think they are trying to accommodate it, but we have got to get out of the global climate crisis and that should take precedence over protection . . . I will be oppositional to this sanctuary if they blow wind farms or alternative energy. I don't want them to do oil leases, that's for sure. You know that's where I stand. No more oil leases. But wind farms should be allowed
(Resource user interviewee)

People in support often mobilized claims around the benefits the sanctuary would bring to the economy, while also fusing their support for the sanctuary around their support for renewable energy through the WEA.

Opposition

Both respondents and interviewees in opposition to the sanctuary were skeptical about the economic benefits of sanctuary designation. This was especially true among those whose livelihoods might be directly impacted by regulations that come with a sanctuary designation, such as fishers and farmers. One interviewee who works in agriculture described the fear farmers have of NOAA increasing water quality regulations from river runoff into the sanctuary. So while these farmers may not even live on the coast, the sanctuary designation may impact them. This interviewee elaborated on the overbearing weight of regulations that farmers in central California already have and how this sanctuary could be detrimental to farmer livelihoods who

are unable to meet the standards of new regulations. The following quote by a public commenter effectively describes commonly-held fears about livelihood impacts:

Farming, fishing, and ranching are a cornerstone of our community providing jobs for a large portion of our neighbors. This sanctuary puts those jobs in peril and further strains our food supply which will raise the cost of living in our communities, both locally, statewide and nationally. The broad take of the proposed 156 miles of coastline will affect many more in our communities whose livelihoods depend on our beaches, waters and coastline and will ultimately put tremendous strain on our local economy. (public comment)

While opponents did make claims regarding the WEA, it was not as frequent as those in support or necessarily as tied to their opposition to the sanctuary as it was for those in support. Negative impacts to livelihood seemed to be a larger concern for opponents and as such, they mobilized their claims to support their opposition.

Key claims mobilized around economic impacts

While those in support circulated knowledge about how the sanctuary could increase green economic development and research funding while reducing the power of corporate actors, those in opposition circulated claims that the sanctuary would make local resource-based livelihoods like farming and fishing more difficult and costly. There seems to be a lack of agreed upon understanding and knowledge as to the economic impacts of the sanctuary on multiple groups and at multiple scales.

Conservation efforts

Support

The need for conservation was the second most frequently circulated knowledge claim by public commenters and interviewees in support of the sanctuary after claims about Indigenous recognition. People expressed a sense of responsibility to protect the environment, highlighting environmental stewardship values some people had. The following quote highlights this narrative:

As a young person growing up in a turbulent climate crisis, I feel an immense responsibility to speak up for environmental protections I believe in and this case is a strong example of stellar environmental legislation. Now is the time to take precautions to protect our environment. The Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary will

promote clean beaches, a proposal nearly every American will gladly support. (public comment)

While the public comments broadly centered on the necessity of climate centered policy, the interviews highlighted a more local concern about offshore industrial impacts, particularly from offshore oil development. The California coast is a hotspot for offshore oil development, which has resulted in many oil spills over the years that have negatively impacted a significant amount of marine life. Interviewees emphasized this impact to local residents and signaled that one of the primary drivers of this designation is to protect against further oil development. The following quote highlights the local resentment towards offshore oil development, integrating feelings of frustration towards the political body that is allowing development to continue to occur:

*We're on the Monterey Shale formation. There's a lot of oil there. The way you get to that kind of oil is you frack it. And what that would do to the biodiversity... It would be a tragedy. And right now, global climate change is the **single largest issue** facing our existence on this planet. And politically it's, it's being stalled out.* (Board member on the NCTC, emphasis expressed by interviewee)

Many respondents and interviews mobilized claims around the need for or importance of conservation to advocate for their strong support of the sanctuary.

Opposition

Opponents to the sanctuary almost never made claims about conservation. Only three out of 339 public comments in opposition were coded into the conservation theme, and they mainly described how they believed this area does not need protecting, particularly because they did not believe the research showed there was necessity to protect this place. They also felt there are enough environmental regulations, thus conflating their opposition to the sanctuary with claims around conservation and regulatory oversight. Similarly, in the interviews, only one person in opposition put forth a knowledge claim about conservation and that was to highlight that farmers also care about the environment, they just don't see the sanctuary as the best way to achieve environmental protection.

Key claims mobilized around conservation efforts

Both supporters and opponents mobilized claims relating to the needs for conservation, but it was mostly supporters who did so. Their knowledge claims highlighted a strong desire to restrict the offshore oil industry, which has a large political and economic interest in this region. They also infused their pro-environmental values to support their position, which was similar to the one interviewee in opposition who denoted that he also views himself as an environmentalist. Interestingly, both utilized their environmental values and perceptions of conservation needs in different ways to support their stance.

Recreational access

Support

Those who supported the sanctuary designation did not often use claims about recreational access to support their stance on the sanctuary. For those who did, they mainly discussed how it will improve recreational access to the coasts. An example of this narrative is shown in the following quote:

These are parks in the ocean, so, you know, if the coastline is protected and we make sure that there's access to it and people can go to the ocean and enjoy and recreate it and everyone can share in those benefits, that's good for, that's good for everyone (NGO employee who collaborated with the NCTC)

National marine sanctuaries were perceived by those in support to be areas that would increase recreational accessibility.

Opposition

Recreational access was predominantly a theme throughout the public comments in regards to those in opposition, with less interviewees discussing impacts to recreational access. Many respondents expressed concern that the designation could impact their ability to recreate on the beach, particularly for off-road vehicle enthusiasts that frequent beaches such as Oceano Dunes. The following quotes reflect opposition to the sanctuary on the basis that it will impact their ability to access the coast:

Management policies focused on "minimizing" the environmental impacts of motorized recreation have resulted in a dramatic decrease in motorized recreation opportunities on public lands and waters over the last 20 years which has disproportionately impacted people with disabilities. Wilderness focused environmental groups with extreme ableist

biases have pushed for more and more areas to be closed to motorized recreation and reserved exclusively for hikers, mountain bikers, and other “human powered” and “quiet use” forms of recreation in which many people with disabilities are unable to participate.
(public comment)

I believe that the sanctuary is being proposed as part of a broader agenda to limit access and use by the public to our public lands and waters (Resource user interviewee)

Opponents feared that this sanctuary would impact their ability to physically access the coast and mobilized this fear to oppose the sanctuary while also shedding light on equity issues for people with disabilities and their ability to recreate in protected spaces.

Key claims mobilized around recreational access

Both supporters and opponents mobilized claims around recreational access, however where the supporters believed it would open up access to the coast, the opponents believed it would restrict access. This brings up an interesting point about how the creation of protected areas provides access for many able-bodied people in the form of hiking and mountain biking trails, but restricts access for motorized forms of recreation which many people with disabilities are no longer able to participate in. It is necessary to ask questions regarding whose ideas of accessibility to coastal and ocean space are used to inform policy and how conceptions of ‘quiet-use’ and ‘non-motorized use’ limit and restrict some users rather than creating open and accessible environments.

Sense of place

Support

Those who supported the sanctuary often described their intimate relationships with the land and waters, highlighting how their sense of place is a driving force behind their stance. Oftentimes people reflected on the connections to community that the ocean inspires and how ties to this place are embedded within their identities:

I grew up along the coast of the Monterey Bay and the Marine Sanctuary there was a source of local pride. It helped foster a connection to the ocean and helped preserve habitat for whales, sea otters, and many other marine animals that I was able to witness.
(public comment)

My connection with the water has been integral. My connection with the water is deeper than a surface level experience. It's a soul washing, a bathing in sacred waters, the clearing & cleansing of days walked on land. The water connects us all. Connects the community. (public comment)

Within this theme were reflections of the sense of place for marginalized communities, such as the Latinx community in central California. Respondents described how important the coast is for Latinx culture and livelihood emphasizing their support for the sanctuary based on their connection to this place:

The ocean is a part of Latino lives. It is a source of food, jobs, medicine, spirituality, family memories, and the very air we breathe. Its coral reefs protect us from storms, as do the adjacent wetlands that filter our waters. There isn't a facet of our lives that isn't touched by the ocean. Latinos and other underserved communities should have equitable access to a clean and safe ocean and coast for recreation, livelihoods, and culture. Yet our communities are also among the most vulnerable to an over-polluted ocean with dwindling natural resources. (public comment)

Many supporters described their relationships with this place as a means to denote their supportive stance on the sanctuary.

Opposition

People who opposed the sanctuary also used their connection to this place as a means to support their stance. Typically people described how long their family has been living, working, or recreating along the central California coast, but their claims were also connected to fear that the sanctuary would prohibit them from recreating or visiting a coast that is important to them. Some also compared their connection to this place to that of Indigenous peoples, and these claims were often conflated with their arguments against the legitimacy of the tribe as reasons why they don't support the sanctuary:

My family has been harvesting nutritious food for 200 years for all fellow Americans and utilizing these waters for everyone's benefit, not any one specific group. Taking away our fishing grounds does the same exact injustice Native Americans Indians experienced on land. You are taking something that is public (everyone has rights to) and designating its use to a special interest group. All this does is create more present-day Indians (i.e. me). (public comment)

The following quote by an interviewee describes their appreciation of Indigenous relationships to land in comparing her own relationship to this place:

I'm a native Californian so I can appreciate the depth of value that a Native American and all those generational ties would have to our lands and waters. Because, you know, being here for just three generations myself, I know our family history is deeply rooted and there are cultural elements to our relationship with the land and the water that are part of who we are, it's our identity (Resource user interviewee)

However, this specific interviewee went on to delegitimize the Chumash's role in this process claiming that they are not of Indigenous ancestry, and they don't have a federal recognized status. So, while she could empathize with the connections Native Americans have to this place, she did not recognize the Chumash as one of them.

Those in opposition also have deep connections to this place and mobilize claims around that to support their oppositional stance. For some, comparing their relationship to this area to that of the NCTC was a method to undermine the tribe's involvement in this process.

Key claims mobilized around sense of place

Sense of place was mobilized similarly by both those in support and opposition, often as a means to elevate one's own right to have influence in this process when compared to others' rights. Interestingly, narratives about one's sense of place were also used to elevate the rights and perspectives of others. However, it also brings up an interesting question relating to which tribes' relationships with the land is valued and whose perceptions dictate that non-federally recognized tribes don't have the same relationship to land as federally recognized tribes. It seems that some of those in opposition respect and value Indigenous rights only when they come with a federally recognized status. This points to larger issues relating to whose voices are legitimate in this process and how the US government has shaped how the public views whose voices are legitimate.

Key Findings from RQ1

When comparing and contrasting all the claims made by various groups across different knowledge themes to answer RQ1, I found that similar broad knowledge themes emerged across all groups, namely claims about Indigenous rights, federal governance, economic impacts,

conservation, recreational access, and sense of place. However, the ways these knowledge themes were mobilized by different groups varied considerably. The different mobilizations of these knowledges is important, as these narratives are used to vie for influence and power in the process, by establishing who and what should be valued and prioritized in MPA designations.

For example, while both those in support and those in opposition frequently referenced the rights of the Chumash people, those in support usually championed their rights to power in the process and governance of the sanctuary by telling the histories that have resulted in their exclusion from the sanctuary area today whereas those in opposition questioned their rights to participation in the process by questioning their legitimacy as a tribe. Further, a nuanced analysis of the NCTC proposal contrasted with the NOAA website shows that the NOAA website mentions the Chumash relationship to the sanctuary only very briefly as the need to “recognize Chumash tribal history,” compared to the NCTC’s detailed description of all the ways that Chumash history, rights, knowledge, and access are connected to the proposed sanctuary. While the two did not overtly disagree, the amount of information provided on each presents a different story about how central the Chumash people are to this sanctuary and its designation.

By comparing the ways that those in support and those in opposition mobilized knowledge claims within these six broad knowledge themes, a number of other important findings emerged. For federal governance, the significance of whether one understood the federal government to be working for or against you was critical to one’s understanding of the possibilities of the sanctuary. Relatedly, the findings also shed light on the power and prioritization given to tribes who hold a federally recognized status, limiting whose voices are legitimized and circulated in this process. For economic impacts, narratives circulated about economic impacts at multiple scales. Those in opposition feared the impact on local resource-based livelihoods, while those in support emphasized the potential for positive impacts through increasing tourism and research and reducing the control of global and regional scale corporate interests in the area. Interestingly, conservation was a knowledge theme frequently mobilized by those in support, but only occasionally by those in opposition. Recreational access was a knowledge theme mobilized by both those in support and opposition, but more often by those in opposition, who brought up key concerns about the equitability of access to coastal spaces, for

example those with disabilities. A strong sense of place and connection to the proposed CHNMS area was mobilized both by those in support and opposition, most often to elevate one's own rights and power within the decision making process, and shedding light on how tribe's relationship to place is valued is valued only if they are seen as federally recognized sovereign nations.

Together, those in opposition raised important concerns about the impacts on local livelihoods and equitable recreational access that should be addressed during the designation process if we are going to achieve equitable MPA practices. Critically, these respondents were also ones who frequently expressed discomfort with a lack of transparency from NOAA and a lack of trust that NOAA, and other federal organizations involved in establishing the CHNHS, would actually take their concerns into consideration. These considerations lead to my next RQ, which evaluates equitable participation in the process.

RQ2. Whose voices are incorporated into the planning for the CHNMS and in what ways?

To answer RQ2, I draw on qualitative data from the 20 semi-structured interviews.

2a. How do people perceive their ability to have influence in this process?

When asked if interviewees felt they had influence in the process, those who felt they did usually connected their influence to the social or organizational networks they belonged to that facilitated their influence (See Table 2.3). For example, several interviewees referenced their positions in government or their collaborations as facilitating their influence. Overall, 13 of the 20 interviewees said that they did feel heard by NOAA in the process.

Table 2.3 Frequency of interviewees perceptions related to their ability to have influence in the designation process.

Theme	Interviewee frequency (out of 20)
Personally able to influence	
Position in government	3
Experience/knowledge with previous process	2
Collaborations	5
Writing a public comment	2
Working to make others aware	6
Others who have influence	
Federal Government	9
NGOs	11
SACs	4
Feeling heard by NOAA	13 (yes), 5(no)
Public process is important to them	17

Interviewees generally felt that they were able to influence the process in some way, or they identified people who could. Those who perceived themselves to have influence said they were able to do it through their role working in the government, through their collaborations with NGOs or other Indigenous organizations, from experience or knowledge on previous similar processes, through writing public comments, or making others aware. The following quote by an interviewee highlights how some perceived collective power to influence the process:

I do believe that the people have the power and when people get together and they band together and they unite in this cause, the Chumash National Marine Sanctuary, we can make a difference and a huge change. (NGO who collaborated with the nominators)

However, both those who perceived themselves to have influence and those who didn't frequently noted that the federal government has the ultimate say, thus limiting their actual capabilities. Many interviewees also remarked on the power of coalitions, even if they were not a part of the group. Because the NCTC collaborated with many NGOs and community organizations to advance their proposal, these organizations were seen as having influence in the process. Those who were part of the organizations found their voices elevated by their participation; however, those who were not part of the organizations found their voices overpowered by the voices of these large organizations. In particular, one interviewee described the political power he perceived environmental justice-focused organizations have:

Nobody is gonna make the effort to say, well, there's a couple of farmers and fishermen that really think this thing is bad and they won't make the news. . . And I think the environmental justice communities have a huge amount of influence and had they said this was bad, which I don't know why they would, but let's say there was some provision that they didn't like - I think they could have more pull than agriculture or fisheries or tourism. (Resource user interviewee)

Sentiments like those expressed in the above quote were common among interviewees working in agriculture, fisheries, and recreation who expressed feelings that environmental justice-oriented groups had more political and collective leverage in these decisions than they did. These interviewees attributed this perceived imbalance in power to both the groups' significant collective ability and to a perception that social justice-minded organizations were more socially and politically popular; thus, they would receive greater attention and support.

Relatedly, that same interviewee continued discussing his frustrations about the volume and power he perceived conservation and environmental justice-oriented groups to have compared to local farmers or fishers. The following quotes demonstrates his concern that local voices may not be heard compared to that of conservation organizations:

I think people that work in fisheries, they're so small, farmers are small in number...they're not as prone to write comment letters as the average person and the average person that does not have a livelihood there. There's a lot more of them [conservation organizations]. . . But they're not having to deal with it. . .if you've got a boat and you're not able to bring in livelihood to feed your family and pay your mortgage anymore, that voice needs to be heard (Resource user interviewee)

This was a sentiment reflected by all interviewees who were opposed to the sanctuary. Many felt that the local people's concerns, particularly those whose livelihood were related to the sanctuary in some capacity, were ignored compared to conservation or justice-focused groups. Again, it is important to keep in mind that only half of the local resource users I interviewed were opposed to the sanctuary, so this mindset is not reflective of all local resource users, but it is reflective of many.

Members of NGO and advocacy groups also recognized the power of collectivity, describing that the formation of collective groups is the only way to exert influence within the federal

government's decision-making structure:

We can influence the process by supporting others but because this happens at a federal level, we don't think we have a lot of influence. Mainly just through support. (NGO employee)

Similarly, there were two interviewees describing how they were motivated to get involved because of their distrust of the government. While they do not perceive themselves to have a lot of influence, particularly compared to the government, they felt that by getting involved in the public process they could try to limit the government's control:

The community has to lead or the government will become the sovereign. It's our duty to be part of the government. You know, we have to or they will just control. They will take all things away. You know? They will regulate you to death or waste your time and money (Resource user interviewee)

Interestingly, however, while most NGOs members acknowledged their limited power compared to the federal government, an interviewee who sits on the board for the NCTC described the power of Indigenous leadership at the federal level. The NCTC influence in this process was related to having Deb Haaland in power:

We've met with Deb Haaland and she said, "I'm going to help you get your land back. I'm going to help you get, you know, this sanctuary designated. "And having a person who is Indigenous at that level of government is amazing. (Board member on the NCTC)

Sanctuary advisory councils (SACs) were also identified as sources of influence. There were multiple interviewees who had previously sat on a SAC, were currently on one or were hoping to sit on the future CHNMS SAC. One interviewee expressed that their position on an SAC allowed them to learn the in's and out's of NOAA and NOAA's language. Another participant expanded on this similar notion, mentioning that those on SACs get to hear first-hand issues and actually participate in fixing problems, furthering their influence:

You hear first hand what are the issues that they have and the problem they're trying to solve. And then it is up to me to figure out, you know, how I gather the resources needed

to be able to fill in that need . . . provide information to cover the gap that needs and help them do a better job (NGO employee for a conservation organization)

However, two other interviewees who have also sat on SACs mentioned that, while SACs may appear to a method of including key informants in decisions, members are chosen by the NOAA sanctuary managers and thus NOAA controls whose voices make it onto the SAC:

All of a sudden all of the authority and power and what have you is in the hands of sanctuary management. The sanctuary management has the ability to select who they want for all the stakeholders' seats and can also select what kinds of agencies go into the agency seats; they select representatives at the select kinds of agencies. So yeah. So they have substantial control of SAC membership, control of the agenda. The sanctuary manager has to concur with agendas and can and cannot allow items on the agenda if he or she doesn't want them to be on the agenda and then, importantly, they also control correspondence, communication, so that SAC can't just, on their own write their member of Congress or have a press release or do anything like that. All those things have to be approved, approved by the sanctuary superintendent. (Resource user interview)

When asked whether interviewees thought the process effectively included community voices, most interviewees believed it did. However, they could still identify stakeholders they believed to have over amplified voices in the process as well as those believed to be missing.

Interestingly, depending on who the interviewee was, they held different views on whether someone's voice was over amplified or excluded, so that many of the same groups were seen to be either overamplified or missing depending on the interviewee's perspective. Those identified as over amplified consisted of stakeholders from offshore wind energy, conservation organizations, fishers, and tribes. Those identified as missing voices consisted of fishermen and farmers, service workers, tribes, the Hispanic community, and oil companies. An important finding here is that some of the same stakeholder groups, such as fishers and farmers, were identified by some interviewees as overamplified and by other interviewees as missing. One possible reason for why interviewees identified different voices as missing or over amplified could be because of the social circles each interviewee belonged to and who they interacted with. Those in opposition tended to identify people who belonged to similar groups like theirs as being left out of the conversations and identified people who held different views as dominating the process. Those in support of the sanctuary tended to do the same thing. So while participants

highlighted the important role of community voices in the nomination process and sanctuary designation process, they also expressed that the process does not currently include everybody.

For the interviewees who were in opposition to the sanctuary, some expressed sentiments that suggest they feel deprioritized by NOAA's focus on tribal rights and cultural heritage in relation to the sanctuary. For example, one interviewee felt NOAA prioritizes sanctuary supporters and tribal voices over anyone else who may have a different opinion:

I've seen a lot of people really trying to give voice and speak into this and I repeatedly see that they're minimized, if not eliminated, from the conversation. While the voices that support the proposal and have some kind of you know, stated or real tie to a tribal entity are given the huge priority. (Resource user interviewee)

In contrast to that perspective, other interviewees felt that the tribes are not being meaningfully included but only tokenized in the process:

I believe tribes need to be listened to. I do believe that they're not always at the table and they just . . . It's almost like tokenized. Like a lot of them are tokenized where it's like, "we did have that conversation with them." Or "that doesn't impede tribal land." Remember, this was all tribal land. So I believe having our natives, our tribal leaders at those tables making those decisions [is important] (NGO employee who collaborated with NCTC)

These two contrasting quotes highlight that stakeholders still feel uncertain about whose, how, and in what way stakeholders' and rightsholders' voices are incorporated into decision making about the sanctuary, and that there are still significant concerns about equitable participation in the process. Even though a majority of interviewees expressed agreement that NOAA will incorporate their concerns into management decisions, there were still interviewees who expressed concern that their voices will not be properly included. One interviewee noted that although NOAA employees meet with them to discuss the sanctuary, they still don't trust that they listen:

[NOAA employee] always, you know, acts like he cares, wants to know our concerns and all that, but when that's all said and done, he's [NOAA employee], he works for the sanctuary program. (Resource user)

Although interviewees had mixed levels of trust in NOAA, most interviewees felt that the public process does allow communities to have a voice in the process, which is important to them.

While participants perceived some level of influence in the process, they recognized that this is a federal process and may be influenced by those who have more political sway. However, the findings also point to the importance of Indigenous leadership at the federal level and Deb Haaland's influential role in this process. SACs were identified as areas to exert influence with interviewees describing how their roles on the SAC directly influenced other sanctuary management decisions. Most people who believed they were able to influence the process mainly described their influence in relation to the networks they have, rather than their individual ability to influence. Being a part of a coalition was perceived to be an area in which you could influence the process. Lastly, many interviewees, although not all, believed that their concerns will be incorporated into the management plan for the sanctuary. While some interviewees did not think their concerns will be heard by NOAA, most interviewees at least acknowledged that they have the opportunity to voice their concerns through the public process and that is important to them.

2b. What are the barriers to inclusion in the process?

Interviewees were able to identify barriers that limited or hindered people's abilities to be involved in the designation process or in their ability to nominate a sanctuary site (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Frequency of barriers identified by interviewees for participation or inclusion in the designation and nomination processes.

Theme	Interviewee frequency (out of 20)
Barriers to inclusion in designation process	
Pace of process	11
Communication with the public	2
Barriers to inclusion in the nomination process	
Funds and Resources	9
Legal and Policy	2
Communication with the public	1

Some interviewees identified the pace of the designation process as a barrier. With the presidential elections coming in the fall of 2024, many felt that it was a race against time and politics. Because national marine sanctuaries are governed by federal agencies, they are vulnerable to changes in the federal government. Others reflected that this fast pace does not

allow for proper outreach by NOAA and feared that their concerns will not be reflected due to the pace.

Interviewees identified limitations to how NOAA communicates the designation process to the public, pointing out that the general public may not be able to understand it, nor understand that they can submit a comment in other languages:

I am thinking more from the perspective of if a community member sees this process, will they actually be able to understand it? (NGO employee who collaborated with NCTC)

I want to say they do a good job of saying. . .you can submit comments in any language, but sometimes I think people are still dissuaded from doing so because they're not sure. You know, maybe if it is in a different language, they're not gonna read it. (NGO employee working in ocean conservation)

While some interviews reflected on the barriers to participating in the designation process, many interviewees also reflected on the barriers to being able to nominate a site for sanctuary designation. The barriers to the nomination process is of equal importance because it ultimately will affect whose voices influence the creation of marine protected areas. As mentioned in the background, NOAA is specifically seeking grassroots organizations or communities to nominate a site. Many interviews noted barriers for grassroots organizations such as funding and resources. One interviewee who was involved in the nomination for this sanctuary described the frustration about the lack of federal support given to underrepresented communities:

They want grassroots community designations going forward, but grassroots community people from under resourced populations have no money. We had no staff. (Board member on the NCTC)

Another interviewee felt that the process was not clear, with legal, language, and resource barriers that can limit communities from pursuing this process or hinder their ability to achieve broad community support:

Those requirements are of course communicated on the website but that doesn't mean it's always easy to find it, you know? We all know just because something exists in the world doesn't mean it's accessible to you. (NGO employee who collaborated with NCTC)

This same interviewee continued to express their concern that NOAA wants people of color and Indigenous peoples as the leaders for sanctuary nominations, but that they provided no support to guide them through the complex process, thus furthering systemic issues and placing the burden onto marginalized groups. The interviewee identified areas in which NOAA could improve:

Reach out to more people of color and get more Indigenous tribes involved and like really look at disadvantaged communities, it can't just be lip service. . . the job of the government can't be done by a nonprofit. We can advocate and we can push, but at the end, they're the ones with the power and they're the ones with the authority (NGO employee who collaborated with NCTC)

The nomination process requires the nominators to specifically address logistics relating to other ocean policy or legal concerns in the area that would impact a sanctuary designation. Therefore, it is necessary for the nominators to have someone who has a policy background and can understand the legal language. One interviewee on the board for the NCTC described how their background as an attorney and experience working on other SACs helped them understand the legal and policy language NOAA requires for their nominations:

I speak NOAA, because I've been on the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary Advisory Council for 17 gajillion years. I understand, and I'm an attorney which is fortunate, it helps me parse through the jargon (Board member on the NCTC)

Barriers in both the nomination and designation process identified limitations to including people's participation in the processes. The findings highlighted barriers such as the usability of NOAA's website, communication about the sanctuary process, and multilingual outreach efforts that impact people's ability to participate. Broadly these findings shed light on systemic issues that continue to prevent underrepresented communities from being involved in ocean governance processes. For example, historically disenfranchised communities may not have a background in policy or have the capacity (financial or staff) to create a successful nomination which not only limits their participation in these processes but contributes to systemic and structural injustices. It is necessary for NOAA to address these barriers to allow for more inclusive and equitable processes.

RQ3: What role do community organizations play in circulating knowledge of the sanctuary or process?

According to interviewees, community organizations are key to circulating knowledge about the sanctuary and influencing the process through forming coalitions (See Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 Frequency of themes related to community coalitions' role in circulating knowledge.

Theme	Interviewee frequency (out of 20)
Partnerships advance common goals	11
Importance of sharing resources (monetary, skills, outreach, staff)	11
Coalitions increase knowledge-sharing	12

The formation of grassroots coalitions both during the nomination process and currently in the designation process have helped advance knowledge about the sanctuary and designation process. Interviews highlighted the important role of partnerships and how they worked to advance common goals. One interviewee who helped to provide resources for the nominators described the partnership as a giant group project:

It's like the biggest group project ever and we all play a role and we all try to contribute in good ways. We almost like never know which, you know which of our little contributions goes which way, and sometimes you're just like working and working and putting your energies into this thing, hoping it succeeds, and I mean, it does. We've seen like wins happen because of advocacy, but that's kind of like the piece of advocacy is it's teamwork (NGO employee who helped fund the nominators)

Participants acknowledged that these coalitions helped to provide resources through money, staff, outreach, or other skills that supported the Chumash's work in this process. Coalitions also allowed for materials to be developed in multiple languages and distributed within collaborator's own communities. One interviewee who is a part of the nominator's team described how critical this collaborative support is for outreach:

The reason the resources are [more important] than the money... Some of these NGOs have given us their staff members time to do things like keeping a media tracker so that... we can use that for grants. We know the numbers of our outreach... And that's almost worth more than the money, although the money helps. (Board member on the NCTC)

This same interviewee continued to describe their inter-Indigenous networks with the Marianas Trench NMS efforts and the Alaġum Kanuuġ NMS (otherwise known as Aleutian Islands) efforts in Alaska. These networks allowed them to share knowledge of what is working in their independent processes with the hopes that this knowledge can help one another advance their goals:

We have taken it upon ourselves to help found a disorganization-organization. We are reaching out with the other Indigenous-LED ocean conservation efforts...And we share information and documents to try and help, you know what works for us might not work for them...The process is grueling, it's hard, it takes so much time and none of us have a lot of money. None of us have. I mean, I worked on this for no money for over a decade, you know. I'm encouraging NOAA to provide grants or some sort of financial and guidance from them for these national marine sanctuary designations because uhm, if you weren't like a little bit obsessed or something, you know it wouldn't happen. (Board member on the NCTC)

Grassroots coalitions increased knowledge-sharing between collaborators and within the collaborators' communities, allowing for broader audiences to become informed. By collaborating with large environmental organizations like the Sierra Club or Surfrider Foundation, they were able to reach broader audiences which allowed them to spread the nominator's messages about this sanctuary. However, some interviewees remarked that the sheer number of environmental organizations simply outnumbered locals who have concerns about the sanctuary and its effects on their livelihoods:

There's a lot more of them. They hear this on the news, they get an email about a thing. They're on Facebook with a club and they send in a comment. But they're not having to deal with [the impact of the sanctuary] (Resource user interviewee)

Interestingly, not only did those in support of the sanctuary form coalitions to advance their goals, but those in opposition did as well. Coalitions were formed between interviewees who belonged to the fishing, recreational, and agricultural sectors to share knowledge about the proposed sanctuary, as demonstrated in this quote:

When this thing came up, we immediately had feedback from the fisherman industry like trying to build a bigger coalition than just the fishermen. They wanted other people to be voicing opposition or concern, at least to know [what's going on] in this process
(Resource user interviewee)

Coalitions are ways in which opponents were able to share their concerns about the sanctuary, such as fears of increased regulations, and seek support from like-minded individuals who share similar outlooks or livelihoods. Collaborations were also discussed by interviewees who worked for the government. One interviewee in particular noted that his federal agency, and others, will be collaborating with NOAA throughout this process to work through jurisdictional issues.

While coalitions were helpful spaces to share knowledge, build community, and share resources, there were also limitations to the actual power coalitions have. One interviewee reported that while their organization is able to leverage relationships with funders to help provide financial support to the NCTC, their power is still limited compared to that of the federal government. Coalitions might be limited in decision-making power, but interviewees acknowledged the significance of this specific sanctuary process because it is uniting people, uniting cultures, and providing space for cross-cultural interactions:

We're all intertwined. This is why I really believe that racism sucks, because we're all human. And ultimately, when we get together, local grassroots, when we get together for a certain cause . . . we say, hey, this is what we're about, let's walk for what we're for and not for what we're against. We start seeing Verdadero Cambio, which is true change
(NGO employee who collaborated with NCTC)

It has brought the bands of Chumash together. It's amazing. It's created a magic circle. So those resources are important, they're not coming from the federal government. But to be able to create that community and it's revitalizing the Chumash connection with the ocean, big time. (Board member on the NCTC)

The way that we can come together as a community, I think is really important in these polarizing times that we come together over something that we, you know, we live here. Mostly because we love the ocean and so it's something we can agree on, and I think it builds community through the generations and through this political spectrum.
(Resource user interviewee)

Grassroots coalitions provided resources and support, allowing each group to disseminate knowledge to their own communities. Inter-Indigenous networks were also important for this sanctuary development as well as for advancing other Indigenous conservation efforts. Coalitions were important not only for the nominators, but for opponents to share knowledge and form a united front based on their shared goals or shared livelihoods. The findings also bring to light the significance of the resources provided by coalitions that are helping to repair the Chumash relationship with their culture after years of colonization and attempts at removing them from this area. It is especially important to note that this reconnection with their culture was not supported through funding by the federal government but by building community and sharing resources on the ground level.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of community voices in the process of designating a national marine sanctuary. The findings reveal that the broader social, economic, and political climates are strong influencers in who is included in the process, why decisions are made, and for whom sanctuaries are designated.

Conflicting knowledge claims

Claims about this sanctuary revealed larger political, economic and social structures that influenced the ways in which public respondents and interview participants understood and interacted within this process. In comparing the claims about the sanctuary from the nominating tribe and NOAA, there were clear differences in the ways that they recognized the history of the region as it pertains to colonization and genocide of Indigenous people. NOAA's website briefly communicates that this area is being designated to "recognize Chumash tribal history;" whereas, the NCTC nomination packet was far more detailed on why the Chumash people should be involved in designating and co-managing the sanctuary, including specifically referencing their people's culture, history, philosophy, and management as central components that are foundational to the sanctuary. It is notable that, in contrast to NCTC's in-depth explanation of why the sanctuary is important for Indigenous rights, well-being, and reparations, NOAA has chosen to present these same concerns in one short statement that the sanctuary is important for

“Chumash tribal history.” By choosing to give it such little attention, NOAA has perhaps unintentionally signaled that tribal rights and reparations are not a major priority in the establishment of the sanctuary, certainly not above, if even on par with, economic development or political conservation goals. Additionally, the limited detail on NOAA’s website may contribute to issues around transparency and contribute to people’s distrust of the agency. Being more transparent about motivations and goals of the sanctuary designation would increase trust among public members who have previously voiced their fear and distrust of the system (Christie et al. 2017). Rebuilding those relationships through a transparent process would contribute towards a more inclusive process.

The significance of Indigenous recognition and representation was a knowledge claim mobilized across both those in support and opposition. Those in opposition to the sanctuary often used claims of tribal illegitimacy to denote their stance, contesting tribal perceptions of California’s history and challenging the legal rights the Chumash have in leading this nomination. A few things are important about this. First, it is interesting that because the sanctuary was proposed by the NCTC, opponents to the sanctuary often conflated the two, arguing against the validity of the NCTC as a way of undermining the validity of the sanctuary. Second, their claims of illegitimacy can be positioned within the larger settler colonial structure of the United States and Indigenous struggles within it. As Kyle Powys Whyte (2017) has described, the settler colonial structure of the U.S. is an ongoing act of removal that continually erases Indigenous history and presence in order to facilitate the continual privatization and accumulation of land and capital for settler economies (see also Wolfe 2006; Gilio-Whitaker 2019). Claims of illegitimacy may be understood as a means of protecting settler economies and political structures in the U.S., which many people benefit from.

Narratives of illegitimacy often reflected underlying racist ideologies, but they also point to a broader issue around lack of acknowledgement and education on settler violence and genocide towards Indigenous people in the US. The contestation of history exemplified by the conflicting narratives put forward by interviewees and respondents about the Chumash people’s history is not solely about tribal legitimacy, but also about maintaining or contesting the power and privilege associated with the status quo (Tuttle 2022; Smith 2021; Bonilla-Silva 1997). Relatedly, because claims were made to delegitimize tribes without a federally-recognized status,

it is important to address that the tribal recognition system is built on white supremacy and colonization. The tribal recognition system is embedded in a larger system that works to eliminate Native people by not granting Indigenous people sovereignty and self-determination (Tuttle 2022; Krakoff 2016). Additionally, the Chumash' status as a state recognized tribe and not a federally recognized tribe has significant implications on the public's perception of whose heritage and relationship to the ocean is legitimate. Which tribes the government perceives as 'legitimate' has influenced who the public deems is legitimate in this process, and thus, the government has significant power to influence public perceptions and narratives about tribal sovereignty and legitimacy (McCulloch and Wilkins 1995). It is critical that the federal government uphold their advancements in recognizing tribal sovereignty by permitting co-management for state-recognized tribes and not just federally-recognized tribes. Otherwise, not only are they cutting tribes out of their resources and opportunities to take stewardship in the decisions around their homelands, but they are continuing practices of settler colonial injustice (Whyte 2017).

This study also shows that there are political economic drivers behind the emergence of marine protected areas and they shape the context and processes of sanctuary designations (Blythe et al. 2021; Bennett et al. 2015; Vaccaro et al. 2013). Firstly, the Biden-Harris administration is sympathetic towards conservation initiatives and prioritizing tribal sovereignty which influences the likelihood of this proposed sanctuary passing before the administration switches. Secondly, this sanctuary is proposed to be over 7000 sq miles, a significant amount of area that will be controlled by federal and state authorities. The designation of this site as a NMS is estimated to contribute over 23 million dollars per year to the local economy as well as create over 600 new jobs (Scorse and Kildow 2014). The official designation will increase coastal tourism, business revenue, and sanctuary-related research, however it will also increase in property values and taxes due to sanctuary proximity (Scorse and Kildow 2014). The popularity of living near a 'pristine environment' will drive property values to skyrocket and push under-resourced communities farther from the coast. This sanctuary as a destination for tourism may either advance the awareness and education of the local Indigenous populations to the public, or contribute towards perpetuating settler colonialism through profiting off the economic interests of the wealthy (Grimwood et al. 2019).

The promise of economic development, and specifically ‘sustainable development,’ is a major driver not only for this sanctuary but also for the advancement of the proposed neighboring Morro Bay 399 WEA project. Supporters and opponents to the proposed sanctuary often made claims either for or against the WEA in relation to their support of the sanctuary, bringing to life the complex tradeoffs between different possible paths for achieving sustainable development. Some respondents and interviewees sided in full support of the WEA as it would reduce reliance on offshore oil development; whereas others made statements against the WEA for its negative impacts on the local environment that the sanctuary would protect. The presence of the WEA also shows how national and global political economic drivers influence ocean governance and will certainly influence the decision about CHNMS. Offshore wind energy is the most cost-competitive technology in the global offshore wind market, so there are high economic benefits to it (deCastro et al. 2019). Biden’s tax incentives for companies to lease offshore wind areas has resulted in companies bidding billions of dollars for the chance to develop offshore wind across the US. The offshore wind sector is estimated to contribute over 109 billion dollars in revenue over the next decade (US Department of the Interior, 2022). Thus, there is large financial motivation for advancing offshore wind areas such as the Morro Bay 399. Given the overlapping geographies and similar yet distinct goals of the CHNMS and WEA, it will be interesting to see which gets prioritized by the federal government as both have significant political and economic motivations to the administration.

Additionally, many in support of the sanctuary positioned their support around conservation efforts, but both supporters and opponents described larger political motivations driving the designation. While there are studies supporting the conservation needs of the central California ecosystem (McCure et al. 2023; Gulland et al. 2022), there is also motivation by the federal government to increase control of economically viable resources and contribute to their own political progress (i.e. presidential elections) (Goncalves et al. 2022; Vaccaro et al. 2013). This will be important to consider as the designation moves into the final stages and the management plans are released to the public.

Lastly, recreational access was a key knowledge claim used by opponents to the sanctuary and their claims bring up an important issue related to which people and which forms of recreation are given the ability to recreate. Studies have shown disparities in one’s ability to

access the environment between able-bodied people and disabled people (Bell et al. 2019; Williams et al. 2004). Those who have physical disabilities and use motorized forms of recreation may be restricted by the creation of protected spaces that limit such use. Creating protected areas that improve accessibility to the coast and oceans highlights an important question regarding whose ideas of accessibility are used in these processes (Bell et al. 2019). This has important concerns for enabling power dynamics and furthering inequities related to access.

The narratives expressed through the public comments and interviews highlighted inequities that have shaped the claims made in this process. The involvement of Indigenous people in this sanctuary designation and the priorities of the current administration has largely influenced which claims are circulated. The conflicting knowledge claims circulated about the rights and roles of the Chumash people has shed light on modern day settler colonialism in the context of marine spaces. The narratives highlighted by many of those in opposition to Chumash co-management of the sanctuary reflect settlers' fears about Indigenous reparations and leadership, while the narratives of other respondents and interviewees showed that many non-native stakeholders are invested in confronting settler colonial structures and prioritizing Indigenous co-management. Political economic interests of the federal government significantly influenced claims circulating in the process which identified the limited power even collective action may have on the process because of the larger, powerful interests at play. These examples show the way that knowledge and power are intertwined, demonstrating how groups tried to mobilize different knowledges to shape who would be involved in the MPA and in what ways.

Inclusion in the process

There were 17 out of 20 interviewees who expressed how important the public comment period is because it allows them to voice their opinion; however, many also recognized that their comments would have limited power in the designation process. They attributed their powerlessness to this being a federal process, but interestingly, two interviewees mentioned that their desire to be involved stemmed from not wanting to let the government have complete control. In this way, while the final decisions are out of their hands, they perceive themselves to have some influence. On the other hand, Deb Haaland's leadership in the federal government,

particularly as an Indigenous woman, allowed a board member on the NCTC to have a more perceived degree of influence in this process. Indigenous leadership, particularly relating to Indigenous political leadership, has been discussed by Stewart and Warn (2017) as a resource through which other Indigenous movements take flight. Indigenous political leaders strengthen Indigenous cultural values, increasing their sense of collective identities and perceptions of influence as a collective (Stewart and Warn 2017). This has important implications as this sanctuary develops and as other Indigenous-led environmental efforts take off.

Interviewees' perception of influence was largely dependent on if participants were a part of a larger organization or group working towards the designation of this sanctuary. Those who were a part of NGOs found their voices elevated by their participation in the group while those with opposing views felt overpowered by the NGOs. I found that the degree of perceived influence was partially attributed to the degree of connection between interview participants and an organization. Interview participants in opposition discussed the political and social power they perceived justice-oriented NGOs have, especially as it revolved around their political sway in environmental decisions. This observation is recognized in the literature, with scholars identifying NGOs as powerful actors in environmental decisions due to their ability to challenge policy, act as a mediator between the public and the government and incur large financial revenue (Boström and Hallström 2010; Lane and Morrison 2006). NGOs are also considered one of the most trusted forms of organization, ranked above governments, which contributes to people wanting to join or support their work (Boström and Hallström 2010).

The role of SACs were identified as areas to influence sanctuary decisions by interviewees who have previously sat on the council or who currently do. Membership of SAC seats are chosen by the sanctuary superintendent to guide the sanctuary managers with issues regarding management, science, service, and stewardship (Raimondo et al. 2022). Thus, a position on the SAC largely increases the chance of your voice being heard. While SAC seats are meant to be representative of the broader stakeholder group, which stakeholders of a particular group are invited or chosen to participate on the SAC is subject to the choices of the sanctuary superintendent. Additionally, not all stakeholders who hold SAC seats have equal influence in collaborative processes. Some carry more political or social capabilities allowing them to have more influence in the outcomes (Singleton 2009). In this way, SACs may be opportunities of

gatekeeping and controlling whose voices weigh on sanctuary management plans. A study by Flannery and Cinnéide (2012) sheds light on equity issues involved in the selection for SAC members, illuminating how not only does the superintendent yield significant power over which identities occupy SAC seats, but their selection may even be a tokenization of certain identities rather than a conscious effort to include diverse voices (Flannery and Cinnéide 2012). This suggests that the voices that shape sanctuary decisions could be selective, ultimately shaping who is included and whose knowledge shapes sanctuary management.

Who is included in the process is shaped by barriers in both the nomination and designation process. Limitations to who is able to submit a nomination for a sanctuary have significant implications for whose voices, cultures, and connections are included in larger ocean governance processes. These barriers to the nomination process are systemic and structural, and they are entrenched in the practices and beliefs that produce, condone, and perpetuate inequality and oppression (Braveman et al. 2022). The legal and financial responsibilities required to submit a nomination paired with a lack of federally-funded resources, contributes to disempowering marginalized communities in participating in the governance over their resources. Of particular concern is the desire for grassroots community nominations as most grassroots communities come from the most basic levels of society and as such, do not have the financial or human capital necessary to instigate change (Chetkovich and Kunreuther 2006). Putting the burden to nominate areas for ocean protections onto marginalized groups reproduces hierarchies of power by only allowing those who have the knowledge and financial capacity to be involved in the process (Bennett et al. 2021; Saunders et al. 2020). These barriers subsequently limit participation from underrepresented communities in the designation process, effectively circulating these systems of inequality (Braveman et al. 2022). In order to achieve conservation goals and designate MPAs that achieve the desired outcomes, it is critical to address the barriers preventing people from being involved in the decisions in the first place (Grorud-Colvert et al. 2021; Saunders et al. 2020).

Role of coalitions

I found that coalitions among NGOs, advocacy groups, or public members were critical to the nomination process which allowed them to continue resource-sharing during the

designation process. Their ability to garner support was related to the networks they formed, including inter-Indigenous networks with other ocean conservation movements. Inter-indigenous collaboration and solidarity is critical to increase Indigenous influence over coastal homelands and resources (von der Porten et al. 2019). It is a form of decolonial resistance to the colonial powers that have since marginalized Indigenous voices, especially within environmental decisions. By strengthening the exchange of interests, ideas and goals between Indigenous nations, it provides an opportunity to reinforce Indigenous movements on a larger scale (von der Porten et al. 2019; Callison and Hermida 2015). Through these inter-Indigenous networks that develop, the knowledge that is circulated goes beyond this case study and influences the potential for the development of MPAs world-wide. However, it is important to note that although the US government has recently called for tribal co-management within wilderness areas, co-management has not been implemented in a meaningful way in very many places. So far, it is unclear whether co-management will happen with the CHNMS, but without it, the sanctuary extends and reinforces the control by settler governments over Indigenous homelands and Indigenous self-determination (Smith 2021; von der Porten et al. 2019; Callison and Hermida 2015).

Coalitions were found to be the central way organizations shared knowledge and resources, increasing the capacity of the individuals and organizations within them (Dalton et al. 2020). Interestingly, opponents to the sanctuary designation also identified coalitions as their primary way to exert influence in the process. For example, all interviewees in opposition to the proposed sanctuary relied on informal coalitions with others in opposition. These networks allowed them to work together to address mutual concerns and share knowledge during the process (Dalton et al. 2020). For those in support, the coalitions provided similar outlets, such as increased influence through large networks. Engaging in partnerships with large and well-known environmental NGOs, such as the Sierra Club or Surfrider, allows the elevation of certain voices that act to legitimize social values and concerns for the environment. The NCTC and supporting organizations' partnerships with these well-known NGOs, potentially increased the chance that their voice reached a larger network of people and thus, a larger chance of reaching their goals (e.g., sanctuary designation) (Boström and Hallström 2010). The sheer volume of sign on signatures for environmental NGOs is one example of this large-scale influence. One question that will be important to investigate moving forward is how NOAA accounts for sign-on

signatures when analyzing the public comments. Do comments that have sign-on signatures count for more than comments submitted by individuals in NOAA's decisions? Because this research took place early in the designation process, these questions could not be answered, but can be answered as the designation process continues. In conclusion, while coalitions increase the opportunities to elevate certain voices in the process over others, their power is still limited because they have no formal decision-making power (Allan and Hadden 2017).

Conclusion

Using the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary as a case study, I explored how people are included in the process towards designating a marine sanctuary. Through a thematic content analysis of public comments and in depth semi-structured interviews, I put forth a deeper understanding of how the political, social, and economic powers influence whose voices are considered legitimate and shape the inclusion of people throughout this process. The narratives reflected in this study are significant to the broader understanding of MPA designations. Because this study took place during the middle of the designation process and before the process was completed, I suggest that future efforts evaluate the entire sanctuary designation process from start to finish to assess how diverse perspectives and tribal management are included in the final management plans.

To have functioning ocean governance and MPAs that meet their effective goals, it is necessary for governing bodies to acknowledge that the social dimensions of marine spaces, while an important piece in meeting environmental and economic goals, are also important in their own right. If processes aren't transparent or fail to effectively gain the trust of the people whose cultures and livelihoods depend on them, it impacts communities' wellbeing and ultimately the effectiveness of the MPAs (Sanders et al. 2020). Governing agencies need to actively work to reduce the structural and systemically embedded hurdles that continue to limit people's involvement in decision making (Gissi et al. 2018). Additionally, cultural considerations should be treated more seriously by giving an equal level of concern to their values, benefits and activities that institutionalized hierarchies have historically denied them (Saunders et al. 2020). The recognition of Indigenous people as sovereign, self-determined nations would not detract from achieving sustainability goals, but rather empower groups to

work together to increase trust and compliance all while advancing environmental gains. Thus, changes in federal policy are critical to not only advance social justice, but to achieve sustainable ocean governance.

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CHAPTER 3: NAVIGATING THE TRANSITION AHEAD: TAKE-AWAYS FOR IMPROVING SOCIAL JUSTICE IN OCEAN GOVERNANCE

Preface: The need for disseminating qualitative research

Science communication has become a critical component within most scientific disciplines, but particularly within climate and earth sciences. However, fewer qualitative researchers within these fields move beyond disseminating their work in journal articles or books (Keen 2007). This is not to say that qualitative research is not as important and therefore there is no need for dissemination nor does it mean that the public cannot engage with the theoretical concepts and ideas that structure qualitative studies. The challenging part of disseminating qualitative research is making the content accessible to people who do not have an academic background or interest while at the same time, being careful to maintain the core meanings of the research (Holloway and Todres 2007). Qualitative research often tends to weave through interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary fields so that both art and science interact in the same space (Holloway and Todres 2007). In this way, qualitative researchers who choose to disseminate their research tend to do so through drama, dance, videos, animation, metaphors, poetry, websites, newsletters, audio-recordings, and more. However, not all qualitative research is suited towards dissemination in this way and researchers should take a cautious approach to the types and methods used to disseminate their work (Keen 2007).

It is critical to disseminate qualitative research that has important social justice considerations. Disseminating the results of social justice-related research provides an opportunity to communicate the need for change and bring to light systemic issues that impact communities and their well-being (Fassinger and Morrow 2013). As we shift towards actively including communities who have historically been left out of marine resource decisions, it is of critical importance that we bring to light the systems and injustices that continue to marginalize these groups (Saunders et al. 2020). It is my hope that through disseminating my research in this way, that I will contribute to breaking down the barriers for participation in ocean governance and the systems of oppression that have contributed to the lack of diverse involvement in those processes.

The following article disseminates components of my research that I believe are important to communicate to the public through an online marine conservation platform, such as the Hakai Magazine. This is relevant to this publisher because their target audience is interested in marine socio-ecological systems and may be involved in ocean governance decisions (or will now be inspired to!). Based on feedback I received from science communication specialists and through reviewing Hakai articles, I did not include citations in-text, but rather a complete reference list at the end.

“It's very important to me to tell this story”

I am sweating profusely in my third floor office cubicle in a building without A/C. It is the middle of summer, and I am conducting interviews for my master's research on the process of creating the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary along the central California coast. “It's very important to me to tell this story,” remarks the interviewee. I lean in closer to my computer screen.

The interviewee, a program manager at a local Hispanic advocacy organization, began telling me about the history of central California, a story that I had never heard before: After Mexico sold Alta California to the US in 1848, the first governor of California made a pact that the government would not harass or kick out Mexican nationals—they were instead to be considered Mexican Americans and treated as such. However, this designation did not apply to California's Native tribes, including the Chumash peoples. And with that, the governor approved horrendous acts of violence against them.

After a long pause, the interviewee remarked: “Why has no one taught me about our own California history? Where over 16,000 men, women and children of Chumash and local natives from California were murdered. They were murdered. Human genocide existed here.” Between the 1850s and the early 1960s, multiple policies worked to remove and eliminate Native people from the central California region through enslavement or murder. Some policies even allowed for public auctions of Native Americans who were deemed ‘vagrants,’ and who could not provide sufficient bond or bail. The Chumash peoples, in order to save themselves and their

children from murder or enslavement, began assimilating into Mexican communities, learning their language and professions.

With that story in hand, the interviewee carried on: “So when we were at the ‘Reunite the Rock’ event, one of the tribal elders was giving this story lesson and in front of my booth there was a Mexican that grew up in this area who always thought he was Mexican. And through the genealogy. . . he was Chumash! And his ancestors were Chumash. So what I really mean [when I say that] the Hispanic community needs to walk with the Chumash, not only do I mean it with a personal conviction, but I mean that they're actually our family, we are intertwined.”

My pink office fan buzzed in my ear, my mind awirl with a thousand thoughts and feelings of sadness, of heartbreak. Finally, the interviewee requested: “If you have the ability to highlight this story and bring awareness to how we can make this right...we cannot erase histories, but we can start by designating [the Chumash National Marine Sanctuary] as the first tribally led national marine sanctuary in honor and memory, somehow. I mean it's not enough, it never will be enough...you know, but somehow pay penance to what happened.”

Using my voice to elevate others

This story was just one of many I encountered while conducting my master's research. As each interviewee brought a piece of themselves to share with me, I was constantly left with more questions, unsure of how to make sense of it all. I was assured by my advisor that this is a common sentiment shared by qualitative researchers – the feeling that you may never be able to tell all of the stories or ask all of the questions.

The inspiration to conduct research on the social dimensions of marine protected areas was born out of an experience I had when I was a 21-year-old undergraduate biology student researching coral health in the Caribbean. It was there, on South Caicos, an island only eight square miles in size, home to less than 1,000 people, where I was cornered in a bar and blamed for the loss of locals' fishing livelihoods.

It shouldn't have been a surprise to me; the combined impacts of a no-take marine protected area and the destruction from hurricanes Irma and Maria had everyone fighting to regain their livelihood and sense of place. Reflecting, I realize how influential science, like the research I did on coral reef health inside marine protected areas, can be on marine management plans, potentially restricting local fishers' access to fishing grounds in the name of conservation. Though I did not go to South Caicos to study coastal communities, the people there forced me to realize that I couldn't think about marine health and protection without considering the people who are entangled with it. My research became a stepping stone towards understanding dimensions of power and oppression that have historically excluded disenfranchised communities in the management of MPAs.

Sensing the importance of equitable access, not only to the ocean but to its governance, I began a master's thesis exploring how to better include the voices of local communities in marine protected area planning.

Using the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary as a case study, I began to explore whether and how diverse voices are included in marine sanctuary designations, and which narratives about the sanctuary are circulated in the process. For the study, I analyzed 1,276 public comments available online and interviewed 20 people who were connected to the proposed sanctuary or the nearby coastal area.

In 2015, the Northern Chumash Tribal Council nominated a 156-mile stretch of coastline between the Monterey Bay and Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary for its own national marine sanctuary status.



Figure 3.1 The steps of a community-led sanctuary nomination process (left). Process of designating a sanctuary once a nomination has been accepted (right). Created by the author.

While its official route to designation only began in 2021, the nominators hope that it will become officially designated by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration before the 2024 presidential elections.



Figure 3.2 Map of the proposed Chumash Heritage NMS. Figure from NOAA.

This area along the central California coast is the ancestral homelands of both the Chumash and Xolon-Salinan tribes, who have safeguarded the region since time immemorial. While the

Chumash served as nominators for the proposed sanctuary, it is important to note the presence and rights of the Xolon-Salinan tribes as well.

The Northern Chumash Tribal Council is a state recognized tribe, not a federally recognized tribe. Without federal recognition, tribes are not seen as sovereign nations and may not enter into collaborative management agreements with any federal agency. This is important because it reduces the ability of the NCTC to enter into a collaborative relationship with NOAA to govern their ancestral homelands.

The significance of Indigenous involvement

The Northern Chumash Tribal Council's role as the nominators for this sanctuary became a latching point that those in support and opposition of the sanctuary designation used to defend their stance in their public comments or during our interview.

"I feel a strong need to support people who have been harmed by my dominant white culture in the past," said one community member who is in support of the sanctuary. Many other interviewees and commenters echoed this sentiment, perhaps reflecting the influence of movements such as Black Lives Matter and LandBack that have drawn increased attention to the ongoing impacts of oppression in the US.

One way that Indigenous communities have sought a stronger role in the governance of their ancestral resources is to engage in co-management of a protected area with a state or federal agency. The Biden-Harris Administration has urged federal agencies to engage in collaborative management relationships with tribes through initiatives such as America the Beautiful, a plan which aims to protect 30% of US lands and waters by 2030. Co-management has the potential to increase justice and equity by creating more opportunity for local and historically disenfranchised voices to have sway in decision-making processes. The NCTC has proposed to co-manage the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary with NOAA, but at the time of this writing, an official decision on co-management has not been announced.

Official co-management agreement or not, the challenge of obtaining co-management brings into focus the broader colonial systems of power that continue to prevent Indigenous

peoples from having an equal say over their resources. These systemic frustrations were expressed by an individual who serves as a liaison for the NCTC. She confided that while “we are negotiating on the issue of co-management, the federal government does not give up power and control and especially when it comes to Indigenous people. . .the fact that the [NCTC], who are the nominators, are state recognized and not federally recognized has been a real landmine. Like ‘don’t walk over there! don’t walk over here!’, you know? It’s been really interesting. . .the federal government has a problem with recognizing that history.”

It should not come as a surprise that the US has had ongoing conflicting relationships with tribes since colonization began. Broken treaties, or simply not acknowledging tribes, has severely influenced who is recognized and who is not. As this interviewee, an NGO employee who helps fund the campaign, put it: “The history of federally recognized or state recognized tribes is inherently kind of racist.” While those in support of establishing the sanctuary reflected on the importance of Indigenous communities’ rights to manage their homelands, some in opposition supported their stance by challenging the nominators’ Indigenous identities, and therefore their management rights. Their arguments generally centered on one of two claims: that the Chumash were not a federally recognized tribe, or that they were actually of Mexican ancestry, not Chumash.

Many Chumash families integrated into Mexican culture in order to save themselves from the violence that ensued during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Over time, official documents began to identify these families as Mexican. This history is important because among those who oppose the sanctuary, many position the legitimacy of the Chumash tribe as a key factor in whether or not the sanctuary should be designated. In one instance in particular, I interviewed a woman who worked for a Californian outdoor recreation company. She, like others I interviewed who opposed the sanctuary, challenged the NCTC’s legitimacy as a tribe, explaining that “the northern Chumash tribe . . . is actually not even a tribe. It’s a nonprofit organization, and it’s led by a white man, and it doesn’t have federal recognition. I feel like that’s one of the most obvious and blatant kinds of slap in the face to what the sanctuary is supposed to represent and the people it’s supposed to serve at its core.”

While she did not tell me exactly what she thought a sanctuary was supposed to represent, the quote serves to highlight the broader resistance to Chumash leadership, an attitude shared by many who opposed the sanctuary designation. It also points out an important question regarding the tribal recognition system: which tribes are seen as legitimate (federal vs state recognized tribes) and whose perceptions of legitimacy shape how the public views whose voices are legitimate.

There are many important things about the claims made about the nominating tribe. Interestingly, because the sanctuary was proposed by the NCTC, opponents to the sanctuary often turn to arguments against the validity of the NCTC as a way of undermining the validity of the sanctuary. These claims of tribal illegitimacy sit squarely within the larger settler colonial structure of the US and its relationship to Indigenous struggles. Kyle Powys Whyte, an Indigenous philosopher and scholar, described the settler colonial structure of the U.S. as an ongoing act of removal that continually erases Indigenous history and presence in order to facilitate the continual privatization and accumulation of land and capital for settler economies.

Such claims of illegitimacy have often been used as a means of protecting settler economies and political structures in the U.S. These narratives of illegitimacy also point to larger social justice issues related to the acknowledgement and education of settler violence and genocide towards Indigenous people in the US. Contesting history, exemplified by the study participants who put forth conflicting narratives of the Chumash people's history, is not solely about tribal legitimacy, but also about maintaining or contesting the power and privilege associated with the status quo. This sheds light on injustices in the recognition system and how the government's perception of legitimacy (i.e. a federally recognized tribe) shapes how the broader public perceives who is seen as legitimate. This has important implications for who is involved and whose concerns are heard in ocean governance processes.

Ability to be involved is a social justice issue

It is essential to recognize that people's ability to be involved, listened to, or have access to the process is inherently tied to social justice. The current attempts at creating a sanctuary that recognizes Chumash history in this place and elevates their cultural heritage marks an important

transition for marine conservation: It shifts the focus towards a conservation approach that values human connection to the ocean and actively seeks to include communities that have historically been left out of these conversations.

It is important to acknowledge that the work to include underrepresented voices in the Chumash heritage sanctuary process has not been done by the managing bodies, but rather by organizations that have been collaborating with the Chumash nominators for this sanctuary. Building coalitions allowed people and organizations to share resources, exchange knowledge, and build community around a cause that was important to them. This was true even for those who opposed the sanctuary because it provided a space for people to feel heard or share knowledge during the process, especially when they didn't feel heard by NOAA.

One inspiring advocate for the Chumash sanctuary described the importance of building this community, saying that when local grassroots unite for a common cause, “we start seeing *Verdadero Cambio*, which is ‘true change’.”

Through these coalition networks, the nominators were able to reach a broader audience and have their collaborators disseminate information about the sanctuary process in a language or format that was best suited for each organization's group members. This increases the accessibility and awareness of the process to people who have not been actively included previously.

Not only did the nominators leverage networks with NGOs, but they formed strong connections with other Indigenous-led ocean conservation movements such as the Marianas Trench NMS efforts and the Alaġum Kanuuġ NMS (otherwise known as Aleutian Islands) efforts in Alaska. This is critical not only for marine conservation efforts, but for increasing Indigenous influence over coastal homelands and resources. Scholar Suzanne von der Porten and colleagues stress that inter-Indigenous collaboration is a form of decolonial resistance to the colonial powers that have marginalized Indigenous voices, especially within environmental decisions. Inter-Indigenous coalitions strengthen the exchange of interests, ideas and goals between Indigenous nations and reinforce Indigenous movements on a larger scale. This is important as these networks go beyond the Chumash heritage national marine sanctuary, influencing the potential for the development of MPAs world-wide.

Like this collaborator put it: “It's like the biggest group project ever and we all play a role and we all try to contribute in a good way”

But again, these advancements toward including underrepresented voices have not been done by the federal agency in charge of the sanctuary. While coalitions can help to include people, the decision-making power is still in the hands of the federal government. “We can advocate and we can push, but in the end, they're the ones with the power and they're the ones with the authority,” said an interviewee who collaborated on this sanctuary nomination.

Not only are the final decisions about sanctuary designation out of the nominators' hands, but the sanctuary designation and who is included throughout the process may be impacted by the broader political pressure to designate the sanctuary before the 2024 presidential elections. Since national marine sanctuaries are governed by a federal agency, changes in the federal administration may stall or halt the process.

Many people I interviewed voiced concern that this political pressure will have a larger influence on the process, impacting how their voices will be heard.

Affirming this, an interviewee who works for NOAA sanctuaries sighed and confided in me that “if this thing doesn't go from draft to final during the Biden administration, well before the next presidential election, then it's vulnerable to whatever happens. It's vulnerable to political change. Basically, it's sort of redirecting NOAA saying ‘stand down’. Because of that, you'll never hear a federal agency employee say that we're playing politics here in terms of the timing but I think everybody knows it... and going fast is not necessarily the best way to do the best outreach, the most interaction with the public.”

Even sanctuary managers are limited by higher political powers, ultimately shaping how people are included in the process.

A Way Forward

So how can we ensure that people are included, even if the process is shaped by higher political powers?

Well, as a starting point, to fully achieve an equitable and transparent process, NOAA needs to acknowledge that, while the social dimensions of marine spaces are an important piece in meeting environmental and economic goals, they are also important in their own right. This requires recentring how NOAA approaches sanctuary processes and how they make it accessible. For example, an interviewee who works at a NGO for ocean conservation described how the process is not clearly communicated; she questioned “if a community member sees this process, will they actually be able to understand it?”

Another NGO employee described similar barriers to NOAA’s communication with the public saying, “you can submit comments in any language, but sometimes I think people are still dissuaded from doing so because they’re not sure. You know, maybe if it is in a different language, they’re not gonna read it.” Making little changes to how NOAA communicates to the public about the sanctuary process could help to ensure that people understand and feel included in the decisions over their coasts and oceans.

Additionally, while the nomination process required ‘proof’ that the Chumash tribe had garnered broad community support for the proposed sanctuary, there were significant barriers in their process of doing that. An interviewee who is a board member on the NCTC aired her frustrations with the lack of resources NOAA provides to communities who want to nominate a site for sanctuary designation. She explained that “they want grassroots community designations going forward, but grassroots community people from under-resourced populations have no money.” This is an important social justice concern because it significantly impacts who can be involved in protecting coasts and oceans.

Lack of legal aid, limited understanding of policy language, low or no financial support, limited personnel for outreach, and lack of scientific literacy are major barriers to people’s ability to nominate and as such, limit who is involved in the decisions over their local resources. These barriers are also systemic and structural, and they are entrenched in the practices and beliefs that produce, condone, and perpetuate inequality and oppression. The legal and financial responsibilities required to submit a nomination paired with a lack of federally-funded resources, contribute to disempowering marginalized communities and their participation in the governance over their resources.

The US has a long road ahead as it moves toward breaking down the barriers to participating in ocean governance processes and recognizing how their role in colonization continues to shape conservation efforts today. If we want to fight climate change and meet our conservation goals, then it is necessary to first recognize and reconcile with how our role as settlers has created inequities that shape our ability to protect the environment. Without addressing settler colonial attempts at removing Indigenous people and their knowledge, we are engaging in another form of settler-violence.

If processes aren't transparent or fail to effectively gain the trust of the people whose cultures and livelihoods depend on them, it impacts communities wellbeing and ultimately, the effectiveness of the marine protected areas. Governing agencies need to actively work to reduce the structural and systemically-embedded hurdles that continue to limit people's involvement in decision making such as financial, language, or communication barriers. In order to achieve conservation goals and designate marine protected areas that achieve the desired outcomes, it is critical to address the barriers preventing people from being involved in the decisions in the first place. Doing so would greatly support a more equitable and inclusive future for marine management and help us achieve sustainable ocean governance.

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Chapter 4: CONCLUSION

This thesis consisted of three chapters that explored how stakeholders and rightsholders voices are shaping the process of designating the proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary (CHNMS). In the first chapter I introduced the challenges associated with creating marine protected areas (MPAs) in California. While the implementation of MPAs in California was a state-driven effort and the CHNMS is a federally driven effort, the history exemplified the need to effectively include stakeholders and rightsholders voices in the process of designating the CHNMS. Including diverse stakeholder and rightsholders perspectives into the planning for MPAs is crucial for creating effective MPAs that achieve desired conservation outcomes (Grorud-Colvert et al. 2021). This is particularly important as the Biden-Harris administration has prioritized conservation and tribal inclusion in processes such as this sanctuary designation.

Furthermore, I also examined the history of Chumash Indigenous peoples in central California and their continued efforts towards obtaining management rights over their ancestral homelands. This history was particularly important to understand limitations to the Northern Chumash Tribal Council (NCTC) in their ability to co-manage this proposed sanctuary with NOAA. Lastly, I thoroughly reviewed scholarships in the field of political ecology, theories on power/knowledge, co-management, and grassroots coalitions to support this project's aims to understand how community voices inform ocean governance processes. Historically, socio-environmental interactions within the ocean and its resources have been underrepresented in political ecology literature; however, scholars have advocated for studies to address the power dynamics that impact ocean governance (Aswani et al. 2018; Barbesgaard 2019; Bennett 2019; Bennett et al. 2021). This study advances the literature on political ecology in marine contexts because by framing arguments about MPAs in terms of knowledge claims, I am able to analyze how power is distributed in the governance of MPAs, but also how power dynamics influence the formation of MPAs and who is included (or not) in these processes.

The second chapter in this thesis is the research project analysis and findings. This research asked three questions:

1. During the designation process for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary, which knowledge claims about the sanctuary are circulated and which fall to the side?
2. Whose voices are incorporated into planning for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary and in what ways?
 - 2a. How do people perceive their ability to have influence in this process?
 - 2b. What are the barriers to inclusion in the process?
3. What role do community organizations play in circulating knowledge of the sanctuary or process?

To answer the first research question, I compared the claims made by the nominators in their 2015 proposal, the claims communicated by NOAA on their sanctuary website, the claims made by people who submitted a public comment, and the claims expressed in 20 semi-structured interviews. I found that claims about this sanctuary revealed larger political, economic, and social structures that influenced the ways in which public respondents and interview participants understood and interacted, thus highlighting inequities that have shaped the claims made in this process. This is important because these claims were used to vie for power and influence in the process. The involvement of Indigenous people in this sanctuary designation and the priorities of the current administration largely influenced which claims are circulated. Situating these findings within the larger settler colonial structure of the United States and Indigenous struggles within it allowed me to analyze how claims of illegitimacy towards the NCTC may be understood as a means of protecting settler economies and political structures in the U.S., which many people benefit from (Whyte 2017). The narratives highlighted by many of those in opposition to Chumash co-management of the sanctuary reflect settlers' fears about Indigenous reparations and leadership, while the narratives of other respondents and interviewees showed that many non-native stakeholders are invested in confronting settler colonial structures and prioritizing Indigenous co-management. Political economic interests of the federal government significantly influenced claims circulating in the process highlighting how conservation efforts may be influenced by the larger, powerful interests at play (Blythe et al. 2021). Broadly, these narratives demonstrated how knowledge and power are intertwined, showcasing how groups tried to mobilize different knowledges to shape who would be involved in the MPA and in what ways.

To answer the second research question, I relied on the qualitative data from the 20 semi-structured interviews. I found that interviewee's perception of influence was largely dependent on if participants were a part of a larger organization or group working towards the designation of this sanctuary. Those who were a part of NGOs found their voices elevated by their participation in the group while those with opposing views felt overpowered by the NGOs. This demonstrates that people who are apart of a larger organization or community may have increased perceptions of influence compared to those who are not apart of a group. Secondly, I found that a position on the sanctuary advisory council (SAC) largely increases the chance of your voice being heard. While SAC seats are meant to be representative of the broader stakeholder group, which stakeholders of a particular group are invited or chosen to participate on the SAC is subject to the choices of the sanctuary superintendent. In this way, SACs may be opportunities of gatekeeping and controlling whose voices weigh on sanctuary management plans (Flannery and Cinnéide 2012). Lastly, who is included in the process is shaped by barriers in both the nomination and designation process. This study found that barriers in the nomination process are systemic and structural, and they are entrenched in the practices and beliefs that produce, condone, and perpetuate inequality and oppression (Braveman et al. 2022). These barriers subsequently limit participation from underrepresented communities in the designation process, effectively reproducing systems of inequality. It is critical to address the barriers preventing people from being involved in process of creating MPAs to produce effective MPAs (Grorud-Colvert et al. 2021; Saunders et al. 2020).

To answer the third research question, I also used the qualitative data from the 20 semi-structured interviews. I found that coalitions among NGOs, advocacy groups, or public members were critical to the nomination process which allowed them to continue resource-sharing during the designation process. Inter-Indigenous collaborations strengthened the exchange of interests, ideas, and goals between Indigenous nations, and it provides an opportunity to reinforce Indigenous movements on a larger scale (von der Porten et al. 2019; Callison and Hermida 2015). Coalitions were found to be the central way organizations shared knowledge and resources, increasing the capacity of the individuals and organizations within them (Dalton et al. 2020). This also allowed for information about the sanctuary or process to be shared in the language or format most accessible to each organizations' members, thus increasing accessibility to the process. Largely the findings from this research demonstrated how political, social, and

economic powers influence whose voices are considered legitimate and shape the inclusion of people throughout this process. The narratives reflected in this study are significant to the broader understanding of MPA designations.

The third chapter in this thesis is an article that communicates broad findings from my master's thesis. I aim to publish the third chapter in a conservation magazine such as the *Hakai Magazine*. This research is relevant to this publisher because their target audience is interested in marine socio-ecological systems and may be involved in ocean governance decisions. It is critical to disseminate qualitative research that has important social justice considerations. Disseminating the results of social justice-related research provides an opportunity to communicate the need for change and bring to light systemic issues that impact communities and their well-being (Fassinger and Morrow 2013). It is my hope that through disseminating my research in this way, I will contribute to breaking down the barriers for participation in ocean governance and the systems of oppression that have contributed to the lack of diverse involvement in those processes.

This research helps advance efforts towards understanding the enabling social conditions that contribute towards the creation of effective MPAs (Grorud-Culvert et al. 2021). MPAs can directly and indirectly impact all facets of human-wellbeing and humans can impact the quality of MPAs. If we aim to achieve 30x30 goals through creating high quality MPAs, then it is critical to include people in the process of creating these protected areas. Within that work, however, it is important to recognize systemic and structural barriers that limit some people from being involved in the first place. Therefore, to achieve desired conservation outcomes, there is a significant need to break down barriers limiting underrepresented and historically disenfranchised communities from being involved and having their voices heard.

Going forward, there is a need for future research to continue to address how diverse perspectives and knowledges are included throughout the entire designation process. Because this study was situated in the first part of the designation process, future research should aim to understand how NOAA incorporates concerns expressed in the first public scoping period into their draft management and subsequent final management plan. Additionally, future research should investigate how NOAA accounts for sign-on signatures when analyzing public comments. The literature would also benefit from a more thorough analysis of how NGOs and community coalitions work to influence the designation of MPAs. A closer examination of coalitions would

help address gaps relating to equity and access to the nomination and designation process.

Because coalitions were found to be a significant source for obtaining resources and information during the designation process, it will be necessary for research to examine how coalitions form during the nomination process and potential avenues for increasing access to being apart of a coalition.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Public Comment Codebook

1.0 Indigenous

Description: Summary code related to any topics covering Indigenous rights, access, legitimacy, knowledge, and justice that guide their stance on the sanctuary.

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

1.1 Cultural heritage

Description: Comments related to Chumash culture and heritage, tribal legitimacy such as recognition status or Indigenous ancestry, and Indigenous history

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

1.1.1 Sovereignty

Description: Quotes related to supporting Indigenous sovereignty over their heritage and land rights.

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

1.2 Environmental Justice

Description: Equity concerns related environment, comments on environmental justice and how the sanctuary would impact justice issues for Indigenous peoples

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

1.3 Management

Description: Comments on co-management between Indigenous people and managers; comments on the inclusion of TEK through co-management

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

2.0 Governance

Description: Summary code related to topics about federal governance, regulations, Biden-Harris administration, and priorities, 30x30, or sanctuary logistics that guide their stance on the sanctuary.

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

2.1 Government control

Description: Comments on the Biden-Harris administration, climate initiatives (ATB, 30x30, secretarial orders), governmental control, political challenges, fear and distrust

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

2.2 Transparency

Description: Transparency of communication in the process, awareness of this process or sanctuary development

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

2.3 Sanctuary advisory council

Description: Any quotes related to the future sanctuary advisory council, do they want to sit on (or not).

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

2.4 Boundaries

Description: Any quotes related to the boundary for the proposed sanctuary, do they like it or do they want to change it.

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.0 Conservation

Description: Summary code pertaining to conservation-related claims

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.1 Climate Change

Description: Any quotes related to climate change or climate change effects, including ocean acidification, heat waves, abnormal weather patterns, etc

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.2 Resource protection

Description: Any quotes related to protection of species, habitats, or other marine resources; can also include quotes about how the sanctuary connects to other NMS – connectivity enhances resource protections

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.3 Archeology

Description: quotes related to protecting the archeological sites within the sanctuary - shipwrecks

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.4 Water quality

Description: any quotes related to protecting the water quality of the region

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.6 Stewardship

Description: quotes related to feeling responsible to protect the environment

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.7 Education

Description: quotes related to how sanctuary will provide (or not) educational opportunities

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

3.8 Research

Description: quotes related to how sanctuary will provide (or not) research opportunities

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

4.0 Economic

Description: Summary code related to any economic value or development

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

4.1 Livelihoods

Description: quotes pertaining to economic impacts to any livelihoods (farming, fishing, tourism, business, etc)

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

4.2 Economic development

Description: Economic development including tourism, business, or other monetized means

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

4.3 Oil, gas, nuclear energy

Description: Mentions of oil, gas, nuclear energy development

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

4.4 Renewable energy

Description: mentions of renewable energy – wind development specifically

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

5.0 Access

Description: Summary pertaining to being able to physically access the coast and ocean

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

5.1 Recreational access

Description: Any quotes related to one's ability to being able to recreate such as off-road vehicle recreation, hiking, swimming, canoeing, etc

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

5.1 Recreational fishing

Description: Quotes specifically pertaining to recreational fishing, gleaning, crabbing, etc

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

:

6.0 Sense of Place

Description: Comments about one's personal connection to place, benefits derived from place, and sources of pride/belonging

Origin: Inductive, as patterns emerged from data

Appendix B: Interview Codebook

Red = Deductive

Blue = Inductive

Research Questions:

1. During the designation process for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary, which knowledge claims about the sanctuary are circulated and which fall to the side?
2. Whose voices are incorporated into planning for the Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary and in what ways?
 - 2a. How do people perceive their ability to have influence in this process?
 - 2b. What are the barriers to inclusion in the process?
3. What role do community organizations play in circulating knowledge of the sanctuary or process?

1. Indigenous

1.1 Cultural heritage

Description: Comments related to Chumash culture and heritage, tribal legitimacy such as recognition status or Indigenous ancestry, and Indigenous history.

Example: I specifically encourage the use of the proposed name “Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary” to honor the cultural history and stewardship of the Chumash peoples and the work of the Northern Chumash Tribal Council as the nominator of the Marine Sanctuary.

1.2 Anti NCTC

Description: Quotes specifically pertaining to ant-Indigenous leadership, legitimacy, or any other sort of comments opposing Indigeneity

Example: the northern Chumash tribe, which is like the lead tribe Advancing this proposal is actually not even a tribe. It's a nonprofit organization, and it's led by a white man, and it doesn't have federal recognition.

1.3 Co-Management

Definition: Comments on co-management between Indigenous people and managers; comments on the inclusion of TEK through co-management; including quotes about limitations due to recognition status

Example: We are negotiating on the issue of Co management, the federal government does not give up power and control and especially when it comes to indigenous people”

1.4 Correct past injustices

Description: Quotes relating to one’s feelings about correcting past injustices towards Indigenous people

Example: I feel a strong need to support people who have been harmed by my dominant white culture in the past

2. Governance

2.1 Transparency

Description: Quotes related to transparency in the process, do the people have all the information

Example: What is the protection that will be gained for the environment that is not currently exists? When I asked NOAA that, they really couldn't tell it either.

2.2 Attitudes towards government

Description: Any quotes pertaining to their attitude towards the government, distrust and fear, regulations, Biden-Harris administration

Example: president of our country is promoting the sanctuary that Had a lot to Do with This move forward despite local opposition.

2.2.1 Ocean Grabbing

Description: Any quotes related to taking away ocean resources by the government

Example: They don't care what the fishermen think, they just want to take the ocean away as much As possible I think

2.2.2 30x30

Description: Any quotes specifically talking about the 30x30 goals of the administration

Example: the Biden Harris administration's, it's called conserving and restoring America the Beautiful. I call it the crab report.

3. Sense of place

3.0 Sense of Place

Description: Any quotes relating to people's sense of place, connections, benefits from the local environment and communities

Example: I'm very intimately connected to the lands and the waters there

3.1 Family lineage in this place

Description: Any quotes relating to people's family's lineage in this place

Example: I was born by the ocean. I love the ocean. My mother walked up here when she was pregnant with me, so I seem to have an emotional need for the ocean.

4. Conservation

4.1 Ocean Protection

Description: Any quotes related to resource protection, habitat, species, climate change, OA, ecosystem connectivity, protections from development

Example: One of the reasons for it being proposed, of course, is to preclude the possibility of offshore oil development.

4.2 Research

Description: Any quotes relating to research opportunities related to the sanctuary

Example: I would hope that Students at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, even Community College students, although that might be a stretch, would benefit from educational research opportunities.

4.3 Education

Description: Quotes relating to education opportunities

Example: I think, to do education work for the public. And so, you know, maybe in the future there's Going to be like a Uh, a site that you can go to that talks about why that area is important,

3.3 Willingness to protect/Stewardship

Description: Quotes pertaining to one's willingness to protect; environmental stewardship

Example: I invest my time and efforts to protect the ocean and beach, while I am open to hearing the ocean's song and sharing it with other

5.0 Economics

5.1 Economic Development

Description: Economic development including tourism, business, or other monetized means

Example: the thing about the Chumash coasts is there's a lot of tourism. People love it. When people come to visit it, they fall in love with the place.

5.2 Livelihoods

Description: Any quotes pertaining to livelihood impacts, any economic impacts to careers

Example: They got pretty significant harm and restrictions and had to go to different areas where they hadn't been able. They were not able to go to where they Usually are to fish.

5.3 Energy

Description: Any quotes related to energy development or pressures such as oil, gas, nuclear, wind energy

Example: Right now, there's a lot of pressure coming from the offshore wind farm bidees. The there's a lot of international Interests that are coming in to the offshore wind farm bidding proposals.

5. Influence

6.1 Personally influences in the process

Description: Quotes relating who their personal influence in the process

Example: I'm literally on staff on the designation team for NOAA Of course I have influence,

6.2 DO NOT personally influence in the process

Description: Quotes relating to not having influence in the process

Example: I don't think I personally or just superficially am represented

6.3 Other people who have influence

Description: Quotes relating to other people who have influence

Example: the nominator's, the northern Chumash Tribal Council, the Sierra Club, the Surfrider Foundation have done a lot to influence this. T

6.4 SAC

Description: Role or previous role on SAC

Example: as a previous chair for two terms for the Monterrey Sanctuary Advisory Council I learned the ins and outs of national marine sanctuaries, What they do, what they don't do.

6. Voices

7.1 overamplified voice

Description: Quotes identifying overamplified voices

Example: I think Overamplified would be tribal voices

7.2 missing voice

Description: Quotes relating to missing voices

Example: The voices missing are probably people from the tourism industry

7.3 Uplifting OTHERS voices

Description: Quotes relating to uplifting other voices (not their own)

Example: worked with Violet to make sure we got the messaging right and making sure that we uplifted Violets voice

7. Decision-making

8.1 Process

Description: Any quotes related to the decision-making process; history being involved in decision-making process; history of decisions with other sanctuaries

Example: Final decision couple of years from now is so big that it will go all the way up to the Secretary of Commerce to make sure everyone is ready for this decision, which starts with sanctuary staff like me and builds up

8.2 Community input in the public process

Description: Any Quotes relating to feeling heard in the process; anything related to how they are included in the process; is community important for them

Example: I have confidence in that I think Community input Is heard and has been vital to the proposal

8.2.1 Access to process

Description: Quotes pertaining to people's ability to access the process; barriers to the process or ease of access to process

Example: Those requirements are of course communicated on the website but That doesn't mean it's always easy to find it, you know? We all know just because something exists in the world doesn't mean it's Accessible to you.

8. Challenges

9.1 Process challenges

Description: Quotes relating to the challenges to the designation or nomination process

Example: It's frustrating to me that politically resources for dealing with global climate change seem to be on hold. The brakes seem to be applied.

9.2 Challenges for grassroots coalitions

Description: Quotes relating to the challenges for grassroots communities involved in the processes

Example: Going through the designation process has been grueling and especially because they want grassroots community designations going forward, but grassroots community people from under resourced populations have no money.

9. Knowledge Sharing

10.1 Receiving information

Description: Quotes relating to how one received information

Example: I saw articles in the newspaper, I saw a a blurb on the news, the Evening News Saying that it was coming up

10.2 Sharing information

Description: Quotes relating to how one shared information

Example: So I post and I've made comments. I've brought this to the attention of sanctuary activists up here in in Monterey Bay, which is north of the proposed Chumash heritage marine sanctuary.

10.3 Collaboration

Description: Quotes relating to how people collaborated or formed coalitions

Example: We have taken it upon ourselves to help found a disorganization-organization. We are reaching out with the other indigenous LED ocean conserve efforts,

10. Access

11.1 Restrict access

Description: Quotes relating to how the sanctuary will impact their ability to access

Example: this is an area where there is a lot of recreation and there's been a lot Of existing prohibitions in place for the use of that area, and this would just add one more Turn of the screw

11. Community Impacts

12.1 Negatively impacted

Description: Quotes relating to how this sanctuary may negatively impact communities; which communities may be negatively impacted

Example: Fishermen will also be impacted.

12.2 Positively impacted

Description: Quotes relating to how this sanctuary may positively impact communities; which communities may be positively impacted

Example: there'll be some impacts for tourism and business, it should be a positive impact.

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Project Title: Power and participation in ocean governance processes: A Case Study of the Proposed Chumash Heritage National Marine Sanctuary

Student Researcher: Abby Knipp

PI: Kelsey Emard

Thank you for agreeing to speak with me. The purpose of this interview is to explore how the process of designating marine sanctuaries works to incorporate the voices of diverse stakeholders. I will be using this data to write my Master's thesis at Oregon State University. Your personal information will be kept private according to the processes described in the consent form. This interview will be audio-recorded and will last up to 90 minutes long. You are free to stop the interview at any time or decline to answer any question you wish. You are not obligated to participate, but your participation in this interview will help advance our knowledge in this area. Do you have any questions and do you agree with the process I just described? If you have any further questions about the research, you can contact me (knippa@oregonstate.edu), or my advisor Dr. Kelsey Emard (kelsey.emard@oregonstate.edu).

Questions:

- 1) How would you describe your involvement in the proposed Chumash Heritage NMS?
 - a) Why did you decide to get involved in the process?
- 2) In your own words, why is this sanctuary being proposed?
 - a) How is it different from other sanctuaries (if at all)?
- 3) Are you able to influence the process and if so, in what ways?
 - a) If you don't have influence, who do you think does?
- 4) Do you find that your opinions are taken seriously and incorporated into the final decision?
 - a) If not, why do you think that is?
- 5) In your opinion, what is the importance of community input for this proposal?
- 6) Are there enough community members involved in the process to get a clear view of what the community needs/wants? Why or why not?
 - a) Do you think any voices are missing? Whose? Why?
 - b) Do you think any voices are *over-amplified*? Whose? Why?
 - c) In your opinion, what communities face the most impacts from the establishment of this sanctuary?
- 7) What is the biggest challenge during this process?
 - a) What is the biggest challenge for community grassroots coalitions as it pertains to this process?
- 8) From your experience with this process what are the strengths, and what could be improved?
- 9) Is there anything else you would like to add?
- 10) Is there anyone else you know who would be interested in interviewing me about this?

11) Would you be willing to answer these demographics questions right now? I will send them to you and stay on the zoom as you fill it out.

If we have time:

- 1) What are your hopes for the future of the Chumash Heritage NMS?
- 2) What is the most important topic we discussed today?

Appendix D: Interview Demographics

Interviewee	Age	Race and Ethnicity	Education	Gender	Stakeholder
R1	55-64	White	Graduate degree	Male	Government official
R2	65-74	White	Graduate degree	Female	Tribal affiliation
R3	55-64	White	College degree	Male	Resource user
R4	25-29	White	Graduate degree	Female	NGO
R5	75 and over	White	Some college	Male	NGO
R6	55-64	White	Graduate degree	Female	Resource user
R7	25-29	White	College degree	Male	NGO
R8	45-54	Hispanic/latino	Graduate degree	Male	NGO
R9	65-74	White	Graduate degree	Male	Resource user
R10	55-64	White	Graduate degree	Female	Resource user
R11	35-44	White	Graduate degree	Male	Resource user
R12	75 and over	White	Graduate degree	Female	Resource user
R13	35-44	Hispanic/latino	Graduate degree	Female	NGO
R14	45-54	White	College degree	Male	Government official
R15	35-44	White	Graduate degree	Male	Resource user
R16	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	Government official
R17	35-44	White	Graduate degree	Female	Resource user
R18	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	Resource user
R19	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	NGO
R20	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	declined to respond	Resource user

Table showing the demographics information for the interviewees in this study.