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Linking Conservation and Environmental Justice: Exploring Relationship-Building Between a Land Trust and Four Pacific Northwest Tribes

by

C. Noel Plemmons

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

Conservation organizations around the world are addressing exclusionary policies and implicit biases that have alienated segments of society from both the conservation movement and natural places. Native American tribes make up one segment of society with a particular interest in and deep ties to land and resources. Vancouver, Washington-based Columbia Land Trust recognizes tribes' special relationships with their ancestral lands and resources thereon, but has struggled to develop policies that involve tribes in conserved areas and conservation plans. The conception among mainstream scientists that western conservation science is better equipped than Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK) to determine best practices is one part of that struggle. Another part, however, is the organization's limited capacity to holistically review and revise its policies and to engage respectfully with multiple sovereign nations in a coordinated and ongoing manner. Using political ecology as a lens for examining the asymmetry of power over land and resources, this research explores the most appropriate path forward in Land Trust-tribe relationship development. I conducted a combination of semi-structured interviews with tribe and Land Trust representatives (N=11), a survey of Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers (N=47), participant observation among Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers (N>20), and a review of literature pertaining to relationships between other conservation organizations and tribes. Overarching questions addressed each party's concerns and expectations around Land Trust-tribe relationships, and what cultural differences might challenge these relationships. Additional questions pertaining to tribes' histories, rights, treaties, and the impacts of

colonization were directed at Land Trust participants to gauge their preparedness to engage respectfully with tribes/sovereign nations. An analysis of interview transcripts and descriptive statistics from survey data revealed three main themes: 1) Indigenous culture and IEK challenge conventional western conservation science, but in practice there is (or will be) significant overlap in conservation objectives and approaches; 2) Land Trust-tribe partnerships make practical sense and help to advance justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion (JEDI) goals; and 3) while all parties seem prepared to respectfully engage, some apprehension remains on the part of the Land Trust to commit to taking that next step – an increased and dedicated effort may be necessary to initiate negotiations, draw up agreements, and orchestrate ongoing partnering efforts. These findings, in conjunction with existing literature, substantiate my argument encouraging Columbia Land Trust to institute policies and a strategy for involving tribes in regional conservation planning and in restoration and stewardship projects at select sites. Further, the findings may instill greater confidence for all parties involved to move forward in relationship-building processes. Through such processes, it is feasible that partners will learn to trust that each other's objectives and approaches to conservation (based either in western science or IEK) will overlap and/or are negotiable, and that partnering will improve conservation and social justice outcomes. This study provides a unique example of justice- and inclusivity-based relationship-building between one conservation organization and multiple tribes, each with varying conservation interests and capacities. Further, it contributes to a growing body of literature calling for conservation professionals to honor Indigenous rights and recognize the value of their ecological knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

The national land trust movement has grown exponentially in the past 30 years with the increasing divestment of public lands (Middleton 2011:7, citing King and Fairfax 2006). As conservation organizations acquire these and other, non-public lands, they are also acquiring the legacies of unjust policies that displaced these lands' original habitants. Land trusts and private conservation organizations fall across the spectrum in their efforts to incorporate justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion (JEDI) into their work. The most progressive recognize two truths about JEDI: 1) the conservation movement has played a major role in environmental injustice (especially regarding Indigenous North Americans); and 2) that inclusivity will expand these organization's stakeholder base, bringing greater capacity through funding and partnerships, to create a more effective, collaborative conservation movement. Vancouver, Washington-based Columbia Land Trust (hereafter, "the Land Trust" or "Land Trust") falls toward the more progressive end of the spectrum. It has struggled in some respects to get there, however. Understanding conservation's place within the JEDI movement has been more challenging for some of the Land Trust's stakeholders than others, which is especially difficult for an organization when such skeptics are major donors, board directors, and community partners.

The Land Trust is already working with a diverse set of partners and under-represented communities as a part of its effort to incorporate JEDI into its work. Its leadership, however, recognizes a need to develop deeper relationships with tribes because of their unique rights to, historic relationship with, and intimate knowledge of

the land and resources under its care. Among other important inquiries, this research project explored the Land Trust's perspective on incorporating JEDI into its mission, specifically as those principles pertain to its relationships with Native American tribes. Using a mixed-method approach, research attempted to: 1) determine which tribes are affiliated with the Land Trust's current landholdings (so the organization can engage the appropriate tribes around said properties); 2) consider cultural variances in ideology around conservation, restoration, and stewardship; and 3) explore the varying perspectives on how to develop mutually beneficial relationships around access to and co-stewardship of Land Trust lands and resources. Additional inquiries sought to: 1) assess each party's capacity to engage and, more specifically, the Land Trust's preparedness to engage with tribes on the tribes' terms; and 2) develop a general inventory of cultural activities and resources of interest for tribe members and determine how best to support such activities and resource collection while also limiting their infringement on the Land Trust's conservation values.[1]

The theoretical framework of political ecology is a helpful lens with which to frame the dynamics of relationship building between beneficiaries of unjust policies, and those marginalized because of them. I used this lens to consider the enduring power disparities between these same groups regarding who controls the conservation of land

[1] The research methods employed succeeded in answering most of these questions but developing an inventory of potential cultural resources and activities that might occur on Land Trust lands quickly fell out of scope of the research, as these matters were considered by tribe participants be contingent on factors yet to be determined, negotiable, and secondary to initiating or developing deeper, trusting relationships between parties.

and resources, in practice, as well as the narrative of what legitimate conservation science entails. Research methods included: 1) in-depth interviews with three members of the Land Trust leadership team and eight representatives from four tribes, 2) a survey of 47 Land Trust board members, staff, and volunteers, 3) participant observation by this researcher as a seasonal Land Trust employee (N>20), and 4) a review of academic and gray literature documenting similar working relationships between other conservation organizations/agencies and tribes. Using deductive and inductive content analysis of qualitative interview and survey data, I coded themes as they pertained to ideas and concerns around conservation, restoration, and stewardship, and around tribes' access to Land Trust lands, influence in decision-making, and how relationship-building should proceed. I used statistical analysis of the quantitative survey data, and anecdotal data from participant observation and literature to support the emergent themes.

I synthesized each party's position independently of others and included all in a deliverable report for the Land Trust and the four participating tribes. Using side-by-side comparisons of these syntheses, as well as examples and case studies from a review of literature, I further synthesized the data into a comprehensive discussion of all parties' positions. Analysis revealed three overarching themes: 1) Indigenous culture and Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK) challenge conventional western conservation science, but in practice there is (or will be) significant overlap in conservation objectives and approaches; 2) Land Trust-tribe partnerships make practical sense and help advance JEDI goals; and 3) while all parties seem prepared to respectfully engage, some apprehension remains on the part of the Land Trust to commit to taking that next step –

increased capacity and a dedicated effort may prove useful as a means to initiate negotiations, draw up agreements, and explore and orchestrate ongoing partnering opportunities.

This study aimed to provide Columbia Land Trust and four tribes with a better understanding of each other's positions and interests, and greater insight into how to build mutually beneficial relationships that improve both conservation and social justice outcomes. Recommendations provide a variety of partnering options for parties to explore. While Columbia Land Trust and the four participating tribes may use this project's deliverable report to navigate their own relationship-building processes, it may also be of interest to other, similarly situated conservation organizations and tribes uncertain about initiating and navigating such relationships. More broadly, this research contributes to the growing academic discussion on the value of Indigenous perspectives in sustainable and just conservation practice and the importance of JEDI in achieving more holistic conservation objectives (Verschuuren et al. 2021; Barcalow and Spoon 2018; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Middleton 2011).

The following document provides: 1) summaries of the theory of political ecology and the key terms of land protection/conservation and IEK; 2) an introduction to Columbia Land Trust and the four participating tribes; 3) a discussion on methodology used to collect and analyze data; 4) the most pertinent results emerging from questions asked; and 5) a discussion and conclusion on how results substantiate my argument in favor of deepening Land Trust-tribe relations as a means to improve socio-environmental outcomes. The research data collected and analyzed generally supports my conclusion

that Columbia Land Trust is on the right path toward bringing justice into its work with tribes and that some additional actions may be necessary in its progress toward that goal.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND KEY TERMS

Political Ecology

Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet (2013:255, citing Bryant and Bailey 1997) define political ecology as an arena where those with asymmetrical power compete over access to and control of natural resources. The authors refer specifically to the creation of 'protected areas' by powerful institutions, in the name of conservation, which leads to suffering and/or dispossession of land and resources for those without the socioeconomic capital with which to defend their rights and interests. This theoretical framework is helpful for conceptualizing Columbia Land Trust's privileged position as an owner of lands for the purpose of conservation as it reaches out to those whose rights and capacity to engage with said lands were taken from them. Escobar (1999:15) and Stonich (2008:84) consider political ecology a lens through which to understand, disaggregate, and participate in the politically-driven power relationships that dictate human-environment dynamics. We can view the Land Trust's recognition and analysis of its position as an attempt to understand and disrupt the power imbalance that defines its relationships with disempowered tribes and other groups excluded from the conservation movement.

Throughout my research, I drew on and referenced the theoretical framework of political ecology to heighten awareness of the power inequities between the Land Trust and the tribes. Further, I structured the flow of interview topics of discussion (and survey questions) in such a way as to lead participants stepwise through conceptual scenarios of

lower to higher balances in the sharing of power (see *Research Design and Methodology* below). This approach pushed participants incrementally toward a greater understanding of their positions and/or power within an unjust dynamic, and/or revealed certain participants' thresholds for power-sharing. However well-intentioned, the Land Trust holds much of the power in this relationship-building exercise, and ultimately, the Land Trust retains the privilege to decide which opinions and perspectives it will accept or reject. While the organization claims a commitment to taking risks and facing challenges in this endeavor (CLT 2020), relinquishing some of its power and pushing back against restrictive policies that define conservation values (LTAC 2014) may be some of its greater challenges.

Protected/Conserved Areas

There are two conceptual models for conservation most relevant to this research: (1) 'fortress' or 'people-free' conservation, known for evicting human inhabitants in order to 'protect' nature from human interaction and extraction; and (2) 'co-managed' conservation, which more justly recognizes local inhabitants' cultural values and practices as valuable contributors to biodiversity and sustainable stewardship (Verschuuren et al. 2021; IUCN 2018; Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Chicchón 2000; Colchester 2000; Schwartzman, Moreira, and Nepstad 2000; Schwartzman, Nepstad, and Moreira 2000).

Columbia Land Trust's operation does not fit either of these models, in part because it mostly controls private land as opposed to public and/or inhabited land, but

also because of how it restricts human interaction/extraction. The organization does actively manage for the ecological integrity of its lands, and it allows extraction at varying degrees of sustainability (CLT 2020). But it also heavily monitors and/or restricts human access and interaction, and it uses its power of ownership and conservation science to determine what types of human interactions are acceptable. The fact that the organization is interested in providing access to tribe members for cultural resource extraction confirms that it does not see all human interaction as counterintuitive to its conservation values. It remains to be seen, however, how open the organization will be to compromise if important Indigenous practices interfere with its existing conservation values. I referenced the concept of sustainable co-managed conservation throughout my research to: 1) gauge tribes' interest in co-stewarding Land Trust lands (IUCN 2018; Ruiz-Mallén and Corbera 2013; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Dowsley 2009; Berkes and Turner 2006), 2) explore how to structure such an arrangement (AMTB and MROSD 2017; Middleton 2011), and 3) investigate the Land Trust's willingness to incorporate non-western ideologies and practices into its work.

Ecological Knowledges

Berkes (2012:7) defines Indigenous/traditional ecological knowledge (IEK) as "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment." Long personal and cultural histories with distinct landscapes and resource availabilities inform

how groups interact with and adapt to their local environments to ensure the long-term sustainability of resources and livelihoods (Berkes and Turner 2006).

Environmental scientists and conservationists are increasingly reconsidering the scientific validity of IEK as they come to recognize western science's contribution to planetary crises and its limits in solving them. Many see localized, adaptive, and resilient IEK-based concepts and practices as necessary components of contemporary stewardship, not only to address our environmental dilemmas, but to finally recognize and honor the intelligence and deep ecological knowledge of Indigenous and local peoples (Banegas 2017; Spoon et al. 2015; Berkes 2012; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Berkes and Turner 2006; Garibaldi and Turner 2004). This research engaged with tribes' IEK to the extent that participants were willing to share, and it explored the Land Trust's conception of IEK and its awareness of any value judgments it places on IEK versus western science.

Note on Researcher Bias and Reflexivity

Approaching research in an empirical 'scientific' manner assumes researchers will remain objective and neutral throughout the process and uninvested in any particular outcome. It would be a gross misstatement to say that I conducted this study without bias, however, and I lean on respected anthropologists who have grappled with this dilemma and still found value in a "good enough ethnography" (Scheper-Hughes 1993; see also Behar 2003). As a gay man who was bullied growing up, I have a keen sense of empathy for any group or individual that suffers under the norms and prejudices of

mainstream society. Albeit privileged by my status as a cis-gendered white male, my personal experience biased me, in this case, toward the Indigenous ‘underdog’ who has endured so much under the treacherous hand of Euro-American settler society – I was already on the side of the tribes and ready to advocate on their behalf. During this research, however, I had to take a hard look at my white fragility and my place in (solving) systemic racism. I learned that to be an ally, more often than not, requires me to remain silent so that others can speak. Indeed, because of who I am and the privilege I hold, I know that I am not best situated to represent the views I am trying to portray here.

Second, my graduate coursework focused intensively on the compounding injustices of colonization and the recognition that white settler culture’s dominant worldview hegemonically impedes our ability to conceive of and find value in other ways of knowing (Nadasdy 1999; Smith 1999; Williams 1977:108-114). With a conviction to work toward social reconciliation and a critical opinion of irresponsible western resource management, I entered into this research convinced that applied IEK in contemporary conservation is necessary to heal the environment and society (Falkowski, Martinez-Bautista, and Diemont 2015; Spoon et al. 2015; Spoon 2014; Greenberg and Greenberg 2013; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Turner, Deur, and Mellott 2011). Through this research and in my ongoing career in conservation, I now better understand that land and resource stewards at large grapple daily to adhere to strict guidelines and funding restrictions that often impede social justice and create unnecessary rifts where collaborative partnerships might otherwise develop.

DECOLONIZING RESEARCH

Colonialism created the framework for early anthropological research, which has a long history of exploiting Indigenous cultures for the benefit of the academy and (inadvertently) advancing the overall common knowledge and power of the dominant culture (Lassiter 2008; Lassiter 2005; Behar 2003; Smith 1999). Indigenous individuals around the world have devoted time, sometimes years, building friendships as so called 'informants,' only to have these relationships forsaken, their contributions unacknowledged, and valuable intellectual property appropriated by outsiders who might use that knowledge against them or financially benefit at their expense (Ibid.). Because colonialist approaches to anthropological research shaped the experiences of this study's Indigenous participants' cultures, I committed myself to: 1) remain aware of my discipline's failures, and 2) undermine the dominant culture's power over narrative and knowledge (Spoon 2014; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Lassiter 2005; Behar 2003; Ulysse 2002). Using terms like 'participant,' 'representative,' and 'consultant' instead of 'informant' or 'subject' helped shift the balance of power toward Native American participants (Ibid.). It was also important to acknowledge the value of participants' time by offering reasonable compensation for hours spent in interviews and in follow-up conversations. Finally, I gave all participants multiple opportunities to review transcripts and summaries of their contributions, to redact any information they considered confidential or misleading, and to ensure that the report did not misrepresent their ideas or intentions.

CONTEXT

Columbia Land Trust

Founded in 1990, Columbia Land Trust (hereafter, the Land Trust) is a well-known and respected conservation organization within the region and within the national land trust movement. Accredited by the educational and standard-setting Land Trust Alliance, Columbia Land Trust adheres to strict, science-based conservation, stewardship, and monitoring guidelines set by that organization (LTAC 2014). Its mission is to "conserve and care for the vital lands, waters, and wildlife of the Columbia River region through sound science and strong relationships" (CLT 2020). Due to the fast-growing human population in the Pacific Northwest, the Land Trust considers itself in a race to protect lands, "both wild and working," throughout the Columbia River watershed before fragmentation and development eliminates them. Over the past ten years, the organization's cumulative conserved area increased from 10,000 to over 50,000 acres (Ibid.), attesting to its success. These properties fall across five ecoregions on both sides of the Columbia River, east and west of the Cascade Range, in an area stretching from the Pacific Ocean to approximately 200 miles inland (Figure 1). Columbia Land Trust attributes its success to its reputation as a good steward, neighbor, community member, and collaborator and to its willingness to see multiple paths to conservation (CLT 2020). It reasons that conservation makes good sense and can bring people with different values together toward a common goal. The Land Trust's current roster of nearly 4,000 supporters and partners with diverse backgrounds and interests is a source of pride for

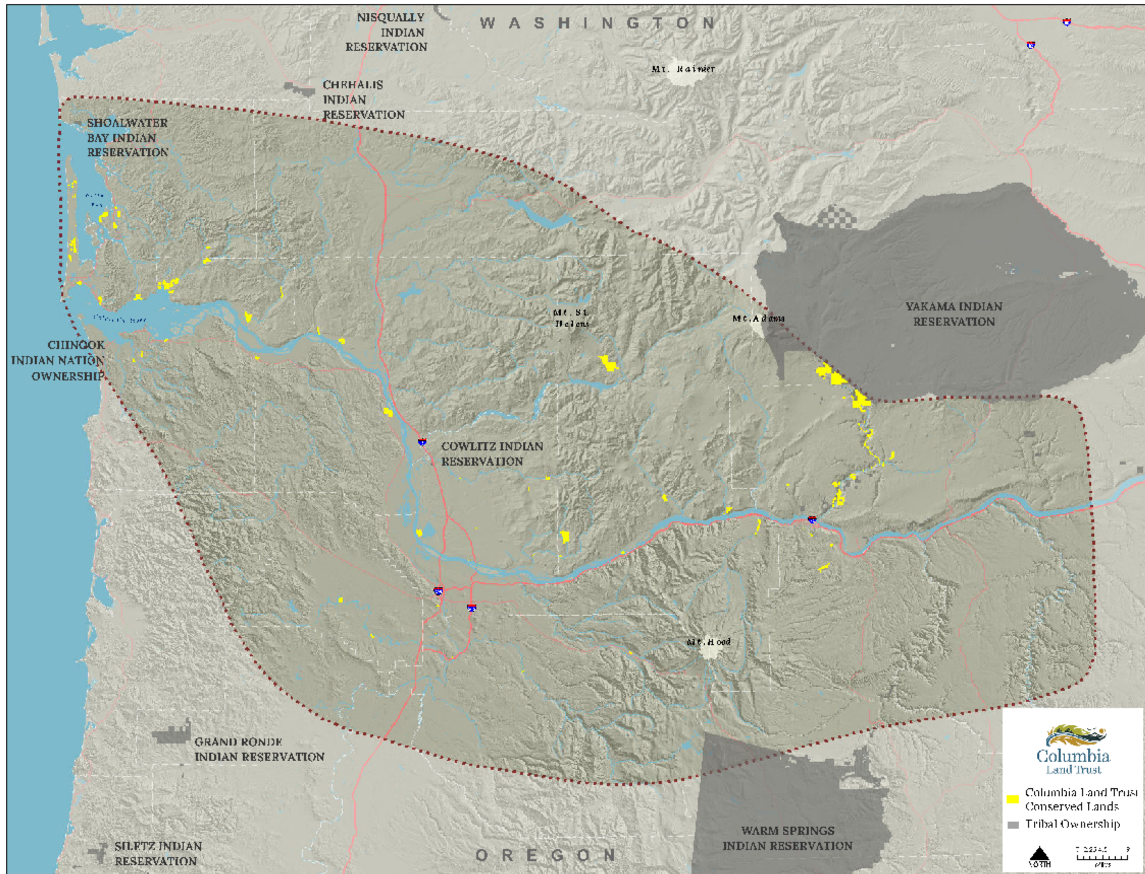


Figure 1. Map of Columbia Land Trust fee lands, regional reservations/tribe ownership, and the area of focus for research. A 24 in. x 36 in. version of this map was provided to tribe participants, with which to discuss the extent of traditional territories. Map Credit CLT 2019 (Tanner Scrivens).

the organization, but a self-assessment conducted in 2017 revealed a lack of racial, ethnic, gender, and other demographic diversity. As such, the Land Trust has committed to approach conservation and stewardship more inclusively. The following text was pulled from the Land Trust's website page entitled *Equity Commitments* (Ibid.):

> Columbia Land Trust has historically viewed being a nature-serving organization as having a mission divorced from issues of equity and social justice. Today, we recognize that these issues are inextricably linked. We acknowledge that we have been slow to elevate equity as a core organizational value. We can and should do better.

> We recognize that exclusion and displacement are woven into the history of the American conservation movement. The foundation of conservation work, land ownership, is a vehicle through which institutionalized racism consolidates power and furthers inequities. Today, communities of color and underserved communities are disproportionately burdened by the adverse impacts of land use and environmental policy decisions. By failing to acknowledge these inequities in the past, we play a role in perpetuating them in the present.
>
> We also recognize that our organization does not represent the current diversity of the Columbia River region. If we wish to remain relevant, grow more effective, and garner broader support for conservation, we must become more culturally responsive. Solving the daunting challenges facing our environment will require new ideas, collaboration, and unique perspectives. A more diverse, inclusive conservation movement is a stronger, more innovative movement.
>
> Moving forward, Columbia Land Trust is firmly committed to becoming a more culturally responsive organization.

In addition to internal education and trainings on equity, and a concerted effort to foster diversity within the organization and among its partners, the Land Trust is reaching out to communities historically underrepresented or excluded in conservation to bring them to the decision-making table. It is reevaluating its policies, procedures, and practices that create barriers to non-dominant perspectives, and it is advocating for its partners and sponsors to do likewise. This pledge requires the organization and its staff to 'take risks and challenge themselves,' which can sometimes be uncomfortable and/or alienating. But the organization is committing to the long-term goal of inclusion and equity because leadership and staff understand that exclusivity in conservation will not create a movement powerful enough to prevent ecological disaster. The Land Trust considers it a necessity that everyone participates in developing a solution to the looming

environmental crises. This commitment is what set the stage for my project with the Land Trust. Given my interest in IEK and Indigenous sovereign rights to stolen land, my research would focus on just one underrepresented group: local tribes – a community with whom the Land Trust was already engaged, albeit disproportionately.

Operationally, Columbia Land Trust employs approximately 30 staff (at the time of this research), spread across three main departments: Conservation, Stewardship, and Advancement. In accordance with the organization's 25-year *Conservation Agenda* (CLT 2017)[2], the Conservation Department's primary focus is to find and secure easements on, or outright ownership of, lands throughout the region. Once the organization acquires new easements and parcels, it is the Stewardship Team's charge to ensure that they remain as they are or become healthier, more functional habitats. Sometimes, with regard to easements, that might mean working with a landowner to maintain a pasture or a working forest, preventing its development for other kinds of commercial or residential purposes. For purchased fee lands, the Stewardship Team may remove infrastructure, move ground, and plant native species to restore natural ecological processes. In other cases, habitat maintenance may require only regular monitoring and weed control. The Advancement Department's primary focus is fundraising to support the Land Trust's daily operations, the Conservation Department's land purchases, and the Stewardship Department's restoration and stewardship projects and activities. A small

[2] The *Conservation Agenda* is a working document that outlines the organization's efforts to conserve properties with high conservation values, meaning they create sizeable interconnected natural areas (with a wide range of habitats) that are large enough to provide migration corridors under changing environmental conditions.

communications and outreach team is responsible for building community awareness, arranging educational opportunities, and maintaining the organization's image. An administrative team keeps the organization operating and accountable and the bills paid.

Land Trust key consultants identified five tribes, and potential representatives from each, to engage in this research. These include the Chinook Nation, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs[3], and the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. The following section provides a general overview of the tribes participating in this research and Appendix A includes a brief summary, with references, of each tribe separately.

Tribes Affiliated with Land Trust Lands

The tribes identified for participation in this research are the most appropriate candidates according to current Native approximations of their own ancestral territorial ranges (Native Land 2018; Native Languages 2018)[4]. In sum, more than ~15 distinct groups occupied some portion of the focus area at the time of European contact, each with its own ecologically-based subsistence practices (Chinook Nation 2020; CTBYN 2020; CTGR 2020; Cowlitz Indian Tribe 2020; Boyd, Ames, and Johnson 2013; Fisher 2010; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Hunn, Selam, and Family 1990; Suttles 1990; Walker 1978; Ray 1966). Because of the abundance of salmonid species of fish and lamprey in the Columbia

[3] Due to time constraints, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs was unable to participate in this research.

[4] Based on these maps, future work might also include the participation of the Chehalis Tribe and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians.

River and its tributaries, much of these groups' subsistence activities and cultural identities are tied to seasonal fish runs. Other common Northwest foods (such as camas, wapato, and huckleberry), the close proximity of these groups to one another, alliances through intermarriage, and extensive trade relationships also contributed to cross-cultural similarities (Fisher 2010; Hunn, Selam, and Family 1990; Silverstein 1978).

As occurred throughout the Americas, European contact exposed these populations to previously unencountered diseases, resulting in an estimated 70 - 88% reduction in the Indigenous population between 1492 and 1890 (Thornton 1990; Ubelaker 1988). Oppressive US policies further deteriorated Native American cultural traditions. These include land privatization, assimilation, removal, and consolidation of tribes onto reservations, and the separation and forced acculturation of Indigenous youth via boarding school education. As a result, Indigenous experiences have been marked by poverty and its accompanying social ills, such as malnutrition, obesity, diabetes, addiction, depression, and domestic violence (Crawford O'Brien 2008). Tribal governments expend a great deal of energy managing these challenges, while also maintaining cultural traditions and continuing to lobby for and assert legal recognition of their rights to stolen land and resources. Some tribes, because of inconsistent federal policies, have had their treaties disregarded or rescinded, creating power and capacity disparities and, therefore, adversity between neighboring tribes over access to certain self-sustaining economic activities. With a deeply embedded colonialist ideology, the dominant settler society continues to ignore or circumvent Indigenous rights to traditional and ceded territories. Fortunately, tribes are recovering from these

depressed, marginalized states, demanding and acquiring roles in decisions that impact their interests, and enjoying cultural renaissances in which Indigeneity is more valued and celebrated by the population at large. See Appendix A for a brief summary of each of the four tribes that participated in this research.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A mixed-method qualitative and quantitative approach (Spoon 2014; Schensul and LeCompte 2013:155-184; Morse and Niehaus 2009) was used to get at the deepest possible understanding of participant perspectives from multiple angles. These methods include: 1) semi-structured interviews (Schensul and LeCompte 2013:171-175; Ervin 2005) of select Land Trust and tribe representatives; 2) an anonymous ethnographic survey (Schensul and LeCompte 2013:243-279) of Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers; 3) participant observation and informal field interviews among Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers (Schensul and LeCompte 2013:103-107; Ervin 2005); and 4) literature review of relationships between other conservation organizations/agencies and tribes.

All semi-structured interview participants received and signed an informed consent form (Appendix B), acknowledging my commitment to confidentiality, their right to ownership of the data produced, and the risks and benefits of their participation in the research. As a non-Native interviewer of Indigenous interviewees, I preempted each interview with tribe representatives with a statement on my personal, professional, and ethical position as an anthropologist, and my intention to approach this study in a decolonizing and collaborative manner that respects those whose cultures have historically been exploited (Spoon and Arnold 2012; Cochran et al. 2008; Lassiter 2005; Smith 1999). I tailored in-depth interview questions not only to collect data from culturally different parties, but to encourage introspection and cultural sensitivity (on the part of Land Trust participants) in consideration of the tribes' backgrounds, interests, and

capacities to engage. Questions asked of Land Trust versus tribe representatives during the interviews were similar, but not identical (see Appendix C for variation), and I framed inquiries to tease out specifics from culturally distinct groups. For example, I asked Land Trust participants about their understanding of Native American history and IEK, and whether IEK and other culturally significant activities could be permissible on Land Trust conserved lands. Such questions were designed to educate and possibly reveal some participants' implicit biases. I did not ask tribe interview participants about their tribes' specific histories or IEK, but instead, for example, what they thought the Land Trust should change, if anything, regarding its stewardship practices. Overall, this approach encouraged participants to identify and define issues from their own perspectives and lead the conversations in directions that were of greatest importance to them. Importantly, I organized interview questions and presented them to participants in a stepwise order, intended to inspire cultural relativity and to present scenarios in which the participants would have to conceive of an increasing balance of power between parties. Specifically, I first asked participants demographic questions, which offered an opportunity for each to consider their sociocultural position in comparison to other research participants; second, I asked participants to define and discuss the relatively neutral subject matters of 'conservation,' 'restoration,' and 'stewardship' and to consider how their understandings may differ from other's; finally, I gave participants a series of partnering scenarios, each with increasing levels of involvement and sharing of power by tribes. Scenarios ranged from the most abstract idea of formalizing Land Trust-tribe relations to more specific, policy-related concepts that afford tribes progressively greater

access to and decision-making power over Land Trust lands and operations. Triangulation of the data gathered in the interviews revealed differences and similarities in the Land Trust and tribe participants' positions on conservation, restoration, and stewardship and on Land Trust-tribe relations.

I structured the anonymous ethnographic survey of Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers in the same stepwise manner described above with the same underlying logic – to acclimate survey respondents from the more novel ideations of cultural difference toward the more challenging notions of increasingly balanced partnering scenarios. Survey questions asked were nearly identical to those asked during interviews of the Land Trust key consultants. The survey responses, combined with data collected during my time as a participant observer and by way of informal field interviews, added nuance to the Land Trust interview data and highlight intra-organizational heterogeneity in opinions on the topics of conservation, restoration, stewardship, equity, local Indigenous culture and IEK, and Land Trust-tribe relations. Lastly, a review of literature deepened my understanding of Northwest Native culture and history and provided examples of comparable relationships that other conservation organizations/ agencies and tribes have developed. I included some of these examples in the report to Columbia Land Trust as options for further developing relationships with tribes.

Data Collection

I conducted semi-structured interviews with a reputational sample (Schensul and LeCompte 2013) of N=3 key consultants within the Land Trust leadership team. The sample included: 1) the Land Trust's Stewardship Director, who oversees the organization's stewardship program. This individual is deeply committed to the Land Trust's equity initiative, has some understanding pertaining to Native American tribes' involvement in contemporary stewardship applications, and was this researcher's primary point of contact; 2) the Land Trust's Executive Director, who has over 30 years of history with the organization and is considered a thought leader among land trusts and other conservation groups in the Pacific Northwest and across the nation; and 3) a Land Trust board member, who is affiliated with the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) and an enrolled member of the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. In their role on the Land Trust's board of directors, they advise the organization on all matters relating to fish habitat restoration and Native American concerns pertaining to conservation in the region. My aim in these interviews was to better understand the organization's motivation behind improving relations with Native American tribes, how it might incorporate this initiative into daily operations, and how it expects these improved relationships to play out or influence the organization's beliefs about what constitutes 'sound science' and 'best practices' in stewardship (see Appendix C for a list of questions asked of Land Trust leadership). All three of these participants were instrumental in identifying participants from each of the target tribes.

With the aim of gauging interest and capacity to participate in this research project, outreach efforts with potential interview participants from five target tribes were unstructured and exploratory (Schensul and LeCompte 2013:151; Bernard 2006:211). Although some tribes were able to quickly identify interview participants, others required application and approval processes. One of the target tribes was unable to grant permission in time to participate in the project, and none of the tribes were able to accommodate this researcher's overzealous plan for a series of interviews or for participant observation with elders in the field. Ultimately, I secured two key consultants/ interview participants from each of four tribes (N=8), with whom I conducted one ~1-2.5-hour-long semi-structured interview (see Table 1 for the number of participants and length of interviews per party). My goal with these interviews was to develop an understanding of each tribe's ideal relationship with the Land Trust, which Land Trust lands (and the resources thereon) are of most cultural significance, and which of these (by rank) each tribe would be most interested in accessing[5]. For reference, I provided each participant with a 24 in. x 36 in. version of the Land Trust's map of conserved lands (Figure 1), which included a small sample of parcels identified by Land Trust Stewardship Team members as most easily accessible. I encouraged participants to sketch the extent of their tribe's traditional territories onto these maps (see Appendix C for a list of

[5] As will be discussed below, developing a ranked inventory of Land Trust lands (and potential cultural resources and activities that might occur thereon), was abandoned because it became apparent during the interviews that each tribe's relationship with the Land Trust would be different and what was more important than access for the tribes was the relationship itself. Agreements about specific parcels and partnerships would come later.

Table 1. Number of participants and length of participant interviews by party.

Party	Participant	Length of Interview	Total Interview Time
Columbia Land Trust	Participant 1	50 min.	209 min.
	Participant 2	58 min.	
	Participant 3	101 min.	
Chinook Nation	Participant 1	77 min.	180 min.
	Participant 2	103 min.	
Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation	Participant 1	123 min.	363 min.
	Participant 2	139 min.	
	Participant 3	101 min.[2]	
Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde	Participant 1	66 min.	199 min.
	Participant 2	133 min.	
Cowlitz Indian Tribe	Participant 1	130 min.	178 min.
	Participant 2	48 min.	

questions asked of tribe representatives). I conducted all semi-structured interviews in person using a password-protected iPhone for recording, and transcribed interviews using a combination of transcription software and manual correction.

I distributed an anonymous ethnographic survey (Appendix D) to a total population of 73 Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers. N=47 individuals responded, providing both quantitative and qualitative data. To maximize efficiency and response rate, I distributed and administered the survey online using Qualtrics XM. I sent email solicitations to survey participants using a Columbia Land Trust-issued email address. The objective with this survey was twofold: 1) augment and support qualitative data gleaned from the semi-structured interviews and from participant observation, and 2) reveal any inconsistencies within the organization with regard to concepts of conservation and stewardship; equity as a necessary component of conservation; and

awareness and sensitivity to Indigenous concerns, ideologies, and the applicability of IEK in stewardship. In order to report Land Trust-specific themes back to the organization in advance of the final deliverable, I preliminarily analyzed the survey data early in the research process. My aim with this extra step was to provide Land Trust staff and leadership with ample time to consider the results and evaluate the organization's position before moving forward in relationship-building with tribes. Although the survey data collected was not predictive, it did reveal some loose associations between demographics, perspectives, and levels of understanding, indicating areas within the organization that could benefit from additional JEDI education and training.

As a seasonal employee with Columbia Land Trust, I received training in restoration, stewardship, and monitoring methods (among other duties), enabling me to assume the role of participant observer as a member of the Land Trust Stewardship Team. I developed relationships with staff and conducted informal interviews with more than 20 staff members in various settings ranging from the office to the field and during travel in between. This method, and the candid conversations that transpired, offered me an invaluable inside look at how staff interact with Land Trust lands, how they perceive of their work, and various other topics relating to my research. Initially a two-month position beginning in June of 2018, the Land Trust extended my tenure through December of 2018 and then offered another seasonal position over the 2019-2020 winter. The emic, or 'insider,' perspective acquired through participant observation bolstered data collected from Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers. As

previously mentioned, I was unable to acquire a complementary perspective through participant observation among tribe representatives.

To support my research with both the Land Trust and Native American tribes, I conducted an academic literature review pertaining to pre-contact territories of tribes and pre- and post-contact history and subsistence/cultural practices in the region (Catton 2016; Boyd, Ames, and Johnson 2013; Fisher and Jetté 2013; Fisher 2010; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Hunn, Selam, and Family 1990; Suttles 1990; Pettigrew 1978; Ray 1966). I also reviewed academic and gray literature pertaining to contemporary relationships between other conservation organizations and Indigenous groups (e.g., Barcalow and Spoon; AMTB and MROSD 2017; Banegas 2017; Catton 2016; Verma et al. 2016; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Middleton 2011; Keown 2010; Rosales 2010; Sutton and Clow 2001). The latter provided examples of, and insights into, effective working relationships, which may be applicable to the unique political and ecological circumstances of this region.

Data Analysis

Using Atlas.ti for Mac (Versions 8.4.0 – 8.4.5), a qualitative data management software, I completed a comparative analysis of the interview and qualitative survey response data, looking for common themes. I analyzed data using deductive and inductive content analysis and organized like content into codes and subcodes of general themes emerging from answers to interview and survey questions (Schensul and LeCompte 2013:83-96). In other words, predefined, recursively deduced categories, such

as ‘conservation,’ ‘restoration,’ and ‘stewardship,’ were further sub-coded/themed (inductively), based on previously unknown or unexpected ideas, such as ‘varieties of conservation objectives’ or ‘concerns pertaining to certain parties’ stewardship practices.’ Other unknown and unexpected ideas were also inductively categorized into new themes and topics of discussion. One such example is the notion, unexpected by this researcher, of land trusts conveying land to tribes. I ranked coded themes by frequency of occurrence as an indicator of level of significance. It is important to note that some ideas occurred multiple times within one interview or within one survey respondent’s set of answers. In this analysis, ‘frequency’ refers to the number of times an idea occurred and not the number of respondents that expressed that idea. I also incorporated some 'low-frequency’ concepts into the findings as novel ideas (and indicated them as such) if this researcher considered them to be of possible interest to the participating parties or of particular significance to the theoretical framework of this project.

I structured the Qualtrics XM survey of Columbia Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers into three blocks of questions: 1) demographic questions; 2) topical questions relating to conservation, restoration, and stewardship; and 3) topical questions relating to relationship-building scenarios with tribes. Quantitative data[6] from (N=47) survey respondents was exported to, and coded in, Microsoft Excel, and processed using IBM’s SPSS statistical analysis software (Version 24.0.0.2). Descriptive

[6] Qualitative data was also collected within the survey via open-ended text fields provided for respondents to explain or elaborate on their answers. As mentioned above, that data was analyzed and coded along with interview data, using Atlas.ti.

statistics calculated include frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation for each of the quantifiable questions. I cross-tabulated some demographic data with results from questions pertaining to relationship-building with tribes, power-sharing, and importance of JEDI in conservation. Data derived from descriptive statistics was used to support qualitative data discussed above.

Supplementary data acquired through participant observation and field interviews with Land Trust staff were mostly anecdotal and identified as such in the report to Columbia Land Trust and the tribes. I included such data only to provide additional context around particular ideas.

While literature review of pre- and post-contact tribe history and subsistence was invaluable in providing context for this researcher, it became clear during interviews with tribe representatives that acquiring, analyzing, and reporting on First Foods and tribes' subsistence/cultural practices was far outside the scope of this study. Therefore, while some of these details factored into the tribes' current socioeconomic and political positions, a discussion on Northwest Native ethnoecology was unnecessary. On the other hand, academic and gray literature on relationships between other conservation organizations and Indigenous groups has become increasingly plentiful, indicating a growing level of equity and inclusion in land and resource use and conservation (AMTB and MROSD 2017; Banegas 2016; Catton 2016; Verma et al. 2016; Whyte, Brewer II, and Johnson 2016; Spoon 2014; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Middleton 2011; Keown 2010; Rosales 2010; Sutton and Clow 2001). I referenced this literature, and included select

case studies therein as examples in the deliverable report for the Land Trust and tribes to consider. I also reference it in the following discussion.

Study Limitations: Redirection and Clarification of Data Collected

Initially, there was significant interest on the part of some Land Trust staff around First Foods (and other cultural resources) and making those resources on Land Trust lands available to the tribes' members. That interest was the basis for one of my main research inquiries. In interviews with tribe representatives, however, identifying and discussing access to cultural resources (and which of the Land Trust lands shown on a map would be of most interest for accessing said resources) seemed either premature at this stage of the relationship, or it felt like less of a concern than protecting and restoring land and resources under the looming climate crisis. Access to the Land Trust's lands and any First Foods thereon was certainly appreciated, and in some cases expected. But what was most important for tribe participants was the development of a respectful relationship built on trust. Indeed, they expended significant effort during interviews explaining their tribe's expectations around trust and respect, and offering insightful recommendations on how to earn them. By the time interviews arrived at the point of asking participants to identify sites and resources of interest, those inquiries seemed far beyond the scope of this research, unnecessary, and extractive. With that, those matters became secondary to discussions on how the Land Trust and the tribes could work together to solve their mutual problems of inequity, land fragmentation, environmental

degradation, and climate change. These questions would become more relevant when projects and sites on which to partner are identified.

Another important research objective for the Land Trust was to understand the tribes' geographic boundaries so that the organization could engage with the most appropriate tribes for each of their current landholdings and for future acquisitions. Asking a tribe participant to delimit their tribe's aboriginal territory, however, led to discussions over contentious relations with neighboring tribes and extensive overlap of usual and accustomed places. While most tribe participants were ultimately willing to put a geographic limit to their tribe's current areas of interest, these deferrals correlated to a tribe's lack of capacity to extend efforts beyond a given distance and not a forfeiture of interest or ownership. Maps provided by tribes (see Appendix A) are illustrative of those boundaries and may be useful to the Land Trust, but the reluctance of most participants to delimit their tribes' areas of interest should also serve as cautionary to the organization, especially along tribes' territorial boundaries and near cultural landmarks important to many tribes.[7]

Lastly, when designing the research, I recognized 'conservation,' 'restoration,' and 'stewardship' as terms with precise definitions and distinct associative actions. And within the jargon of conservation professionals, those rules often apply. Early in the research, however, I began to see that, even for those who use these terms as jargon, it is very difficult to talk about one of these terms without talking about the others.

[7] Willamette Falls is one landmark, for instance, that multiple tribes claimed as culturally important.

Conservation could be seen as an umbrella term in which stewardship and restoration are necessary components. Or stewardship can be seen as a way of interacting with the environment that has a conservation focus. Restoration may be one of the tools of stewardship. The overlap of these terms and their meanings made discussing each term independently nearly impossible, both during the research and in the following pages.

RESULTS

Data collected during semi-structured interviews revealed the most relevant topics of concern for all parties. Triangulation of the interview data with the survey data and anecdotal participant observation data added nuance and supported the themes emerging from the interviews. The analytical process also reinforced the utility of the stepwise structure of the interview and survey questions, and it seemed logical to adhere to that format for presenting the results and themes that emerged. In respect to the primary questions addressed in this research, all questions were sufficiently answered. Those questions were: 1) which tribes are affiliated with which of the Land Trust's current landholdings; 2) what are the differences and similarities in perspectives on conservation, restoration, and stewardship; 3) what are the differences and similarities in perspectives on how to develop mutually beneficial relationships; and 4) do all parties have the capacity to engage and how prepared is the Land Trust to engage with tribes on the tribes' terms. As noted previously, in *Research Limitations*, the answer to Question 1 was complicated and subjective. Based on the tribe's own maps (provided in Appendix A), however, the answer is straightforward enough that a discussion on tribes' boundaries and how they pertain to Land Trust-tribe relationships is unwarranted. The following results, then, concern the matters addressed in Questions 2-4. These results are broken down by the topics of the overarching questions, each of which leads directly to its respective theme. Those themes will be addressed in the *Discussion* that follows this section. Table 2 summarizes and demonstrates how each topic below relates to the emergent themes to be discussed.

Table 2. Relationship between overarching questions asked, their results, and the themes that emerged.

Topics From Overarching Questions and their Results	Emergent Themes
What are the differences and similarities in **perspectives on conservation, restoration, and stewardship**?	Regardless of differing philosophies and objectives pertaining to conservation, restoration, and stewardship of resources, there will be **significant overlap between the Land Trust and the tribes in practice**.
What are the differences and similarities in **perspectives on relationship-building**?	Even having voiced their concerns over each other's differing conservation philosophies and objectives, all parties felt that **Land Trust-tribe partnerships make practical sense and help to advance JEDI goals**.
Do all parties have the **capacity and preparedness to engage** and how prepared is the Land Trust to engage with tribes on the tribes' terms?	Despite multiple paths to partnering and all parties agreeing such relationships will improve conservation outcomes, the Land Trust appears apprehensive to commit to the next step. The organization does still struggle internally with the notion of sharing decision-making power with tribes and with its preference for western over Indigenous science. But its lack of capacity to fully and respectfully engage if it does commit to formalizing Land Trust-tribe relations may be the greatest source of its apprehension. **An investment in capacity may alleviate the organization's feelings of uncertainty** around respectfully showing up for its tribe partners.

Perspectives on Conservation, Restoration, and Stewardship

The greatest philosophical divide over conservation, restoration, and stewardship between the tribes and Land Trust pertains to: 1) what specifically is being conserved, restored, and stewarded – culturally significant resources versus sensitive species and habitats; 2) what constitutes an ideal restored state; and 3) stewarding to maintain productivity versus the establishment of less productive, but more mature and stable conditions. In other words, the tribes' prioritization of culturally significant resources over sensitive species and habitats represents the greatest point of contention for Land Trust

participants. The following summarizes these differences in perspective.

Land Trust participants expressed a sense of urgency when discussing conservation. As put by one Land Trust interview participant, “We, at least in European settlement, have used the land much heavier and more extractive than, say, how Native Americans would have used and managed the land prior to that.” This sentiment correlated with a general sense across interviewees and survey respondents that time is running out to conserve and protect remaining natural areas and/or to restore habitats before they and their dependent species are lost to unsustainable land use. Although many participants recognized that Indigenous peoples once lived more sustainably on the land than we do today, there was widespread agreement over protecting sensitive habitats under threat of degradation by development, fragmentation, and any human activity or disturbance. Even for those with the greatest respect for IEK, there was a perception that Indigenous individuals, preoccupied with procuring and/or cultivating culturally important resources, would do so at the expense of sensitive habitats and species. This would be antithetical to the Land Trust’s mission and western science-based conservation values. Indeed, the business of conservation is for the protection of natural areas from human activities. One of its primary goals is to ensure that protected areas and habitats remain available for future generations, especially threatened and endangered species. While Land Trust participants frequently mentioned human enjoyment of natural areas as an important component of the conservation objective, most envisioned human involvement as passive, with limited interaction, and rarely for

extractive purposes.[8]

For tribe participants, conservation was certainly about ensuring natural areas and resources are available for future generations of beings, but with a greater focus on humans' ability to interact with and influence the natural world through small-scale disturbances or human interventions. They understood and supported the conservation movement's imperative to protect land and restrict human activity, but tribe participants used conservation more in terms of resources than landscapes and habitats, with a greater sense of interpersonal relationships with, and responsibility to, the resources to be conserved. Their focus was on the conservation of First Foods, medicines, and other culturally significant resources for ongoing availability and with which to sustain cultural identity, tradition, and sustenance. Notably, tribe participants did not see the prioritization of culturally significant resources for human use as antithetical to the protection and preservation of other species and habitats. In fact, all tribe participants agreed that natural resources and the tribes' cultural resources are one and the same. Thus, conserving one necessarily protects and conserves the other. In the case of salmon, for example, many subscribed to the 'keystone species theory,' which supports their belief that restoring a First Food will have dramatic beneficial consequences for other species and habitats, and vice versa (Quaempts et al. 2018; Garibaldi and Turner 2004; Cedarholm et al. 2000; Paine 1969). There was greater trust among tribe participants,

[8] An exception to that rule, however, is in the case of working farms and forests, usually on conservation easements of other landowners' properties, in which case the conservation objective is to maintain such properties for agricultural or forest practices.

who referred often to their tribe's responsibility to future generations, that IEK/ indigenous science was every bit as equipped as western conservation science to recognize and adjust to resource availability in an appropriately sustainable manner.

In terms of restoration, less of a hard line formed between the Land Trust and the tribes, with most participants in agreement that a site's context plays a major role in what is possible and ideal, and that pre-contact conditions may not be attainable or even appropriate under modern conditions and socio-environmental needs. All participants expressed concern over the state of the region's lands and resources, conditions that have developed over two centuries under western conventions of management – fire suppression, land fragmentation, resource extraction, abuse, neglect, and human disassociation from nature. All agreed that an important component of conservation work is the restoration of habitats and species populations that are in danger of being permanently lost. Additionally, all agreed that restoring human engagement with, and investment in, the natural world are essential to ensure greater conservation outcomes, reasoning that more informed and involved humans would find value in, take better care of, and prevent further damage to, our lands and resources. Restoring an Indigenous connection to aboriginal lands was especially important for tribe participants (and many Land Trust participants) because of their long-standing relationship with, knowledge of, and responsibility to, the needs of these neglected places and resources.

There were some differences of opinion, however, on how some of these restoration efforts should play out and what an ideal restored state should look like. The Chinook participants emphasized a need for more patience, pointing to past restoration

failures, while the other tribes and the Land Trust expressed a need for immediate action, sometimes in big ways. In consideration of an ideal restored state, three of the eight tribe participants (two Chinook and one Cowlitz) considered pre-contact conditions the benchmark to work toward (even if unattainable), but for the Land Trust and the other five tribe participants, a restored state was contextual to each site, taking into account what is possible in light of past management, the site's current and neighboring conditions, missing habitat types across the greater landscape, modern human needs, and resilience to future disturbances and climate change.

The question of what stewardship aims to achieve presents the most challenging philosophical difference between the Land Trust and the tribes – productivity of resources versus ecological stability and resilience. The types of stewardship activities that are applicable toward either goal may also be contentious. As stated by one of the tribe participants, an Indigenous stewardship regime "is disturbance-based" and "keeps early successional species intact and more abundant on the landscape than they would otherwise be." This ensures higher productivity of roots and berries and creates edges of habitats that ungulates prefer. These are not the conditions for which conservation organizations, or even some of the tribes' natural resource departments, always aim. Considering the level of disturbance that has occurred, from logging to agriculture, in the Pacific Northwest, stable, climax conditions like old-growth forests and intact wetlands are few and far between, and the species that depend on them are in danger of extinction. Stewardship efforts, therefore, often aim to foster ecosystems' development toward more mature conditions and to restore habitat diversity across the greater

landscape. Outside of select stewardship tasks, the organization heavily regulates direct human engagement with the land and resources under its care. If Indigenous stewardship involves direct interaction with and ongoing disturbance of the land and resources, it remains to be seen if multiple objectives and approaches can coexist within a site or within the frame of a Land Trust-tribe partnership.

Participants were asked to provide a list of the top stewardship applications and practices that came to mind. Practices listed across the Land Trust and tribes' resource departments were strikingly similar, even in the conservative use of herbicides.[9] In most cases, it seems that a line can be drawn, however, between how tribes' resource departments steward versus how individual tribe members and families steward for abundance of foods and medicines. This seems to be an important point and a place to explore commonality across stewardship. The Land Trust is likely going to be on the same page with tribes' natural resource departments around improving fish habitat, controlling invasive species, and reducing fuel. On the other hand, if the goal is to increase the abundance of roots and berries for onsite harvesting, the Land Trust's options might be

[9] Use of pesticides/herbicides to control unwanted species was found across all parties, but with varying levels of support from individual participants. The Land Trust Stewardship Team uses herbicides as sparingly as possible, but currently without much regard for human/wildlife consumption or other interactions, trusting that the toxins will break down well before they can do harm. The Yakama Nation and the Grand Ronde Tribe share this approach, but with greater concern for human safety. The Cowlitz Tribe's natural resource department uses herbicides, even knowingly on or near edible plants, with confidence that residual chemical compounds will break down and be safe for human consumption after a certain period. One Yakama participant was against the use of herbicides because of the (unintentional) damage they can do to culturally important plants. The Chinook participants and one Cowlitz participant were against herbicides on the basis of their toxicity alone and the potential threats (yet to be fully understood) that they may pose to the environment and our planet overall. The Grand Ronde participants accepted the use of herbicides in conservation work, but, out of safety concerns, were against their use in areas where humans may come in contact with them.

limited by preexisting conservation values and contractual agreements. Better understanding needs to be developed around how tribes steward at the official level while also accommodating tribe members' stewardship for the abundance of cultural resources. Perhaps this is also the place for the Land Trust to improve its understanding of IEK, something 91% of Land Trust participants felt would be beneficial and complimentary to the organization's approach to stewardship.

These big picture philosophical differences of opinion are likely to become irrelevant or negotiated into new areas of understanding and compromise as parties share knowledge and navigate each other's concerns and expectations, either through collaboration on a particular project or through the development of formal Land Trust-tribe agreements. In light of current levels of environmental degradation across the region, and ongoing threats to remaining land and resources, all parties were in agreement that regardless of the conservation objective or ideal, land and resource conservation, restoration, and stewardship are imperative to the lives and livelihoods of ourselves and future generations.

Perspectives on Relationship-Building

All parties were enthusiastic over the idea of formalized relationships. Most Land Trust participants considered this an important step in recognizing tribes as the original inhabitants and stewards of the lands under the organization's care. Most tribe participants were appreciative of the idea, understanding that, as a private landowner, the Land Trust was under no obligation to build relationships with tribes. Most were

hopeful that such a formality would provide a platform upon which tribes could voice concerns and interests as they relate to conservation work within their traditional homelands.

The second scenario introduced the concept of tribe members acquiring access to Land Trust lands to engage in various cultural activities, such as harvesting First Foods, medicines, and other cultural resources, or for spiritual or ceremonial purposes. The majority of Land Trust participants were, again, supportive. Some were even hopeful that such access would bring additional capacity for stewardship and opportunities for knowledge-exchange. Some raised concerns, however, over which lands should be accessible and what kinds of cultural activities might occur on them. Specifically, a number of participants worried that tribes' traditional and cultural activities could undermine the important work that the Land Trust does to preserve and restore habitats for sensitive species of plants and animals[10]. Even those most dedicated to JEDI's role in conservation and supportive of tribes' rights to access and engage in cultural activities, however, anticipated that certain properties would need to be excluded from access and/or certain activities would have to be restricted or prohibited in order to adhere to predetermined conservation standards and/or honor agreements with other stakeholders. A few Land Trust participants suggested transferring ownership of certain properties to tribes rather than pit Indigenous culture and tradition against western

[10] An analysis of Land Trust affiliation revealed that some correlation existed between participants who were less convinced of JEDI's role in the conservation movement (mostly board members and volunteers with less JEDI experience and training) and those most concerned over the threat tribes might pose to western conservation values.

conservation values.

Half of the tribe participants[11] adamantly advocated their tribe's rights to stolen aboriginal lands, calling into question the western concept of land ownership that has been so destructive to Indigenous livelihoods and cultures and the landscapes and habitats thereunder. On this premise, they made clear their expectation that the Land Trust, and every landowner, should feel obligated to allow access for Indigenous people to sustain themselves physically, spiritually, and culturally. The other four tribe participants[12] recognized the validity of that argument but deferred to the western concept of ownership to which they, and society at large, are now most accustomed. Beyond questioning the validity of 'owning' land – something most of the tribe participants understood as common as air and water – all but one[13] were hopeful that the Land Trust would open up access to sites, even if just for low-impact spiritual activities and reconnection with estranged places.

In some ways the hypothetical question of tribes' access to Land Trust sites could be considered premature and possibly counterproductive in the early stages of a relationship-building process. It should not be surprising that the Land Trust would be hesitant to transgress existing conservation values and restrictions. And of course, tribes are going to want access to sites and resources, even if for nothing more than to assert

[11] Excluding both Grande Ronde participants.
[12] Excluding both Chinook participants.
[13] One tribe participant was against the Land Trust providing access to tribe members for fear that unscrupulous tribe members would violate trust and substantiate Land Trust concerns over the incompatibility of Indigenous practices and western conservation values.

original and sovereign rights to their traditional lands (some participants said as much). But during the course of this research, the tribes did not have the opportunity to visit any Land Trust sites and, therefore, could not assess their conditions or what resources, if any, would be of interest and/or plentiful enough to collect. As explained by one of the Grand Ronde participants, there is a strong possibility that, upon visiting a site, a tribe member or resource steward would determine that the site needs time to heal and is not immediately ideal for certain cultural practices. Or they may be able to explain (better than this researcher), why cultural activities would have little, if any, impact on Land Trust conservation values. According to this participant, even if all agreed that a site is too fragile for most cultural activities, Indigenous partners still have valuable input and insights to share regarding its long-term plan. Further, the return of Indigenous people to any of these ailing places will only improve their health. All of these are details that could and should be answered through conversations between the Land Trust and each tribe, in which parties share knowledge and understanding before they negotiate access and harvesting parameters. Many Land Trust research participants agreed that working out expectations and restrictions on a site-by-site basis, and addressing infractions if/when they occur would be an appropriate strategy for developing understanding and building trust around access to sites. All of the tribe participants felt that details around access, harvestable resources, restrictions, use of herbicides, and advance notice would need to be worked out in jointly developed, site-specific MOUs, management plans, or some other kind of partner agreement.

The third scenario presented involved consultation and/or co-stewardship of Land Trust lands. Participants were asked to share their ideas and concerns pertaining to the concept of tribes advising the Land Trust and/or sharing responsibility in developing and implementing restoration and stewardship objectives and approaches. The majority of Land Trust participants were in favor of partnering with tribes around these efforts, citing knowledge-sharing and the pooling of resources as the greatest potential advantages. Because the Land Trust and tribes have overlapping objectives in conservation, overlapping ecological expertise, and limited resources, most participants saw Land Trust-tribe partnerships as an obvious win-win situation through which to accomplish greater conservation outcomes, with deeper understanding, and shared and focused energy and funding. Some Land Trust participants expressed concerns that tribes might advocate stewardship approaches or the allowance of cultural practices that would be incompatible with science-based conservation values or other existing restrictions imposed on any given site. For these participants, if conflict arose around these matters, it could call into question the Land Trust's primary mission, delay progress, and challenge the organization's staff, whose capacity is already limited. Some participants familiar with existing Land Trust-tribe relations felt that these relationships are best developed and/or maintained between the Land Trust and tribes' natural resource staff, who are more fluent in western conservation science and can act as better liaisons between their tribes' leadership and outside organizations. Of course, this is how the Land Trust has been operating, which is largely why the Chinook Nation is not among the Land Trust's primary project partners (the Chinook Tribe does not have a natural resource department).

However, Chinook research participants, as well as every other tribe participant and some Land Trust participants, were confident that developing some kind of co-stewardship agreement would open up additional funding to increase capacity, a suggestion which has been substantiated by other land trust-tribe partnerships (AMTB and MROSD 2017; Middleton 2011). For the Chinook Nation, such a partnership would help that tribe prioritize and fundraise for the creation of staff positions dedicated to conservation and stewardship work, thereby giving outside conservation organizations and agencies an official liaison with whom to work within the Chinook administration. It could also advance that tribe's potential for future such projects. But even if a tribe does not have a well-funded resource department, half of the tribe participants[14] felt the Land Trust has an obligation to consult tribes whenever beginning work within their respective homelands. As previously discussed, the other half[15] respected the Land Trust's ownership and felt that the organization was under no obligation to consult with or offer co-stewardship rights to their respective tribe. They were appreciative of the notion and hoped to develop such a partnership, nevertheless.

The fourth partnering scenario presented affords tribes the greatest level of decision-making power in the Land Trust's work, which involves tribes consulting on Land Trust acquisitions of lands and overall conservation planning within their respective aboriginal homelands. The most common reservation that Land Trust survey respondents expressed over tribes' involvement in acquisition planning is that it could slow processes

[14] Both Grand Ronde participants excluded.
[15] Both Chinook participants excluded.

or lead to conflict when tribes' and Land Trust's conservation objectives are not in sync. One Cowlitz participant wholeheartedly agreed that this could happen, but felt it was a very necessary step in the relationship-building process. The majority of Land Trust survey and interview participants, however, saw such consultation with tribes as a useful step for better understanding all perspectives, even when objectives do not align. Consultation would increase transparency in each party's interests and plans, build trust, deduplicate conservation efforts, positively influence prioritization through knowledge-sharing and better cultural understanding, and as put by one Land Trust survey respondent, it could open opportunities to partner on new kinds of projects that are of both "ecological AND cultural significance." These benefits were echoed by participants across all four tribes.

Some Land Trust participants asserted that this is already how the organization operates, pointing out that these kinds of partnerships are responsible for some of the Land Trust's greatest conservation successes. But if this is how the Land Trust works, why were the Chinook participants incensed for having been excluded from such consultation thus far, and why did it seem like a new concept to the Grand Ronde and even the Cowlitz participants, one of the Land Trust's most long-standing partners? Even one of the Yakama participants called for more transparency and better communication, which is surprising because an ongoing Land Trust-Yakama joint restoration project was considered by both Land Trust and Yakama participants to be a great collaborative success. Among the Grand Ronde participants there was no resentment but sincere hope that such consultation would offer an opportunity for their tribe to explain why certain

areas are of high conservation value, as well as provide a way for Land Trust and Grand Ronde staff to develop interpersonal relationships. At the other end of the spectrum, the Yakama and the Cowlitz participants were satisfied with the level of collaborative conservation that has occurred thus far. They hoped, however, that a next step would include the development of a Land Trust-tribe shared vision within each of their areas, which partners could reference as they move forward together or independently (with the other's conservation priorities in mind). All tribes were confident that if the Land Trust understands a tribe's conservation goals, that they will positively influence the Land Trust's future conservation/acquisition decisions. The development of an MOU or some other kind of agreement was supported by most of the tribe participants as a way to demonstrate a heightened level of commitment to a Land Trust-tribe partnership and with which to win tribes' confidence.

Capacity and Preparedness to Engage

Columbia Land Trust has developed an extensive network of partnerships (CLT 2020), which should speak volumes to its capacity and preparedness to engage with tribes. Many of these relationships are project-based, formed for the purpose of solving a particular environmental problem or to accomplish a common conservation goal more efficiently. According to tribe interview participants, each tribe has developed similar relationships of its own. Two, the Yakama Nation and the Cowlitz Tribe, have established strong working relationships with Columbia Land Trust around common conservation and restoration interests, mostly within their respective ancestral homelands. Although the

Chinook Nation and the Grand Ronde Tribe also maintain partnerships with outside agencies and organizations, their histories working with Columbia Land Trust are less extensive. Since the Land Trust has fewer land holdings within the Grand Ronde's traditional territory, it stands to reason that fewer projects have arisen on which the two parties can partner[16]. With regard to the Chinook Nation, however, despite the Land Trust owning and stewarding several large sites within that tribe's traditional homelands, the relationship has remained somewhat superficial. This superficiality is largely due to the absence of a Chinook Nation department of natural resources. Because the Chinook Nation is not federally recognized, the Tribe has much lower capacity with which to take on conservation efforts comparable to the other three tribes in this study, each of which has a designated reservation, income from various industries, and enough resources to finance both cultural and natural resource departments. That said, the Chinook Nation has established official consulting relationships with state and federal agencies that acknowledge its rights and interests, regardless of its current federal status or its capacity to engage and/or contribute financially. For the Chinook participants, this raises the question, 'Why is the Chinook Nation not being similarly consulted by Columbia Land Trust?'

That the Land Trust has not done more to engage the Chinook Nation in projects within its homelands was a point of contention for Chinook participants, especially

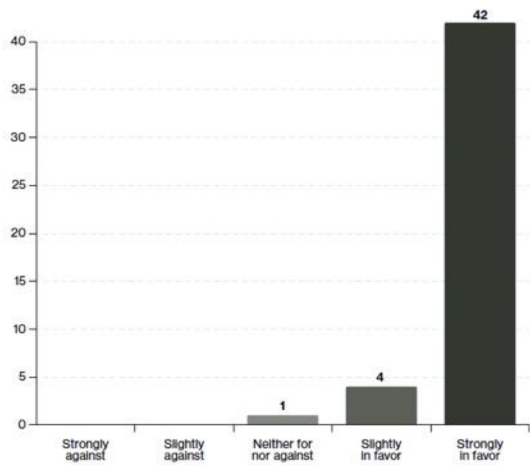
[16] The Land Trust has consulted with the Grand Ronde on certain efforts. One example is in the naming of Atfalati Prairie, one of the Land Trust's sites formerly occupied by the Atfalati (Kalapuyan) People. The Grand Ronde Tribe is also one of the Land Trust's financial sponsors.

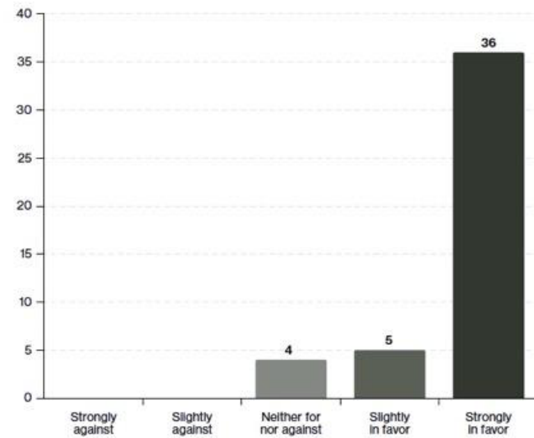
because they were aware of projects within their traditional homelands on which the Land Trust partnered with the Cowlitz Tribe, instead[17]. If the Land Trust's partnerships are project-based, it is understandable to some extent that the organization would seek out partners already working on similar projects and that have the capacity to meet the organization part way in its efforts. As mentioned by one Land Trust participant, this project-based approach to building relationships has worked with most of the tribes because these tribes have natural resource departments doing very similar work. In fact, the relationships have been developed with the tribes' natural and/or cultural resource department staff, not with the tribes' governing bodies. This explains why the project-based approach has not worked so well with the Chinook Nation, but it also begs the question whether there is a non-project-based approach that could include the Chinook Nation (and other tribes), which engages tribes regardless of their current capacity to employ resource department staff and finance conservation efforts. Does it make sense for Columbia Land Trust to develop formal relationships with sovereign nations, in which the organization officially and publicly recognizes sovereignty regardless of shared conservation objectives and projects? For all but one of the tribe participants the answer to that question is 'yes' – that a general MOU should be crafted which formalizes: 1) the Land Trust's commitment to uphold and honor a tribe's sovereignty; 2) the Land Trust's respect for a tribe's rights and opinions with regard to land conservation work within its homelands; and 3) the Land Trust's promise to engage with a tribe whenever the

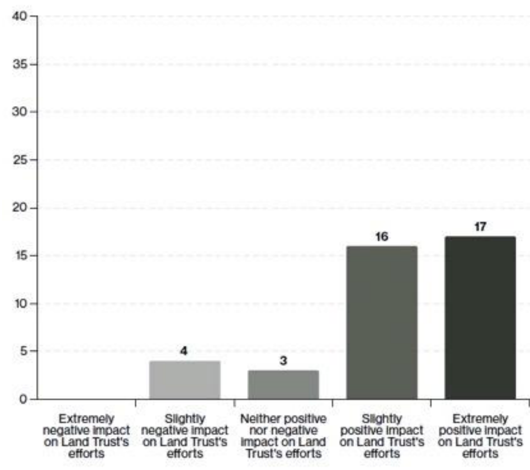
[17] Columbia Land Trust is aware of this misstep and is working to correct it.

organization's work intersects with its interests/homelands.

Land Trust interview participants and survey respondents expressed a growing level of wariness with each relationship scenario that afforded tribes greater influence and decision-making power. A comparison of bar graphs from the survey data pertaining to those four scenarios (Figure 2a-2d) illustrates the organization's increasing levels of concern. While all scenarios were popular with the majority of Land Trust participants, the data reveals that with each step of increasing inclusivity, an increasing number of participants' concerns heightened that tribes' interests and influence could hinder Land Trust operations. Considering that the most skeptical respondents were older, board members or volunteers with less JEDI experience, this trend was not surprising. More optimistically, the data also illustrate that no less than 80% of Land Trust participants expected some level of inclusion of tribes to have a positive impact on the Land Trust's work. Most Land Trust research participants saw partnerships between their organization and the region's tribes (the original conservationists of these lands) as an obvious "no-brainer." Taken together, Land Trust interview participants and survey respondents provided a sizeable list of potential benefits, including greater efficacy of the organization's overall mission, knowledge-sharing and learning from tribes' IEK, increased financial and stewardship capacity, and an opportunity for the organization to advocate and share expertise in the advancement of tribes' conservation efforts and objectives. Many Land Trust staff and volunteers were well-informed, understood the Indigenous history of the Northwest, and were aware of the importance of showing proper respect







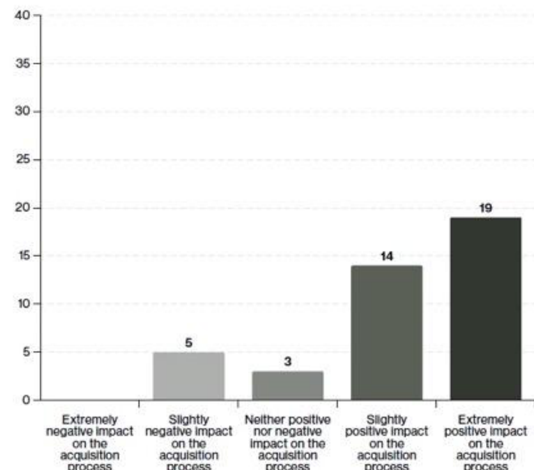


Figure 2a) Responses to the survey question "What is your position regarding the Land Trust's development of formal relationships with tribes affiliated with Land Trust lands?"; 2b. Responses to the survey question "What is your position on the Land Trust providing formal access for Native Americans to harvest traditional foods and engage in other cultural activities on Land Trust-conserved lands?"; 2c. Responses to the survey question "What is your position on whether or not Native American groups should take an active (co-management) role in the Land Trust's restoration and stewardship efforts?"; 2d. Responses to the survey question "What is your position on whether or not Native American groups should help the Land Trust prioritize land acquisitions?"

to the tribes. Some already had proven track records with some of the tribes' staff and members.

All tribe participants were in support of the Land Trust's initiative to improve relations with tribes, most hoping that an official agreement between the organization and their tribe would come out of the effort. Several participants felt that an MOU (or something similar) would not need to be binding but could "memorialize" each party's commitment to respectfully move forward as partners in conservation, improve communication, spell out expectations, and prevent misunderstandings. Most tribe participants warned, however, that low capacity would be a challenge for their tribe in assuming responsibilities or funding projects on Land Trust lands, outside of merely trading services and expertise. That said, all tribes felt that developing Land Trust-tribe partnerships and joint projects would attract donors and foundations interested in conservation work that includes a social and/or environmental justice component, or collaborative partnerships in general.

Starting small on tangible projects was an idea presented by multiple participants from all parties. Smaller collaborative projects allow parties to get to know each other and build trust [a process well underway with the Land Trust and the Yakama and Cowlitz Tribes, and that is known to be effective in collaborative processes between stakeholders with diverse backgrounds and interests (Ehrlichman, Sawyer, and Spence 2018)]. For non-Native partner projects, the need to make some kind of formal or public commitment to a partner may not be necessary, but for tribes, both memorializing the relationships and testing the waters through small joint projects seemed to be the most ideal scenario, perhaps because tribes expect to be regarded as nations, not merely 'stakeholders' with similar interests. As expressed by one tribe participant: "We're not stakeholders. We

have actual treaty rights. We're governments. We should be treated as... a state government, a city government… not like an NGO that happens to have interests in the area." This is a concept that federal and state agencies are coming to understand, and with regard to treaties and federal/state recognition of tribes, are required by law to honor. It is not yet a legal obligation for non-profit conservation organizations, but it may be a sociopolitical obligation, nonetheless.

For the Land Trust, there remains some wariness due to existing conservation values and restrictions that, while binding, may not be universal to all landholdings. An internal investigation of these policies may reveal areas with enough flexibility to partner. Beyond such an investigation and the necessary negotiations that would ensue between prospective partners, there is little lack of enthusiasm from any of the parties to engage in deeper Land Trust-tribe relationships. Committing to these relationships and agreeing to partner over the long term is the next step. The Land Trust's apprehension over this next step reflects both its wariness over what Indigenous conservation ideals entail, but also the greatest obstacle for all parties – a lack of dedicated staff capacity to initiate and sustain engagement at both an institutional and departmental level.

DISCUSSION

This research illustrates that regardless of differing philosophies and objectives pertaining to conservation, restoration, and stewardship of resources, there will be significant overlap between the Land Trust and the tribes in practice. Even having voiced their concerns over each other's differing philosophies, all parties felt that Land Trust-tribe partnerships make practical sense and help to advance JEDI goals. However, despite multiple paths to partnering and all parties' agreeing such relationships will improve conservation outcomes, the Land Trust appears apprehensive to commit to the next step. The organization does still struggle internally with the notion of sharing decision-making power with tribes and with its preference for western over Indigenous science. But its lack of capacity to fully and respectfully engage if it does commit to formalizing Land Trust-tribe relations may be the greatest source of its apprehension. An investment in capacity may alleviate the organization's feelings of uncertainty around respectfully showing up for its tribe partners. The following discussion will explore these themes and argue that, if the Land Trust makes certain strides in its commitment to tribe partnerships, it may set the course for all else to fall into place.

Overlap in Conservation Objectives and Approaches

Many tribe participants criticized the dominant culture's idea of conservation for its misconception that human interaction is inherently counterproductive to healthy, intact, and productive ecosystems. Indeed, most considered their ancestors' stewardship of the natural world the very reason early settlers were so enamored by the lushness and

productivity of the American landscape in the first place. Further, they expressed a sense of personal, spiritual responsibility for caring for the natural world and considered doing so reciprocally restorative. Most Land Trust participants were aware of this misconception of nature being better off without human interaction and agreed that both restoration and stewardship are part and parcel of the imperative of conservation. All recognized these actionable terms as tools to recover and/or maintain desirable conditions. Tribes' criticism of western conservation policy is well-founded as Indigenous peoples across the world bore the brunt of the conservation movement's early ideal of a pristine wilderness, free of humans (Vaccaro, Beltran, and Paquet 2013; Cronon 1996). Fortunately, most modern conservation professionals recognize that error and many are beginning to accept the important role Indigenous peoples played in creating those so called 'pristine' conditions.

That said, the Land Trust participants' rhetoric emphasized the protection of resources through controlling human access, reflecting a duly earned distrust of society at large for the disrespect bad players have shown to sensitive species and habitats. If this distrust carries over to tribes and tribe members' IEK and traditional practices, however, it could be a significant hurdle to overcome in the relationship-building process.

Differences of opinion certainly existed between the Land Trust and the tribes over whether conservation efforts should focus on endangered habitats and species versus culturally significant resources and whether and/or how herbicides should be used. Where all were in agreement, is that conservation efforts, more often than not, benefit both endangered species/habitats and culturally important resources. The decline

and/or disappearance of species and habitats, salmon being the most emblematic and of great consequence, is deeply troubling to all parties. The Land Trust is already working on salmon habitat recovery efforts with the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Yakama Nation (among other partners) and there is likely grant funding available to undertake more salmon recovery efforts with other tribes. And in the case of salmon habitat, there is strong evidence that its restoration and recovery will have ripple effects in the benefit of other species and habitats (Quaempts et al. 2018; Garibaldi and Turner 2004; Cedarholm et al. 2000; Paine 1969). Even if salmon were the only common species of interest for the Land Trust and tribes, which it is not, there are plenty of opportunities in every tribe's traditional territory to focus on its habitat recovery and restoration. Further, all parties are in agreement on how to approach said restoration. In fact, the three tribes with natural resource departments tended to approach conservation, restoration, and stewardship in similar ways to that of Columbia Land Trust. With vast amounts of land and resources to manage and very few technical staff/stewards to manage all the resources under their care, all parties focus their efforts primarily on stream and wetland restoration, invasive species control, and fuel reduction. Some of the tribes use prescribed burning when possible, and the Grand Ronde has begun cultivating and restoring First Foods in areas where they have become deficient. For the tribes, however, most of these efforts are orchestrated at their more official level of stewardship. Additional research could aim to understand how tribes steward at the official level versus the individual/family level. Notably, tribes were less concerned over tribe members' access to and engagement with resources, demonstrating trust in their

members' IEK and their ability to interact with resources in sustainable ways. But the Land Trust's unfamiliarity with tribe members' objectives and practices (as opposed to the tribes' resource department objectives) was at the heart of its uncertainty. As illustrated by Verschuuren et al. (2021), Barcalow and Spoon (2018), and Middleton (2011), transparency and a commitment to good communication will lead to better understanding between tribes and conservation professionals as they navigate paths to which all parties' conservation values (tribe members' included) can coexist.

In line with the above referenced findings, the majority of participants felt it would be fundamental to set each party's expectations and objectives around an agreed upon site and its resources and challenges. Upon identifying a concrete site over which to partner, transparency and shared knowledge around certain matters would ensure that resources are protected and possibly available for limited extraction. Some of the more contentious matters to address at the outset include: culturally important species; sensitive and/or threatened habitats/species; western and Indigenous concepts around ecological integrity; and selective and non-selective herbicides and these chemicals' levels of toxicity. Further, transparency and knowledge-sharing would ensure that human and wildlife safety and protection are thoughtfully considered and valued by all. Developing an agreement with shared knowledge and understanding concerning the above, and forming stewardship approaches through consensus and with mutual respect, would likely alleviate disagreements over differing objectives and practices, and/or make way for a variety of approaches to explore within one or multiple sites.

Land Trust-Tribe Relations Make Practical Sense and Help Advance JEDI Goals

An overarching theme that came out of this research was a profound agreement across all parties that Land Trust-tribe relations are necessary, not only as an important symbol to recognize tribes' sovereignty and as an effort in reconciliation, but also because so much conservation work is needed despite every party's low capacity. All tribe participants felt the Land Trust could, and/or should, do better at recognizing sovereignty. Such recognition might entail meeting with tribe leaders and coming to agreements over conservation plans within a tribe's traditional territory. It might entail conveying land to tribes or the creation of cultural conservation easements on certain Land Trust lands (AMTB and MROSD 2017; Middleton 2011). It might also entail the Land Trust using its platform to advocate for tribes' rights and for Indigenous justice outside of conservation matters. To partner with tribes in any of these ways, and to do so publicly, raises awareness with audiences that may be less educated about, and/or hostile toward tribes. Public inclusion and support, thereby, uplifts and empowers tribes to participate more fully within their communities and to increase their capacity to pursue their own goals and objectives (Ibid). Most Land Trust participants were enthusiastic about the symbolism of formalizing Land Trust-tribe relations, suggesting it was morally "the right thing to do"[18] – that bringing tribes as partners into the fold of the larger conservation

[18] It may be worthwhile to consider western conservation professionals' 'moral obligation' to a certain segment of society and that of Indigenous peoples 'moral obligation' toward the natural world. Whereas the Land Trust participants' moral conviction rises from the guilt of their culture and discipline's injustices against Indigenous peoples, the kind of moral obligation many of the Indigenous participants conveyed was based in their culture's religious or spiritual conviction to respectfully and responsibly steward and/or accept the gifts that nature (the Creator) provides.

movement and allowing Indigenous voices to be heard and respected is part and parcel of the organization's work toward justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion.

All tribe participants made clear that because of extremely low capacity, their tribe would not be in a position to contribute much in the way of resources, at least initially and without funding to support partner projects. They did not see their limited capacity as any reason, however, not to develop relations. In fact, all participants expected that developing a collaborative working relationship would make the tribe and the partnership eligible for new sources of funding that would boost capacity. Some also mentioned the possibility that the Land Trust could gain access to certain federal funds for which it would be ineligible without tribes as partners. In the most technical terms, the Land Trust also operates with little capacity to steward its lands. At the time of this research, there were only nine employees on the organization's stewardship team and those nine individuals were responsible for over 20,000 acres spread across approximately 14,000 square miles. Even with employees stationed at two additional outposts (on the coast, in Astoria, Oregon, and in the Columbia River Gorge, in Hood River, Oregon), that is a lot of ground to cover. Although staff size was not determined in interviews with tribe participants, it is unlikely that the capacity of the three tribes with natural resource departments is much higher. Sharing resources and/or staff on lands of common interest could accomplish more at a lower cost to each party. Many Land Trust participants were also hopeful that sharing knowledge and understanding would improve how all parties approach conservation, restoration, and stewardship. Other research on the applicability of IEK (or other local knowledge) in contemporary practice supports this

notion (Verschuuren et al. 2021; Barcalow and Spoon 2018; Spoon et al. 2015; Spoon and Arnold 2012) and demonstrates that the extra work required to establish a shared vision, pays off with less friction, increased buy-in by all parties, and therefore, more efficient processes and longer lasting results. Tribe participants wholeheartedly agreed, especially in their conviction that IEK would benefit the Land Trust's understanding and approach to conservation practice.

Investing in Capacity May Accelerate the Relationship-Building Process

As discussed above, the Land Trust has shown some apprehension around deepening or formalizing its relationships with tribes. Beyond a number of reservations participants expressed over what they perceived as conflicting stewardship objectives and practices, this apprehension is more likely about the organization's capacity to respectfully engage with tribe partners in a coordinated, ongoing, and reliable manner. Fear of the unknown may be an additional factor – committing to a tribal government may entail unfamiliar challenges for a successful organization with a history of great success in its singular focus. Columbia Land Trust is known around the Pacific Northwest and the nation as a professional, ethical, and successful land trust. It has gained this reputation through thoughtful leadership, methodical approaches to ever-increasing conservation goals and triumphs, and through strong partnerships on projects that range in size from noxious weed control to the removal of dams (Plemmons 2021). The practical matters of restoration and stewardship approaches are minimal concerns that can be worked out through understandings and agreements, but the more sizeable step

of declaring some kind of commitment or responsibility to the government of a tribe is not one that the organization wants to take lightly. And because of the political climate around justice and inclusion, the organization wants to avoid any misstep that could tarnish its reputation or raise questions about its leadership's commitment to these ethical endeavors.

As of this research, a handful of individuals within the Land Trust's stewardship and conservation departments were already engaged in practical relationships with staff members of three of the tribes' natural/cultural resource departments. The executive director was also working to develop better relations with a member of the Chinook Nation's Tribal Council. Each of these individuals maintains these relationships among many other job responsibilities and there has not yet been a coordinated effort to ensure that tribe relations are developing equitably and in such a way that each party feels informed and confident in the other's intentions and motives. Most of the tribe participants called for the Land Trust's leadership to approach tribe leaders around memorializing the relationship even if the day-to-day interactions remained between Land Trust and a tribe's departmental staff. But coordinating engagements with tribe leaders, growing relationships, exploring partnering opportunities, and crafting agreements could be a part- or full-time job. Select case studies on conservation organizations working with tribes reveal a wide range of relationship possibilities in which one or two members of a conservation organization's leadership liaise with staff or leaders of one or two tribes (AMTB and MROSD 2017; Middleton 2011). Sometimes tribes band together into a coalition of tribes for the purpose of addressing non-Native

conservation issues as a unified body (Spoon and Arnold 2012; Middleton 2011). But the Land Trust's focus area crosses the traditional territories of at least five of the region's tribes, each with unique histories and colonization related challenges that continue to spur animosity between tribes as each struggles to defend its rights and competes over access to limited resources. Indeed, because of this animosity, few of the research participants felt that creating a coalition of tribes to address conservation matters in the region would be a worthwhile endeavor. A number of the tribe participants suggested that the Land Trust may benefit from creating a staff position dedicated to the management of its relationships with multiple tribes. Since the Land Trust will need to develop unique relations with at least five tribes, each with its own capacity to engage, the organization is operating more like a larger, national land trust or a government agency. Two examples that have created tribe liaison positions are The Nature Conservancy (TNC 2021) and the Washington Department of Natural Resources (WADNR 2021)[19]. Another is The Trust for Public Lands that went so far as to create an entire Tribal and Native Lands Program (TTPL 2021). While maintaining existing staff-to-staff relationships would be important for consistency, it may indeed prove helpful to have one individual responsible for encouraging deeper engagement and inclusion of tribe's interests, who tracks progress, and sustains efforts toward Land Trust-tribe desired

[19] One participant suggested that a Land Trust tribe liaison should be Indigenous, but unaffiliated with the local tribes of this region in order to avoid any sense of allegiance. Notably, the Washington Department of Natural Resources' Director or Tribal Relations is a member of the Washington-based Colville Tribe (WADNR 2021). The Nature Conservancy's Director of Conservation in Partnership with Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities in non-Native, but that organization's Global Director of Conservation in Partnership with Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities is an Alaska Native (TNC 2021).

outcomes. This position's responsibilities could include: 1) the development of internal policies for outreach and engagement with tribes; 2) identification of appropriate Land Trust lands with enough flexibility for tribes' access and involvement, cultural conservation easements, or transfer of ownership; 3) drafting partnership agreements; 4) exploring and conducting cultural/educational opportunities for the public, Indigenous youth, and or other stakeholders; and 5) research on funding sources that support collaborative conservation efforts with tribes.

In sum, Land Trust-tribe partnerships will likely reveal that culturally-based differences in conservation objectives are minor and will mostly overlap. Further, as argued by other scholars and by the research participants themselves, such relations will improve conservation outcomes and make strides toward a more just and inclusive conservation movement. The next step in this process may be one that Columbia Land Trust is obliged to take, which is to demonstrate to the tribes that the organization is serious and committing itself, through internal policies and funding, to invest in relationship-building as a coordinated, ongoing effort.

CONCLUSION

In response to Columbia Land Trust's imperative to develop more equitable and inclusive relations with Northwest Native American tribes, this research explored different perspectives around conservation objectives and approaches; what kinds of relationships different parties considered most appropriate; and each tribe's capacity and preparedness to engage with the Land Trust and vice versa. A mix of research methods used include: 1) three in-depth interviews with members of the Land Trust's leadership team and eight representatives from four tribes; 2) a survey of 47 Land Trust staff, board members, and volunteers; 3) six months of participant observation as a member of the Land Trust Stewardship Department; and 4) a review of literature pertaining to comparable relationships between other conservation agencies/organizations and tribes.

Research revealed that the majority of Land Trust participants were hopeful about the deepening of relations between their organization and tribes, seeing such partnerships as morally obligatory (see Footnote 18). Despite some cultural obstacles, most participants expected that shared interests in environmental conservation and the benefits of shared and diverse knowledge and resources would outweigh any challenges that could arise from disparate conservation objectives in the relationship building process. Tribe participants agreed. Some Land Trust participants held reservations that the organization might bend too far in trying to meet tribes' expectations, which could weaken the organization's primary environmental focus. Their main concerns were over cultural practices impacting conservation values, loss of decision-making power, and staff time and resources directed toward diplomacy instead of conservation work. This

research, however, supports the former. While it is justifiable for a party to approach prospective partnerships with some level of caution, concerns and differences of opinion cannot be addressed or negotiated, nor trustworthiness demonstrated, without engaging in an earnest conversation (Barcalow and Spoon 2018; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Keown 2010). Most Land Trust participants understood this. Still, at the time of this research there remained some trepidation about diving in, and uncertainty about how far the organization could or should go. Indeed, some of the changes that are necessary for true Land Trust-tribe alliances will require the organization to expand how it sees conservation's role in the larger context of the JEDI movement (Kimmerer 2011; Middleton 2011); but investing in its own capacity in the development of these relationships could help to usher along those changes in understanding and perspective. Paradigm shifts are not easy undertakings (Escobar 1999; Smith 1999; Cronon 1996), but based on this research, both are seemingly in process and considered worthwhile. Overall, the Land Trust and the tribes see partnering as the right path to improve both environmental and social justice outcomes.

Tribe participants generally held far fewer reservations about developing relations and working with Columbia Land Trust than vice versa. Most participants felt that the Land Trust should certainly pay the tribes their due respect and acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty and the value of IEK. With a long history working within the oppressive confines of settler-imposed policies, however, the tribe participants were under no illusions that the Land Trust had any legal obligation to extend the allowances this research was designed to explore. That point alone, the fact that the Land Trust was

sponsoring this work without a legal obligation to do so, seemed to earn the organization some additional respect from tribe participants. From their perspective, the Land Trust and other conservation organizations are doing important work. Partnering with tribes can only help them to do that work better (Barcalow and Spoon 2018; Spoon and Arnold 2012; Berkes and Turner 2006). Tribes were open to exploring a variety of relationship styles, ranging from informal to formal (e.g., Middleton 2011). Many felt that working toward an MOU was a worthwhile and appropriate endeavor, but all were in agreement that making some kind of commitment to the relationship-building process, whatever the outcome, was the most important next step. One tribe participant offered an important word of advice, which is for the Land Trust to be both persistent and patient – because tribe administrators are responsible for so many concerns outside of conservation work, slow responses should be considered a lack of capacity, not a lack of interest. Lastly, because of complex intertribal political relations, all parties felt the Land Trust should develop relationships with each tribe independently, tailoring each relationship as appropriate for both the Land Trust and the respective tribe partner. Key findings include:

- Indigenous culture and IEK challenge conventional western conservation science, but in practice there is (or will be) significant overlap in conservation objectives and approaches;
- Land Trust-tribe partnerships make practical sense and help to advance JEDI goals; and

- An increased and dedicated effort may be necessary to initiate negotiations, draw up agreements, and orchestrate ongoing partnership efforts.

This research highlights what is already known by most Land Trust leadership and staff – that western dominance and the historical injustices of colonialism self-perpetuate inequality and marginalize Indigenous people and their ideas, worldviews, and science (Berkes 2012; Escobar 1999; Smith 1999). Even as the Land Trust struggles to internalize JEDI principles, reconciliation and repatriation are difficult actions to fathom for an organization and leadership with ownership of land, the power and responsibility to decide what is best for that land, and the conviction that its knowledge of how to restore and steward said land is superior to others'. At the end of the day, 'conservation' is a human construct and what we are 'conserving' is the world as we would like it to remain instead of the one it is trending toward. Climate scientists would say our way of life depends on it (IPCC 2021; Nelson et al. 2013). But do some humans' conservation values outweigh other humans' conservation values? And who gets to make that decision? Based on the findings of this study, this researcher is of the opinion that flexibility, earnest, open-minded, transparent, and humble communication in relationship-building, starting now, is the most viable path toward the high principles for which Columbia Land Trust strives, as well as the future of conservation, and therefore, the planet, in general. The onus is on the Land Trust and other such conservation organizations to invest in the extra capacity needed and should consider it a necessary component of reconciliation.

This research supports the growing discourse calling for society to see the perspectives and needs of all human beings on any side of a power struggle, and for dominant western powers to relinquish control of the narrative. As it relates to the environment, this call is for openness on the part of conservation professionals to ways of knowing and interacting with the environment that are based in other-than-western science, and for willingness to equalize the disparate distribution of power they hold over lands within their care. In so doing, we may begin to realize the best possible solutions to the environmental problems we face, with the buy-in, agency, and participation of the greatest, most diverse number of individuals and communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The data and findings of this research informed the following recommendations. They are also available in the report, *Establishing Expectations: Relationship-Building between Columbia Land Trust and Pacific Northwest Tribes* (Plemmons 2021):

- Begin or continue conversations with tribes about next steps to deepen and/or formalize relationships. Early involvement of tribes and open, transparent communication is the best path through which to overcome minor differences in conservation perspectives and to build long-lasting alliances built on trust. Deeper relationships may involve:
    - An informal understanding to share resources and efforts and support each other's joint and independent objectives.
    - Non-binding organization-to-government MOUs that memorialize the relationships.
    - Project- or site-specific MOUs that specify access, co-stewardship, expectations, restrictions, responsibilities, and affirmative obligations.
- Be patient and persistent. Tribe members and administrators are called on to represent their tribe on so much more than conservation-related interests. Slow responses should only imply a lack of time and resources, not a lack of interest.
- Be willing to support tribes' objectives outside of conservation. These may include:
    - Economic development.
    - Federal/state recognition and other political/legislative agendas.
    - Education and outreach among non-Native stakeholders.
- Consider revising internal policies and procedures in a way that ensures tribes are consulted in advance of a project or acquisition's inception.
- Consider developing a joint conservation plan with each tribe as it pertains to conservation within a tribe's region.
- Conduct an inventory of existing site management plans and contractual restrictions to identify which sites have enough flexibility in conservation values to allow for Indigenous access, harvesting practices, and/or traditional stewardship practices, even if on a trial or experimental basis.
    - Be willing to negotiate contractual restrictions and advocate for tribes' inclusion.
    - Identify sites that may be appropriate for cultural conservation easements.
    - Identify sites that may be appropriate for transfer of ownership.
- Consider designating a staff position to coordinate tribe relations. Maintaining existing staff-to-staff relationships is important for consistency, but it may prove helpful to have one individual responsible for encouraging deeper engagement

and inclusion of tribe’s interests in the Land Trust’s work who sets goals, tracks progress, and sustains efforts toward Land Trust-tribe desired outcomes. Responsibilities may include:
    - Development of internal policies for outreach and inclusion of tribes.
    - Identifying appropriate Land Trust lands with enough flexibility for tribes’ access and involvement, cultural conservation easements, or transfer of ownership.
    - Documenting informal agreements.
    - Drafting MOUs.
    - Drafting cultural conservation easements.
    - Developing and coordinating an Indigenous internship program.
    - Coordinating tribe-specific cultural/educational opportunities and events on Land Trust lands.
    - Research on funding sources that support collaborative conservation efforts with tribes.
- Work with each tribe independently, within each tribe’s territories of interest. Any kind of assembly of tribes should be informational, and allow for knowledge exchange, primarily between the Land Trust and the tribes’ resource staff and stewards.
- Ensure that all facets of the organization (board members, staff, volunteers, funders, partners, contractors, etc.) are aware of JEDI efforts, regardless of who is leading the charge. In Columbia Land Trust’s case, board members and volunteers were less informed of the organization’s intentions, less educated on the importance of JEDI in the mission, and therefore less convinced of the value it brings.
- Develop internship program for Indigenous youth.

Some additional, more specific, or direct recommendations came from interviews with tribe participants. Many of these ideations were voiced by multiple tribes, which attests to their soundness. They also bolster and illustrate the underlying logic of the more general recommendations above. I include them in Appendix E and credit the tribes/participants to which these ideas are attributed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND AND CURRENT POSITION OF PARTICIPATING TRIBES

Chinook Nation

The small coastal town of Bay Center, Washington, is home to the Chinook Nation headquarters. The five westernmost Chinookan peoples identifying with today's Chinook Nation once occupied lands and waterways on both sides of the lower Columbia River and surrounding Willapa Bay (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Suttles 1990) (Figure 3). Those tribes and bands include the Clatsop, Kathlamet, Lower Chinook, Wahkiakum, and Willapa Peoples (Chinook Nation 2020; Boyd, Ames, and Johnson 2013). These tribes, as well as related Chinookan peoples upriver, shared many pre-contact subsistence strategies. They were, and continue to be, known for their skillful navigation of the Columbia and its connecting waterways, which made them prominent traders throughout the Columbia and Willamette River basins. Strong ties between these groups were (and are) maintained through intermarriage (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Suttles 1990). The traditional territories of the lower Chinookan peoples may encompass as much as 1/3 of Columbia Land Trust's conserved lands, especially those that are adjacent to the lower Columbia River and Willapa Bay.

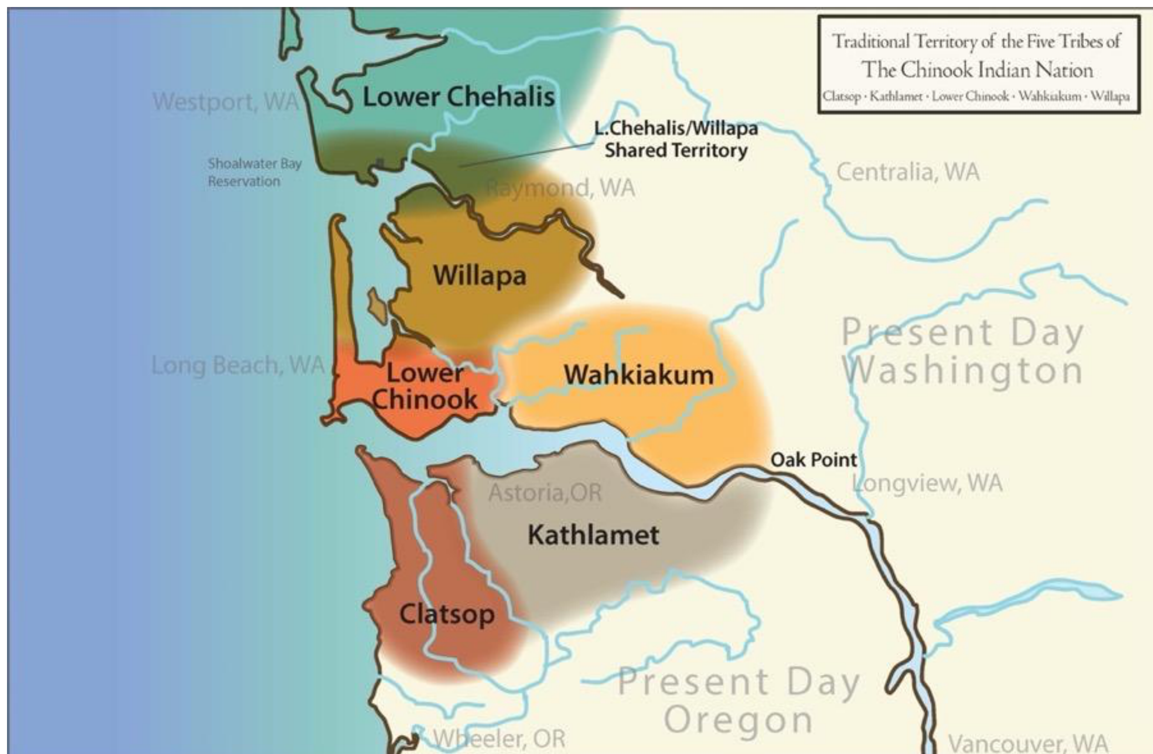

Figure 3. Traditional territory of the five tribes of the Chinook Nation

In 1851, the entire population of the five tribes listed above convened at a former Clatsop village on a spit of land known today as Tansy Point, Oregon, to negotiate and sign a treaty with the US Government (Fisher and Jetté 2013). This treaty would have established a reservation spanning from the north shore of the Columbia River up to and including Willapa Bay, Washington. Like other treaties established during that period, it also stipulated access to 'usual and accustomed' ceded areas. Congress refused to ratify the treaty, however, because it would have permitted the tribes to remain on land prime for settlement instead of relocating east of the Cascades. The treaty's guarantee of ten years' worth of annuity payments was another deterrent to its ratification. Another treaty was proposed in 1853, which was much more in line with the wishes of Congress and Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens. This treaty would have required the Chinookan tribes, along with other regional tribes, to relocate onto consolidated reservations away from their homelands. Like many of the bands and tribes that were offered such an option, the Chinookan tribes refused. Without any kind of treaty, the descendants of these tribes have remained within their aboriginal homelands, but with few resources with which to seek redress from the US Government or to prevent privatization of the lands on which they lived and to which they once had free rein (Ibid). The loss of access to land and the resources thereon, along with assimilationist policies, have challenged the generational transfer of Chinookan culture and tradition. In spite of these challenges, the population, which was severely diminished from multiple bouts of smallpox and malaria during treaty negotiations, has recovered to over 3,000 members as of this writing. Even without federal recognition, the Chinook Nation is enjoying the deserved justice of public recognition and is celebrating a rich cultural renaissance. Public recognition is not enough, however. Real justice goes far beyond even federal recognition, but that one step would make all others a little easier. Seeking official status and back compensation for lost land and resources, members of the Lower Chinook began taking legal action in 1899. Over the years since, petitioning for federal recognition and compensation has never ceased. Some battles have been won and some lost. Factions formed and dissolved. Eventually the Lower Chinook joined forces with the other four tribes to form the Chinook Indian Tribe. After a period of disagreement between two factions within the Tribe, it reunified under the name Chinook Nation (Fisher and Jetté 2013). In 2001, the Tribe won a brief, but major victory, when the Clinton administration finally awarded it federal recognition. 17 months later, the second Bush administration reversed that decision (Fisher and Jetté 2013; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010). Despite over 170 years of negotiation, lobbying, and legal battles, the Chinook Nation is the only tribe participating in this study without the benefits afforded to federally recognized tribes. Lack of federal recognition and ongoing efforts in its pursuit heavily impact the Chinook Nation's economic stability, inhibit its ability to engage in cultural traditions and practices, and impede its capacity to participate as much as it would like in land and resource conservation and stewardship.

Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation

The Yakama Nation is a federally recognized tribe representing 14 distinct groups (CTBYN 2020):

- Kah-miltpah
- Klickitat
- Klinquit
- Kow-was-say-ee
- Li-ay-was
- Oche-Chotes
- Palouse
- Pesquose
- Se-ap-Cat
- Shyiks
- Sk'inpah
- Wenatchapam
- Wish-ham
- Yakama

With a combined ancestral territory ranging from southern British Columbia to northern California, and from the Pacific Ocean and Puget Sound to Montana and Wyoming, the Yakama Nation's 12-million acres of currently recognized ceded lands make up a significant portion of central Washington and a swath of land on the Oregon side of the mid-Columbia River (Figure 4) (CTBYN 2020). The 14 bands and tribes have long and storied histories with some similar and some distinct cultural traditions and subsistence patterns. Some, but not all, held pre-contact alliances, bound together through intermarriage. Their eventual conglomeration into a single entity was not as much by choice as by coercion by colonizers (Fisher 2010; Hunn, Selam, and Family 1990). The Yakama Treaty and the 1.1-million-acre Yakama Reservation in south central Washington were established in 1855 (CTBYN 2020; Fisher 2010; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Hunn, Selam and Family 1990). Under that treaty with the United States, the recognized bands and tribes retained their rights to hunt and fish on ceded lands, but they gave up 11.5 million acres of their traditional territory, including all of the Columbia riverfront[20]. The treaty was not ratified until 1859, but Washington Governor Isaac Stevens declared the ceded land open for white settlement within a month of its signing in 1855, despite a promise to allow two years for relocation (CTBYN 2020). This betrayal resulted in a rapid loss of access to usual and accustomed areas and the beginning of ongoing battles with the United States Government and Euro-American settlers. Yakama Chief Kamiakin organized allies and waged what came to be known as the Yakima War against the US Military from 1855 until 1859, when his coalition of tribes finally accepted defeat (Ibid.; Fisher 2010; Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Hunn, Selam, and Family 1990).

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[20] Some enrolled members of the Yakama Nation, along with others that have never formally enrolled in a federally recognized tribe, defied relocation orders, and never left their homes along the shores of the Columbia River. This group, representing a number of traditional village communities along the river, has organized into its own political entity and refers to itself as the Columbia River Indians. This group chooses to represent itself because the Yakama Nation's governing body has not always acted to protect these traditional community members' rights to live and fish in accordance with their heritage and birthright along the river (Fisher 2010).

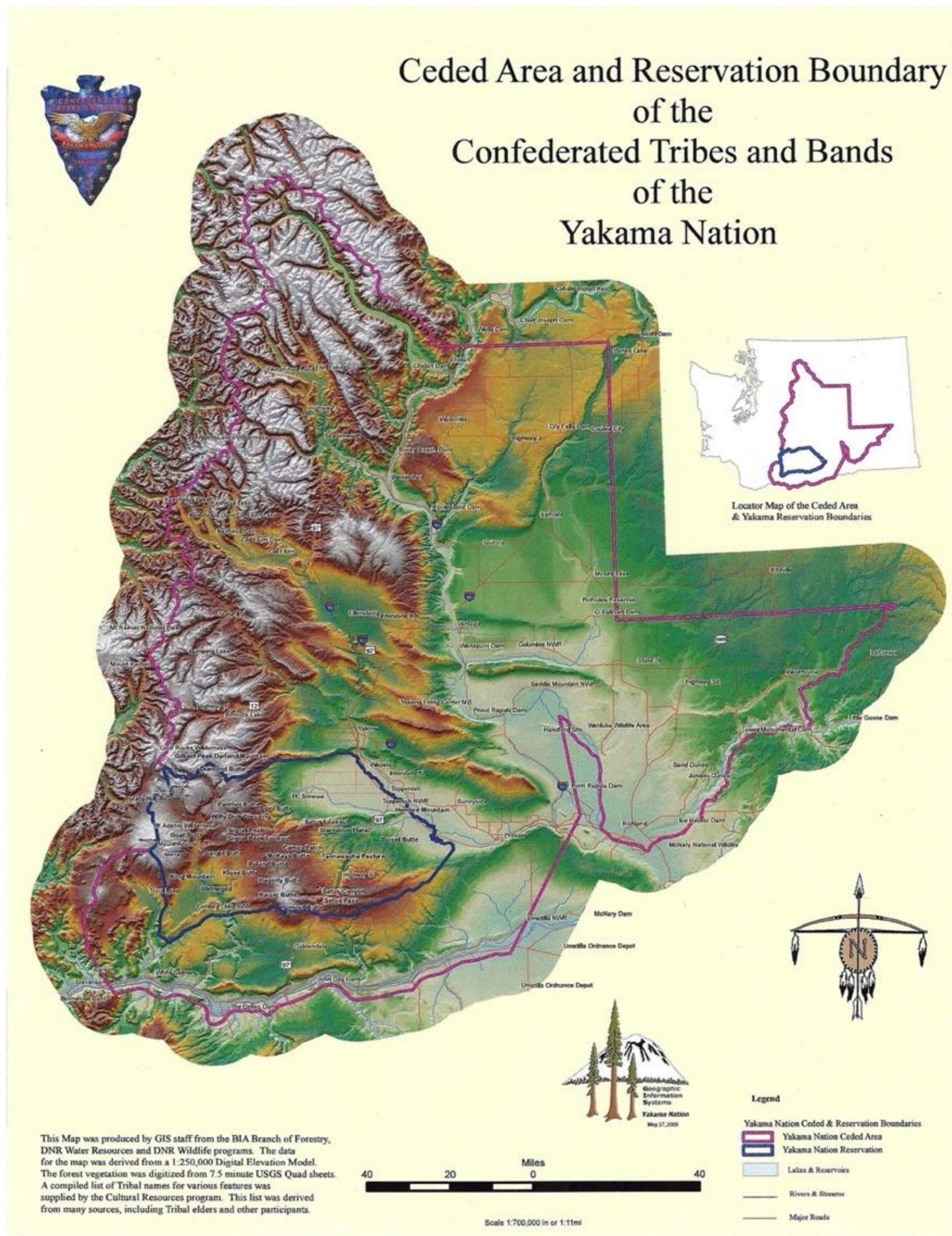

Figure 4. Map of Yakama Ceded Lands and Reservation Boundary (CTBYN 2020).

The Yakama Reservation encompasses a large area of land, which includes 650,000 acres of forest (CTBYN 2020). Many of the Tribe's most valuable landmarks and resource sites, however, are on public and private lands and therefore threatened by development, neglect, or competition with the general public. Today the Yakama Nation is able to sustain 11 business enterprises and a long list of social and environmental service programs within and beyond the Reservation boundaries (Ibid.). With responsibility for a vast amount of undeveloped land and resources, the Yakama Nation's Natural Resources, Cultural Resources, Water Resource, Fisheries, and Wildlife Departments make the Tribe an important partner to the US and Washington Departments of Fish & Wildlife, the US Forest Service, the Washington Department of Natural Resources, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission, and other conservation agencies and organizations (CRITFC 2020). Some of Columbia Land Trust's largest contiguous conserved areas fall within the Yakama Nation's traditional territories; the Land Trust and Yakama resource stewards have developed solid working relationships around these conserved areas (CLT 2020; Yakama Nation representatives, personal communication 2019).

Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde

The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde is a federally recognized tribe representing over 30 Native American tribes and bands from western Oregon, northern California, and southwest Washington (Figure 5) (CTGR 2020). Included are six Columbia River Chinookan tribes, 14 Kalapuyan tribes that made their homes throughout the Willamette Valley, three Molalla tribes that lived along the slopes of Oregon's north Cascade Range, and four Tillamook tribes that lived throughout Oregon's northern coast and coast range area. 14 more tribes from southern Oregon and northern California are also included in the Grand Ronde's roster (Ibid.):

Cascade Range Molalla	Willamette Valley Kalapuya	S. Oregon/N. California
Northern	Atfalati/Tualatin	Applegate
Santiam	Calapooia	Cow Creek Umpqua
Southern	Chafan	Cownantico Scotons
	Luckiamute	Galice
Columbia River Chinook	Long Tom	Grave Creek Umpqua
Cathlamet	Mary's River	Latgawa
Clackamas	Mohawk	Naalye Scotons
Clowwewalla	Muddy River	Nahelta Chasta
Multnomah	Pudding River	Quilsieton Chasta
Skilloot	Santiam	Sacheriton Scotons
Watlala (Cascades)	Tekopa	Shasta
	Winnefelly	Takelma
	Yamhill	Upper Takelma
	Yoncalla	Upper Umpqua

Every tribe can tally a list of atrocities endured as a result of Euro-American contact and colonization. The Grand Ronde's story of how so many tribes became lumped into one is one of the most egregious among them. The antecedent tribes and bands that today make up the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde are from an area of over 14 million acres. They spoke different languages and/or dialects, and, based largely on the resources and landscapes specific to their homelands, practiced some similar and some unique subsistence patterns and cultural traditions (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Suttles 1990). Upon the signing of treaties (some tribes' treaties were ratified by Congress and some were not), the federal government began forcibly removing these tribes to a 61,000-acre reservation in Oregon's north coast range. These removals continued over a number of years, systematically clearing Indians from entire regions of western Oregon so as to free up land for white settlers. One of the cruelest removal events occurred in the winter of 1865, when the southernmost of these tribes were

marched north more than 200 miles in extreme weather over rough terrain. Many did not survive (CTGR 2020).

Multiple insults were added to the injury of forced removal to a small foreign parcel of land with many other tribes. The first was a sudden reduction of the Grand Ronde Reservation's acreage. Then, in 1887, the General Allotment Act divided much of the Reservation into individually held parcels, converting them from lands held in Trust by the federal government into fee lands, which could be bought and sold. Out of economic necessity, many of these allotments were eventually sold to non-Natives, further reducing the Tribe's original land base. In 1901, the federal government converted another 25,000 acres of the Reservation into 'surplus land,' which was sold off to able buyers at $1.16 per acre. Finally, in 1954, Congress passed the Western Oregon Termination Act, which was meant to assimilate the Grand Ronde Indians into mainstream American society and officially unrecognize them as members of a tribe with the rights and privileges that the Grand Ronde's multiple treaties had bestowed (Ibid.).

Figure 5. Map of ancestral and ceded lands of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR 2020).

In the late 1970s members of the terminated Grand Ronde Tribe began a concerted legal and political effort to restore the Tribe's status. After almost 30 years the Tribe regained its federal recognition in 1983. In 1988, 10,000 acres of the original 61,000-acre reservation were also restored.

Today, 5,400 members of the Grand Ronde Tribe are dispersed throughout their homelands, across the United States, and abroad. The Tribe's headquarters are located within the Community of Grand Ronde, just south of the Reservation. With revenue from its popular Spirit Mountain Casino and a small forestry operation, the Tribe is able to provide a number of educational, social, and housing services to its members, as well as support several departments, including a Cultural Resources Department and Museum, a Lands Department, and a Natural Resource Department. The Natural Resource Department manages wildlife, recreation, and timber, primarily on-Reservation, but also works with partner agencies to manage forests and improve habitat off-Reservation (Ibid.).

Likely due to development and high populations within the Willamette Valley, only a few of Columbia Land Trust's relatively small land holdings fall within the Grand Ronde's ancestral homelands. Despite that, the Land Trust has developed respectful relationships with the Tribe's cultural and natural resource stewards around certain lands in their area.

Cowlitz Indian Tribe

At the time of European contact in the late eighteenth century, approximately 1,000 Cowlitz Indians were divided across four closely related groups. Collectively, these groups occupied an area of southwest Washington stretching from the mouths of the Cowlitz and Lewis Rivers, north and eastward toward Olympia, and the upland areas of Mt. Rainier, Mt. St. Helens, and Mt. Adams. (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010; Ray 1966). The main differences between these four groups depended on their geographic relationship to available resources and to each other, which also determined their primary subsistence strategies, as well as which non-Cowlitz tribes with whom they shared language and intermarried. The 'Upper' and 'Lewis' Cowlitzes are Taidnapam, affiliated with Yakama and Klickitat neighbors to their immediate east, and eventually adopted their language. The 'Lower Cowlitz' are Southern Coast Salish and the 'Mountain' Cowlitzes are Athabaskan-speaking Kwalhioqua, both affiliated with Chehalis and Chinookan tribes to their northwest and southwest. Lowland Cowlitz Peoples are fishers and depend heavily on salmon runs, whereas their upland relatives are hunters, more dependent on prairie and woodland species (Ibid.).

Like other tribes in this study, the Cowlitz Indians were offered a treaty in 1855, but the Tribe refused to sign unless a reservation was established on their traditional lands, an option to which Governor Isaac Stevens was not amenable. Some Cowlitz individuals participated in the 1855-56 Indian wars, but many were either captured or killed and many more were removed from their homesites, which were pillaged, and/or destroyed, and/or settled upon in their absence. In 1860, the Lewis band of Cowlitz was removed due to conflicts with settlers and marched across the Cascades to the Yakama Reservation. Then, in 1863, all Cowlitz lands were put up for sale by a presidential proclamation without any notice to or negotiation with the Cowlitz Peoples. Despite having their homeland sold from underneath them, the Cowlitz continued to reject any appeal, bribe, or demand that would require them to leave their ancestral land (Ibid.).

By the late nineteenth century, epidemics had severely reduced the Cowlitz population and many Cowlitz families and individuals had been absorbed into other tribes and settler communities. Censuses taken during that period put the Cowlitz Indians well below 200 individuals and pointed to the possibility of extinction. To the contrary, a small Cowlitz population persisted and in 1913, Cowlitz leaders began actively lobbying for settlement rights and federal recognition. In 1931, the Supreme Court validated the Cowlitz Tribe by entitling it allotments of land (albeit on the Quinault Reservation) and recognizing and protecting the Tribe under the Treaty of Olympia. In 1971, after 58 years of appeals, the Cowlitz won a major battle when the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) recognized that the US had "exercised such 'domination and control' over Cowlitz lands that the tribe had been deprived of its aboriginal title without its consent and without any payment of consideration" (Ruby, Brown, and Collins 2010:113, referencing ICC

Docket 218). Finally, in 2000, two of the four contact-era bands of the Cowlitz, the Coast Salish Lower Cowlitz and Taidnapam Upper Cowlitz, won federal recognition as the modern Cowlitz Indian Tribe. And in 2015, after 160 years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs approved a petition to convert a 152-acre parcel of Tribe-owned land near La Center, Washington, into a reservation (Ibid.; Cowlitz Indian Tribe 2020).

The Cowlitz Tribe has managed to do well with its investments in the short period since it acquired federal recognition. Before opening a 100,000-square-foot gaming facility on its new Reservation in 2017, the Tribe was already operating important programs and services, including two health clinics for Tribe members, a retirement home for elders, and both a Cultural Resource and a Natural Resource Department. Today, revenue from Ilani Casino and Resort significantly subsidizes the various services the Tribe provides for over 4,000 Tribe members and the community at large.

The modern Cowlitz Indian Tribe claims ancestral affiliation with "what are now Clark, Cowlitz, Lewis, and parts of Pierce, Skamania, and Wahkiakum Counties" (2020). A map of the Tribe's historic area of interest (Figure 6) shows the extent of the region that "individuals with Cowlitz ancestry regularly traveled" (Cowlitz Tribe representative, personal communication, 15 December 2020). It also shows a smaller area that the ICC adjudicated as the "exclusive use and occupancy area" of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe (Ibid., referencing ICC Docket 218). This area stretches along the Columbia River from the mouth of the Kalama River to just west of Longview, Washington (near Fisher Island), north toward Centralia, Washington, and northeast to the slopes of Mt. Rainier, Mt. St. Helens, and Mt. Adams. Very few, if any, of Columbia Land Trust's properties fall within the Tribe's 'exclusive use' area, but more than half fall within the historic area of interest. The Tribe's Natural Resource Department has taken on a number of conservation and restoration initiatives throughout the region, making it a valuable partner to the Land Trust and others for sharing resources and achieving common desired outcomes.

Cowlitz Indian Tribe
Historic Area of Interest

Legend

Cowlitz Sole and Exclusive Use Area (ICC)

Tahoma

Pahto

Longview

Vancouver

Portland

Willamette Falls

Celilo Falls (historical)

0 5 10 20 30 40 Miles

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 Kilometers

Elevation: Feet NAVD88

200 500 1,000 1,500 2,000 2,500 3,000 3,500 4,000 4,500 5,000 5,500 6,000 6,500 14,000

Figure 6. Map of Cowlitz historic area of interest, as well as ICC adjudicated "exclusive use and occupancy area."

APPENDIX B: KEY CONSULTANT INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent – Columbia Land Trust Interviews

Relationship-Building with Northwest Native American Nations

You are being asked to participate in a research study being conducted by Noel Plemmons, a graduate student in anthropology at Portland State University under the supervision of Dr. Jeremy Spoon. This research is being conducted on behalf of the Columbia Land Trust (hereafter, "the Trust"), as it endeavors to improve and/or build new relationships with Native American peoples whose traditional territories intersect with Trust-conserved lands. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your affiliation with the Trust and because your expertise, perspective, and advice on the research topic will be essential to collecting useful information. This form will explain the study, as well as its possible benefits and risks. If you have any questions, please ask Noel Plemmons or Dr. Jeremy Spoon.

Participation in this study will take approximately one hour of your time, with the potential for follow up questions via email or phone. More time may be required in the event you accompany Mr. Plemmons on visits to any Trust-conserved lands.

This study aims to understand (1) the relationships between Northwest Native American tribes and Trust-conserved lands and natural resources, (2) the similarities and differences in Northwest Native American and Trust perspectives on conservation and stewardship, and (3) the similarities and differences in how Northwest Native American tribes/confederations and the Trust conceive of a mutually beneficial relationship with each other. Interview questions will explore Trust and Native perspectives and understandings on ideal relations, conservation, restoration, stewardship, culturally significant plants, animals, and landscapes, access to lands and rights to resources, Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK), and co-management scenarios.

As a representative/employee of the Trust, you may feel some level of concern that this research will lead to uncertainty or change within the organization, or that your candid participation in this study might put your position with the organization at risk (your right to confidentiality, anonymity, and ownership of information shared will be covered in more detail below). More generally, you may be inconvenienced by the time you spend participating in this study. Due to the topic of this research, there are risks of stress and emotional distress that might arise, particularly for Native American participants, from answering questions that inevitably relate to harms done to Native American peoples as a result of European colonization. It may also bring about discomfort in discussing the potential loss of place and IEK as a result of US federal policies that alienated Native American peoples from their lands and attempted to eradicate Native American traditions and cultural practices. For more information about risks and discomforts, ask the investigator.

Your name will not be used in any published reports without your consent and without previous review and approval of the material attributed to your name. Plemmons will take measures to protect the security of all of your personal information but cannot guarantee confidentiality of all

study information. Your interview may be recorded and may be transcribed. All written and recorded information collected in this study will be accessible only by Plemmons, either on his person, or on a password protected recorder or computer.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in the study. You can also refuse to answer any question that you are asked.

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints at any time about this research study, Noel Plemmons or Dr. Jeremy Spoon will be glad to answer them. They can be reached at:

Noel Plemmons
plemmons@pdx.edu
415-531-2802

Dr. Jeremy Spoon
jspoon@pdx.edu
503-725-9729

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may call the PSU Office for Research Integrity at 503-725-2227 or email at hsrrc@pdx.edu.

This research study has been explained to me and all of my questions have been answered. I understand the information described in this consent form and freely consent to participate.

By signing below, I am agreeing to participate in this study and am accepting a copy of this consent form for my own records.

Name of Participant: ________________________________

Signature: ________________________________ Date: ________________________

Informed Consent – Native American Tribes/Confederations Representative Interviews

Relationship-Building between the Columbia Land Trust and Northwest Native American Tribes/ Confederations

You are being asked to participate in a research study being conducted by Noel Plemmons, a graduate student in anthropology at Portland State University under the supervision of Dr. Jeremy Spoon. This research is being conducted on behalf of the Columbia Land Trust (hereafter, "the Trust"), as it endeavors to improve and/or build new relationships with Native American peoples whose traditional territories intersect with Trust-conserved lands. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your association with a Northwest Native American tribe whose traditional territory intersects with Trust-conserved land and because your expertise, perspective, and advice on this research will be essential to collecting useful information.

This form will explain the research study, as well as its possible benefits and risks. If you have any questions, please ask Noel Plemmons or Dr. Jeremy Spoon.

Participation in this study will take approximately one hour of your time, with the potential for follow up questions via email or phone. More time may be necessary in the event you agree to accompany Mr. Plemmons on visits to any Trust-conserved lands.

This study aims to understand (1) the relationships between Northwest Native American tribes and Trust-conserved lands and natural resources, (2) the similarities and differences in Northwest Native American and Trust perspectives on conservation and stewardship, and (3) the similarities and differences in how Northwest Native American tribes/confederations and the Trust conceive of a mutually beneficial relationship with each other. Interview questions will explore Trust and Native perspectives and understandings on ideal relations, conservation, restoration, stewardship, culturally significant plants, animals, and landscapes, access to lands and rights to resources, Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK), and co-management scenarios.

Due to the topic of this research, there are risks of stress and emotional distress that might arise from answering questions that inevitably relate to harms done to Native American peoples as a result of European colonization. It may also bring about discomfort in discussing the potential loss of place and IEK as a result of US federal policies that alienated Native American peoples from their lands and attempted to eradicate Native American traditions and cultural practices. More generally, you may be inconvenienced by the time you spend participating in this study. For more information about risks and discomforts, ask the investigator.

Your name will not be used in any published reports without your consent and without previous review and approval of the material attributed to your name. Plemmons will take measures to protect the security of all of your personal information but cannot guarantee confidentiality of all study information. Your interview may be recorded and may be transcribed. All written and recorded information collected in this study will be accessible only by Plemmons, either on his person, or on a password protected recorder or computer.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in the study. You can also refuse to answer any question that you are asked.

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints at any time about this research study, Noel Plemmons or Dr. Jeremy Spoon will be glad to answer them. They can be reached at:
Noel Plemmons
plemmons@pdx.edu
415-531-2802

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jspoon@pdx.edu
503-725-9729

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may call the PSU Office for Research Integrity at 503-725-2227 or email at hsrrc@pdx.edu.

This research study has been explained to me and all of my questions have been answered. I understand the information described in this consent form and freely consent to participate.

By signing below, I am agreeing to participate in this study and am accepting a copy of this consent form for my own records.

Name of Participant: ________________________________

Signature: ______________________________ Date: ______________________

APPENDIX C: KEY CONSULTANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Columbia Land Trust Leadership Interview Questions (N=3)

Demographic Information

1. What is your name?
2. Where did you grow up? Urban or rural?
3. How long have you lived in your current location?
4. Did you live near your family/cultural community through high school? Explain.
5. What was your educational focus beyond high school (if applicable)?

Topical Questions

Conservation, Restoration, Stewardship

1. How do you define conservation?
2. How do you define restoration, and what do you consider a restored state for an ecosystem?
    a. Are past ecological conditions determined for use in restoration projects? Explain.
3. What does stewardship mean to you?
4. What restoration and stewardship practices (overall and specifically) does the Trust employ to keep the land, plants and animals healthy?
5. What are the Trust's primary objectives in restoration, conservation and stewardship?

Relations with Native American Groups, Cultural Resources and Practices, IEK, Co-Management

6. What prompted the Trust's decision to incorporate equity into conservation and, specifically, to improve relations with local Native American groups?
7. Are you aware of which tribes/confederations are associated with which of these Trust lands? (use map to show area, label if applicable).
8. What is the nature of any past or current relationships between the Trust and Native American groups?
9. Are you familiar with the policies that alienated tribes from their traditional territories, how and why confederacies were formed, and of ongoing social and legal challenges faced by Native American peoples?
10. What plants, animals, and lands do you most strongly associate with local Native American peoples?

11. Are there any other cultural practices/activities you associate with local Native American peoples that you could foresee as permissible on Trust lands? Are there any that would not be permissible?
12. How familiar are you with the concept of IEK (explain IEK if necessary)?
13. Do you think IEK is important?
14. Do you think IEK could be useful for the Trust to consider in how it manages its land and resources? Why or why not?
15. Is the Trust willing to provide 'formal' access to its lands for Native American groups/individuals to harvest traditional foods or engage in other cultural activities? Why or why not? And are there any exceptions?
16. What does a Trust-tribe/confederation relationship/agreement look like to you?
17. How should the Trust manage intertribal disputes over particular Trust-conserved parcels and the ways they are managed?
18. Are you aware of any Native American groups' co-management relationships with federal and state agencies or other conservation organizations? Are they effective?
19. Do you think the Trust could benefit if Native American groups took an active (co-management) role in the Trust's restoration and stewardship efforts? In prioritizing land acquisitions?
    a. Explain
    b. What might such an arrangement look like?
    c. What if the Native American approach differed from significantly from your current approach?
20. Do you think the Trust should prioritize internships/mentorships for Native American youth?
21. Would you be open to an intertribal coalition that represents each of the tribes regarding the Trust's lands and projects? If so, do you have ideas of which individuals from the tribes/confederations should represent their respective tribes on such a committee?

Tribe Representative Interview Questions (N=8)

The following was read aloud to each participant after going over and signing the informed consent form and prior to questioning:

> I will be asking you questions about your Tribe/Confederation's ideas around conservation and stewardship, and its interest in forming a relationship with the conservation-based Columbia Land Trust (summarize Trust's mission and equity initiative, as necessary). To the extent possible, please answer the questions from your Tribe/Confederation's perspective, even if your personal opinion may be different, and/or let me know if you have a different opinion that should also be considered.
>
> I want to state upfront that I am aware of ongoing cultural appropriation by outsiders and that I have no intention of sharing or using the information we talk about without your consent. I will consider information you share with me your intellectual property and will seek your permission before sharing it outside this conversation, with the Columbia Land Trust, any other participating Tribe/Confederation, or individual. As stated in the informed consent, you may choose to not answer any of the following questions.
>
> We have a lot of questions to cover, so if you get tired and need to stop, please let me know; I would be happy to break this conversation up over two or three visits.

Demographic Information

1. What is your name?
2. Age: Below 24 24-34 35-54 55 and above
3. Gender: Male Female Non-binary Other: ___________
4. With which ancestral tribe(s) do you identify?
5. Which Native American Nation/Confederation are you most affiliated with?
6. Where did you grow up? Urban or rural?
7. How long have you lived in your current location?
8. Do you consider yourself to have a cultural affiliation with the Pacific Northwest? Explain.
9. Education: Some high school High school graduate / GED
   Some college Associate degree
   Bachelor's degree Master's degree Other: ___________
10. Did you live near your family/cultural community through high school?
11. What was your educational focus beyond high school (if applicable)?

12. Primary role or occupation, either within or outside of your Tribe/Confederation.
    a. Length of time in current role? 0-5 years 6-10 years 11-20 years >20 years
    b. Length of time in field? 0-5 years 6-10 years 11-20 years >20 years

Topical Questions

Conservation, Restoration, Stewardship

1. How do you think your tribe would define conservation?
2. How do you think your tribe would define restoration, and what does it consider a restored state for an ecosystem?
    a. Should past (e.g., pre-colonial) ecological conditions be considered in restoration projects? Explain.
3. What does stewardship mean to your tribe?
4. What stewardship practices are necessary to keep the land, plants, and animals healthy?
5. What does your tribe consider the primary objectives in restoration, conservation, and stewardship?

Relations with the Trust, Trust-Conserved Lands, Co-Management

6. Are you familiar with the Columbia Land Trust (summarize organization and overall mission if necessary)? If yes:
    a. Are you aware of how and why they acquire the lands they conserve (explain if necessary)?
    b. Does your tribe already have a relationship with the Trust or has it in the past? Please describe the nature of that relationship if applicable.
7. How do you feel about the Trust's stewardship practices (give overview of Trust policies and practices as necessary)?
8. What would you like the Trust to know about your tribe's perspective on stewardship?
9. Does your tribe have any connection to any of these Trust-conserved plots of land (use maps to show areas, label as appropriate, show maps and photos of one or two accessible sample parcels)? If so:
    a. Which ones?
    b. Do these areas have names?
    c. How do you feel about the Trust's governance of your tribe's aboriginal land?
10. Does anyone from your tribe/confederation ever visit similar traditional territories in this area? If yes:
    a. For what reasons?
    b. How often?
11. Do you think your tribe/confederation would be interested in acquiring 'formal' access to Trust-conserved land?

12. Do you feel your tribe/confederation should enter into a formal agreement with the Trust for ongoing access to this land?
    a. If yes, what kinds of parameters should be set in that agreement?
    b. Would members of your tribe/confederation be willing to notify the Trust in advance or adhere to a set schedule, for instance?
13. If more than one tribe/confederation claims affiliation with any Trust-conserved lands, would it be possible for multiple tribes to share access?
14. Should your tribe/confederation advise or play a role in restoration and stewardship of these lands?
    a. How would that work? Who should the Trust talk to?
15. Should your tribe/confederation advise or play a role in prioritizing new land acquisitions?
    a. How would that work? Who should the Trust talk to?
16. Does your tribe/confederation have a co-management relationship with any federal or state agencies or other conservation organizations? How does that work?
17. Do you feel your tribe/confederation should co-manage Trust-conserved lands?
    a. How would that work?
    b. Do you know of any government grants or other funding that tribes have access to support Native American stewardship practices, or to fund Native American youth internships?
18. Do you think tribal youth might be interested in internships with the Columbia Land Trust, where they might learn more about mainstream conservation, restoration, and stewardship practices?
19. Would you be open to an intertribal coalition that represents each of the tribes regarding the Trust's lands and projects? If so, who should represent your tribe on such a committee?

Traditional Foods, Medicines, Practices, IEK

20. Which traditional foods and medicines, if any, would your tribe harvest on Trust-conserved lands?
21. What other kinds of activities would your tribe engage in on Trust-conserved lands?
22. Does your tribe have any kind of curriculum for teaching about IEK or First Foods to tribal youth or the general public?

APPENDIX D: COLUMBIA LAND TRUST SURVEY QUESTIONS

Columbia Land Trust Staff / Board / Volunteer Qualtrics Anonymous Online Survey (N=47)

Start of Block: Demographic Information

Q1.1 Age

○ Below 24 (1)

○ 24-34 (2)

○ 35-54 (3)

○ 55 and above (4)

Q1.2 Gender

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

○ Non-binary (3)

○ Other (4) ____

Q1.3 Ethnic affiliation

○ Asian/Pacific Islander (1)

○ Black (2)

○ Latino or Hispanic (3)

○ Native American (4)

○ White (5)

○ Other (6) ____

Q1.4 Did you grow up in the Pacific Northwest?

- ◯ Yes (1)
- ◯ No (2)

Q1.5 Setting (where you grew up):

- ◯ Urban (1)
- ◯ Suburban (2)
- ◯ Rural (3)
- ◯ Other (4) ____

Q1.6 How long have you lived in the Pacific Northwest / Columbia River watershed (number of years)?

____

Q1.7 Level of education:

- ◯ Some high school (1)
- ◯ High school graduate / GED (2)
- ◯ Some college (3)
- ◯ Associate's degree (4)
- ◯ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ◯ Master's degree (6)
- ◯ Doctor of Jurisprudence/JD (9)
- ◯ Doctorate/PhD/MD (8)
- ◯ Other (7) ____

Q1.8 Did you live with your parents and/or grandparents through high school?

- ◯ Yes (1)
- ◯ No (2)

Q1.9 Did you grow up in a cultural setting that reflects your family's primary cultural heritage?

- ◯ Yes (1)
- ◯ No (2)

Q1.10 Educational focus beyond high school (if applicable):

____

Q1.11 Land Trust affiliation:

- ◯ Board member (1)
- ◯ Staff member (2)
- ◯ Volunteer (3)

Q1.12 Land Trust department:

- ◯ Administrative (1)
- ◯ Advancement (2)
- ◯ Communications (3)
- ◯ Conservation (4)
- ◯ Stewardship (5)
- ◯ Other (6) ____

Q1.13 Length of time in current position:

○ 0-5 years (1)

○ 6-10 years (2)

○ 11-20 years (3)

○ > 20 years (4)

Q1.14 Length of time in current field:

○ 0-5 years (1)

○ 6-10 years (2)

○ 11-20 years (3)

○ >20 years (4)

End of Block: Demographic Information

Start of Block: Topical Questions - Conservation, Restoration, Stewardship, Overall Mission

Q2.1 List up to five methods/strategies that come to mind for - 'Conservation':

____

____

____

____

Q2.2 List up to five methods/strategies that come to mind for - 'Restoration':

____

____

____

____

Q2.3 List up to five methods/strategies that come to mind for - 'Stewardship':

____

____

____

____

____

Q2.4 In determining a restoration plan, is there an ideal restored state that should be maintained?

- ◯ Pre-human interference (1)
- ◯ Pre-European contact conditions (2)
- ◯ Whatever has the most ecological integrity (3)
- ◯ Whatever is the most biodiverse or maximizes ecosystem services (4)
- ◯ Whatever is most resilient to disturbances and/or climate change (5)
- ◯ Other ideal restored state (only enter text if you select this option) (6) ____
- ◯ There is no ideal restored state (please explain - enter text if you select this option) (7) ____

Q2.5 How important is diversity, equity, and inclusion in achieving the Land Trust's overall mission?

- ◯ Not at all important (1)
- ◯ Slightly important (2)
- ◯ Moderately important (3)
- ◯ Very important (4)
- ◯ Extremely important (5)

Q2.6 How should the Land Trust prioritize the inclusion of Native American populations in its overall mission (as compared to other underrepresented groups)?

- ◯ Lower priority than others (1)
- ◯ Lower priority than most (2)
- ◯ Equal priority as others (3)
- ◯ Higher priority than most (4)
- ◯ Highest priority (5)

Q2.7 In two to three sentences, please explain your answers to the two previous questions:

____
____
____
____
____

End of Block: Topical Questions - Conservation, Restoration, Stewardship, Overall Mission

Start of Block: Topical Questions - Relations with Native Americans, IEK, Co-Management

Q3.1 Are you familiar with the Land Trust's interest in developing relationships with Native American groups affiliated with Land Trust lands?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Q3.2 What is your position regarding the Land Trust's development of formal relationships with tribes affiliated with Land Trust lands?

○ Strongly against (1)

○ Slightly against (2)

○ Neither for nor against (3)

○ Slightly in favor (4)

○ Strongly in favor (5)

Q3.3 In one to two sentences, please explain the potential benefits and/or challenges to formalized Land Trust-tribe relationships:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.4 List any tribes you know of that might have a traditional affiliation with Land Trust lands:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.5 List any Native American groups you know of with which the Land Trust already has a relationship:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.6 Please answer the following statement by selecting one of the answers below: To my knowledge, the Land Trust's relationships with local Native American groups have been:

- ◯ Positive (1)
- ◯ Negative (2)
- ◯ Mixed (3)
- ◯ I don't know of any current/past Land Trust relationships with Native American groups (4)

Display This Question If Q3.6, Option #4 is NOT Selected:

Q3.7 Please provide some details or examples of past or current relationships with Native American groups and how they were/are positive, negative, or mixed:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.8 How familiar are you with the policies that alienated tribes from their traditional territories?

○ Extremely familiar (1)

○ Very familiar (2)

○ Moderately familiar (3)

○ Slightly familiar (4)

○ Not familiar at all (5)

Q3.9 If possible, please list a few of the policies that alienated tribes from their traditional territories:

____

____

____

____

____

Q3.10 To your knowledge, what are the top social and legal challenges faced by Native Americans today?

____

____

____

____

____

Q3.11 List some plants, animals, and lands you most strongly associate with local Native American groups:

____

____

____

____

____

Q3.12 For each plant, animal, and land you listed, please explain how/why these are associated with Native American peoples:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.13 List some cultural practices/activities that you associate with local Native American groups (which might have an impact on lands and natural resources):

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.14 For each activity/practice you listed, please explain how these are associated with Native American peoples, and how they impact the land and natural resources:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.15 What is your position on the Land Trust providing formal access for Native Americans to harvest traditional foods and engage in other cultural activities on Land Trust-conserved lands?

- ○ Strongly against (1)
- ○ Slightly against (2)
- ○ Neither for nor against (3)
- ○ Slightly in favor (4)
- ○ Strongly in favor (5)

Q3.16 Please explain your reasoning for or against Native Americans accessing Land Trust lands:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.17 Of the natural resources/practices you listed earlier, which should be permissible to harvest/practice on Land Trust-conserved lands? And which should not? Please explain your reasoning.

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.18 If more than one tribe/confederation claims exclusive affiliation with any Land Trust-conserved lands, how can such disputes be resolved?

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.19 How familiar are you with the concept of 'Indigenous' or 'traditional ecological knowledge' (IEK)?

○ Extremely familiar (1)

○ Very familiar (2)

○ Moderately familiar (3)

○ Slightly familiar (4)

○ Not familiar at all (5)

Display This Explanation If Q3.19, Option #1 is NOT Selected:

Q3.20 Indigenous/traditional/local ecological knowledge (IEK) is defined as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment.” Long personal and cultural histories with distinct landscapes and resource availabilities inform how localized groups interact with their unique ecological surroundings to ensure the long-term sustainability of resources and livelihoods. Developed over generations, this IEK/location-specific ‘adaptive management’ is fine-tuned and deeply rooted in experience, ensuring greater resilience in the face of uncertainty (Berkes and Turner 2006). Although usually based in non-western spirituality, IEK is sometimes referred to as 'Indigenous science' because, like western science, it develops through observation and trial and error.

Q3.21
What is your position on whether or not the Land Trust should incorporate IEK into its approach to stewardship?

- ◯ It would have an extremely negative impact on the Land Trust's approach (1)
- ◯ It would have a slightly negative impact on the Land Trust's approach (2)
- ◯ The impact would be neither positive nor negative (3)
- ◯ It would have a slightly positive impact on the Land Trust's approach (4)
- ◯ It would have an extremely positive impact on the Land Trust's approach (5)

Q3.22 In two to three sentences, please explain your position on incorporating IEK into the Land Trust's stewardship approach.

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.23 How familiar are you with co-management relationships between Native American groups and other conservation organizations or federal/state agencies, such as the US Forest Service, US Fish & Wildlife Service and/or state fish and wildlife departments?

- Extremely familiar (1)
- Very familiar (2)
- Moderately familiar (3)
- Slightly familiar (4)
- Not familiar at all (5)

Display This Question If Q3.23, Option #5 is NOT Selected:

Q3.24 Please share your opinion on these relationships in two to three sentences. Do you think they are effective?

____

____

____

____

Q3.25 What is your position on whether or not Native American groups should take an active (co-management) role in the Land Trust's restoration and stewardship efforts?

- It would have an extremely negative impact on the Land Trust's overall efforts (1)
- It would have a slightly negative impact on the Land Trust's overall efforts (2)
- The impact would be neither positive nor negative (3)
- It would have a slightly positive impact on the Land Trust's overall efforts (4)
- It would have an extremely positive impact on the Land Trust's overall efforts (5)

Q3.26 In two to three sentences, please explain your position on Native American groups co-managing restoration and stewardship on Land Trust conserved lands. What if the Native American approach differed significantly from the Land Trust's current approach?

____

____

____

____

Q3.27 What is your position on whether or not Native American groups should help the Land Trust prioritize land acquisitions?

- ◯ It would have an extremely negative impact on the overall acquisition process (1)
- ◯ It would have a slightly negative impact on the overall acquisition process (2)
- ◯ The impact would be neither positive nor negative (3)
- ◯ It would have a slightly positive impact on the overall acquisition process (4)
- ◯ It would have an extremely positive impact on the overall acquisition process (5)

Q3.28 In two to three sentences, please explain your position on Native American groups' involvement in prioritizing land acquisitions:

____
____
____
____
____

Q3.29 What is your position on whether or not the Land Trust should prioritize internships/mentorships for Native American youth?

- ◯ Strongly against (1)
- ◯ Slightly against (2)
- ◯ Neither for nor against (3)
- ◯ Slightly in favor (4)
- ◯ Strongly in favor (5)

Q3.30 What is your position on whether or not an intertribal commission should be formed to represent the regional tribes' interests in all matters relating to the Land Trust (and other conservation organizations) and its projects?

- Strongly against (1)
- Slightly against (2)
- Neither for nor against (3)
- Slightly in favor (4)
- Strongly in favor (5)

Q3.31 In two to three sentences, please explain your position on the formation of an inter-tribal commission for governing tribal interests in Land Trust (and other conservation organizations) projects and policies:

____
____
____
____
____

Q53 You are at the end of the survey. Please do not click forward unless you are sure you are finished editing your previous responses. Once you click forward, your responses will be submitted and final. Thanks so much for taking the time to get this far. I know it was a lot. :)

End of Block: Topical Questions - Relations with Native Americans, IEK, Co-Management

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APPENDIX E: RECOMMENDATIONS OFFERED BY TRIBE PARTICIPANTS

The following table contains a variety of recommendations that were offered during interviews with tribe participants and tallied during analysis. Some ideas were voiced by multiple participants in whole or in part. In such cases the ideas were compiled into a single comprehensive recommendation and all tribes to which they are attributed were credited equally.

Table 3. Recommendations offered by tribe participants tallied during interview transcript analysis.

Recommendations Offered by Tribe Participants	Tribe(s) Credited
Educate yourselves about each tribe's history, current social, political, and economic position, and to some degree, its IEK; understand each tribe's treaty (if one exists) and its recognition status; understand the differences between treaties, why they differ, or why a tribe does not have a treaty or federal recognition; do not expect tribes to educate you. As one participant explained, "Even outside of established relationships, a lot of tribes' resources go into responding to the public's well-intentioned requests and inquiries that require a good deal of educating on the part of tribal staff."	Cowlitz, Grand Ronde, Yakama
Recognize Indigenous knowledge-holders for the experts they are and compensate them as you would any other expert in their field.	Chinook, Yakama (see also Middleton 2011:199-200).
Approach tribes early to show respect and garner trust – these are sovereign nations, and you are working on their ceded land. Whereas settlers have only been in the area at most two or three generations (if that), they have been here for millennia. You should get their blessing and enjoy the benefits of their shared knowledge and hospitality. This is the same respect that (pre-contact) tribes showed each other when visiting neighboring tribes' traditional lands (this may require enacting new internal policies to ensure all potential partners are appropriately solicited).	Chinook, Cowlitz, Yakama
Be willing to "go the extra mile" and be persistent. Tribe members and administrators are called on to represent their tribe on so much more than conservation-related interests. Slow responses should only imply a lack of time and resources, not a lack of interest.	Cowlitz
Continue to build on the professional relationships that already exist; avoid introducing too many new staff members with differing responsibilities, or a revolving door of liaisons. One participant illustrated their reasoning with this hypothetical scenario: "Well, we had this	Grand Ronde, Yakama

understanding, our two organizations did. But then people leave, other people move around, memories aren't the best, and then it's kind of like, 'Where were we with that? What were we doing?... What was our methodology? What was our protocol for doing this or that?'"	
Craft a management plan (or MOU) for each site on which the Land Trust and a tribe would like to partner that clearly spells out the terms of the Land Trust-tribe relationship and site-related expectations (start with just one site as a test case); this is something that should be co-created with the respective tribe to ensure all conservation values, cultural interests, roles, and responsibilities are addressed and understood.	Cowlitz
Be considerate about terms used in conservation speak. For a Chinook participant, the term 'in perpetuity' was irritating. As he put it, "I just don't know how anybody can arrive here, be here for half a generation and say, 'in perpetuity.' I mean… a thousand years from now, the Columbia Land Trust could start to have legs with that argument." Referring to tribes as 'stakeholders' is another misnomer that disrespects their true political standing. According to a Yakama participant, "We're not stakeholders. We have actual treaty rights. We're governments. We should be treated as… a state government, a city government, you know, whatever it is, not like an NGO that happens to have interests in the area."	Chinook, Yakama
Consider adopting a statute that names appropriate tribes as successors and the rightful property owners and caretakers upon dissolution of the organization.	Chinook
Be careful not to ask for support from tribes without being willing and able to similarly support tribes with their needs and objectives. Partnering with tribe's should not just be for boosting an organization's image, or to secure grant funding.	Yakama
Do your research and choose the most appropriate tribe to partner with for any given project. Base your decision on the tribes' traditional homelands; if traditional territories overlap, seek advice from all of the potential tribes and share reasoning for selecting one tribe over another on a particular project.	Cowlitz
Hire a neutral Indigenous person (not a member of any of this region's tribes) to serve as a liaison with tribes. They should be familiar with the tribes' history in the region, tribe governance, and be well versed in both Indigenous and western concepts around conservation. This person would be able to bridge the gap between the Land Trust's western influenced goals and approaches and the tribes' non-western ideals and (sometimes politically driven) positions (in addition to managing Land Trust-tribe communications, they could help to assign working relationships between most suitable Land Trust staff and tribe representatives and could help develop and coordinate an Indigenous internship program).	Chinook, Cowlitz, Yakama

If seriously considering allowing tribes to harvest cultural materials on Land Trust lands, stop using pesticides on potential harvest areas immediately, and provide a history of the known chemicals used.	Grand Ronde, Yakama
Consider how fences and gates impede access for the elderly and for parents with small children.	Chinook, Yakama
Once an access agreement is in place, instead of requiring only the tribes to notify the Land Trust in advance of visiting an agreed upon site, consider providing a courtesy notice to tribes in advance of Land Trust staff visiting or working at a site where tribe members may be present. (Grand Ronde, Yakama)	Grand Ronde, Yakama
Invite tribe's cultural resource staff to survey properties for important cultural or archaeological elements on all Land Trust lands; allow tribe to conduct necessary ceremonies and receive tribe's input and blessing before any kind of disturbance (Germany Creek was listed as one Land Trust site with known archaeological significance).	Cowlitz
Invite appropriate tribe's staff when scoping out prospective acquisitions. This will help to develop interpersonal relations between respective tribe and Land Trust staff and go a long way in demonstrating the Land Trust's commitment to building trust with tribes.	Grand Ronde
Convene a one-time (or annual) informal meeting of regional tribes' natural and cultural resource staff/volunteers to network, exchange stories, and share knowledge. This may include a presentation on Land Trust activities and plans, as well as a listening session and optional feedback period for tribes to weigh in on concerns and/or request further information or involvement.	Cowlitz
Treat knowledge shared in trust by tribes as privileged information. Appropriation of intellectual and cultural property remains a problem. The Land Trust should hold its knowledge of cultural resources and IEK in confidence.	Cowlitz
In addition to conventional conservation grant-makers, seek financial support from grant-makers and foundations that support conservation work that includes a social/environmental justice component. Funders, regardless of focus, that were mentioned during interviews include: ● Bureau of Indian Affairs ● Bonneville Power Administration ● Lower Columbia Fish Recovery Board ● Meyer Memorial Trust ● NoVo Foundation ● Potlatch Fund ● Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community ● US Department of Agriculture ● US Forest Service ● US Fish and Wildlife Service	Chinook, Cowlitz, Grand Ronde, Yakama