COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURE, POWER AND PLACE: A CASE STUDY OF

FOUR WESTERN OREGON WATERSHED COUNCILS

by

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A THESIS

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In Oregon, the connection between watershed councils and citizens is vital. Three types
of connections are including citizens within the structure of the council, citizens attending
meetings, and engaging citizens with field activities. The similarities and differences
between how organizationally based and citizen based watershed councils connect with
citizens are presented. Participant observation and key informant interviews were
conducted with four watershed councils in western Oregon. Citizens are overtly
included in the structure of citizen based councils, while citizens are included as an
interest group in the structure of organizational councils. Citizen based councils
organized meetings to provide information to citizens, while organizationally based
councils largely did not. Both types of councils drew upon a notion of place to facilitate
citizen engagement with field activities. In general, citizen-based councils connected
with citizens more than organizational councils. Implications and further research
opportunities are presented in conclusion.

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CHAPTER I

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The Oregon Plan for Salmon and Watersheds (hereafter the Oregon Plan) established

Oregon's watershed councils as a locally based, non-regulatory response to the eventual

listing of multiple salmon stocks under the Endangered Species Act. Citizen and private

landowner connection with councils was a cornerstone of the Oregon Plan. The

governing body for the Oregon Plan is the Oregon Watershed Enhancement Board

(OWEB). The OWEB Board recently identified private landowner and citizen

participation in watershed councils as a critical element for continued watershed council

success (OWEB 2006). The connection between watershed councils and citizens is an

under-examined area in collaborative watershed management research. It is also an issue

of historical and current importance to Oregon's watershed council community. This

connection is thus the focus of this thesis. The principle research question is:

> "What are the similarities and differences between how organizational and citizen
> based watershed council's connect with citizens?"

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Typology as a Tool

It is often heard in the collaborative research community that 'every watershed council is different'. As the community matures, however, several researchers have utilized typologies to classify and compare different watershed partnerships (Moore and Koontz 2003, Bidwell and Ryan 2006, Margerum in press). This thesis adapts these typologies to categorize four watershed councils based upon stakeholder membership, as either organizational or citizen-based. Prior research on Oregon watershed councils with different membership orientations has shown that they have produced different outputs (Bidwell and Ryan 2006). Citizen based councils were found to have produced original watershed assessments and action plans while organizational councils have utilized existing organizational assessments and action plans. Does this categorical difference hold up when one looks at a different element of Oregon's watershed councils? I am interested in the similarities and differences between the connection that organizational and citizen-based councils have with citizens. My typology is based on who originally convened the four case study councils. The council websites revealed that two councils were convened by organizations and two by groups of interested individuals, resulting in the even division of the four case study councils. The three main concepts and three types of connections that shape this thesis are discussed below.

Power

The first is the concept of power, which is defined as the ability to get something done. Watershed councils have the power to shape opportunities to include citizens in council structures. Examples range from an "at large citizen" seat on the council's Board of Directors to a volunteer seat on an Outreach Committee. They also have the power to provide opportunities for citizens to attend council meetings. Finally, councils have the power to choose how to engage citizens in field activities, and specifically how to engage private landowners in restoration activities.

Legitimacy

The second concept is legitimacy as a resource. Including citizens in the structure of the council and providing opportunities to attend meetings builds the legitimacy of a council. This legitimacy is important to gain access to interested landowners and engage them with council field activities.

Place

The third concept is place. Place has been defined as having three constitutive parts: location, locale, and a sense of place. Location is an absolute point reference able by coordinates. Locale is the material character of a place or it's physicality. A sense of place is the emotional or psychological attachment to a locale in a certain location. This thesis argues that the connection that sub-basin outreach programs have with landowners is based upon appealing to these concepts of place.

METHODS

An exploratory qualitative case study of selected councils was conducted. The field research consisted of participant observation of general meetings and key informant interviews within a set of four case study councils during the academic year of 2006-2007. Content analysis of council charters was also conducted. To assess including citizens, citizen roles in the collaborative structures of the councils were identified through content analysis and participant observation. The question "who meets where and when?" provided the framework to assess citizen's opportunities to attend meetings through observation of public meetings. The engagement of citizens in council field activities was observed through presentations and discussions at general council meetings. Key informants were identified through the observation period and then interviewed to verify the accuracy of the field observations from multiple perspectives. The informants were asked about their thoughts on the collaborative structures of the council, the council public meetings, and the reasons for their participation in council restoration activities.

KEY FINDINGS

The findings chapters are organized by the three types of connections that councils were observed to have with citizens, which are: including citizens in the council structure, providing opportunities for citizens to attend meetings, and engaging citizens in field activities.

Include Citizens in Council Structure

I observed three ways that councils could include citizens in their council structure. The first was their general membership definition. The second was the organizational council distinction of Partners or Directors. The third was their policy group, which is an internal committee that makes guiding decisions for the council. Citizen-based councils and one organizational council overtly included citizens in their general membership definitions. The remaining organizational council did not have a general membership definition. The two organizational councils had Partners or Directors where citizens were included as one interest among others. All members of the citizen-based councils were eligible to become members of their policy group, subject to general council approval. Only Partners and Directors are eligible to become policy group members for the organizational councils.

Opportunities to Attend Council Meetings

Findings are arranged under the guiding question 'who meets where at when?' Who includes how members are identified at council meetings and the general representativeness of meeting attendees. Citizen-based councils identified meeting attendees by sub-basin or other geographical description while organizational councils identified meeting attendees by their interest group. The council meetings were observed to be generally representative of their rural Oregon watershed. Where council's met consists of two parts: the location of the meeting place and the set up of the meeting room. Citizen-based councils rotated their general council meetings through

communities in the watershed while organizational councils met at a fixed location in an urban center in their watershed. Citizen-based councils had an open table arrangement in their meeting room set up. Organizational councils sat around tables in the shape of a 'U', facing inwards, with their backs to citizen attendees sitting against the back wall of the room. Finally, citizen councils and one organizational council met in the evening and the remaining organizational council met on a weekday morning.

Engage Citizens in Field Activities

The case study councils engaged private landowners in restoration activities through individual outreach programs. These programs were expensive but provided multiple benefits to the councils. Sub-basin outreach programs were used to organize individual outreach efforts to maximize benefits and minimize costs. I argue that individual and sub-basin outreach programs are successful because they connect councils with a citizen's concept of place.

OVERALL IMPLICATIONS

There are two overall implications from this research for the case study councils. The first is that legitimacy in the eyes of citizens is an importance resource that can be generated through the connections that councils have with citizens. Legitimacy opens the landowner's gate to the council and legitimacy is difficult to generate and maintain. It demands time, personal connection, and trust. The second implication is that councils that lack legitimacy with citizen's face financial challenges as funding sources change in the near future. Councils that consciously cultivate legitimacy with citizens and engage

landowners on the basis of the concept of place have the potential to bridge this gap and become both more sophisticated as an organization and more connected to citizens based upon the concept of place.

CONCLUSION

There are three main conclusions from this research for the larger watershed council community in Oregon. First, councils currently have the opportunity to become increasingly sophisticated in their operations. The potential danger of this increasing sophistication is a decreased connection with citizens. Second, councils have ample opportunities to explore new ways of connecting with citizens. Examples include hosting art festivals or developing curriculum with rural school districts. Councils thus have the opportunity to simultaneously increase in sophistication as an organization and strengthen the connection between the council and citizens to maintain a crucial sense of legitimacy. The final conclusion is that mature watershed councils are well positioned to facilitate community discussions on controversial issues, such as global warming.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Three areas for future research are identified. The first is to use this typology to investigate power relations in councils. Do organizational or citizen councils have different ways of interacting with citizens that are included, attending, or engaged? Second, are their limits to effective participation? At what point are enough citizens connected with councils, and are there diminishing returns past that point?

Finally, this cross-sectional project could be expanded into a longitudinal study and the

impact of changing council structure on their connection to citizens could be explored.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND RESEARCH CONTEXT

"Watershed councils are local groups that form to collaboratively participate in the management of water and other public natural resources at the scale of a watershed." (Griffin 1999)

Community-based collaborative planning is an established natural resource management paradigm in the United States. Watershed-based planning through watershed councils is a particular version of community-based collaborative planning. A watershed is a geographic area bounded by ridgetops and containing all the water that falls to the ground within it. It is a management unit well suited to hydrologic, vegetation and aquatic management problems. It is not as well suited to other diffuse environmental problems, such as air quality, or highly mobile terrestrial mammal management (elk, migratory birds, humans). Despite these limitations there has been a veritable explosion of watershed partnerships forming in the USA (Kenney 2000). It is increasingly dominant in the American West and is an established form of environmental planning in Oregon (Bidwell 2004, Brick et. al. 2001, Rosenberg 2003). First, a brief overview of community-based collaborative natural resource management is provided. Second, the specific history of watershed councils in Oregon as community-based collaborative natural resource management organizations is discussed.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the contemporary state of this key element in Oregon. Finally, the specific case study councils are presented to provide the research context for the remainder of the thesis.

COMMUNITY-BASED COLLABORATIVE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

This section describes two separate yet similar types of natural resource management. The first is community-based and the second is collaborative. The section concludes by discussing the key similarities of these types to the Oregon Plan for Salmon and Watersheds.

Community-Based Environmental Management

Community-based approaches posit the local community as a key partner in natural resource management (Brosius et al. 1998). It also discusses the local "community" as a partner that has historically been overlooked in traditional scientific management models (Agrawal and Gibson 1999, Agrawal and Gibson 2001, Leach et al. 1999). The consequences of this oversight have been significant local resistance to the implementation of plans and regulations created without community involvement. The majority of the early work in this field took place in the non-industrialized world, but increasingly these efforts are appearing in the developed world by grounding collaborative planning efforts in communities.

Collaborative Planning

Collaborative planning is designed to bring diverse interests to a common setting with the purpose of developing consensual plans of action. Numerous case studies and critiques have defined the field to date (Coggins 2001, Leach and Pelkey 2001, McCloskey 1996, Singleton 2002, Smith and Gilden 2002). Community-based collaborative planning has brought local community interests together with scientific and non-local interests in pursuit of consensus driven plans of action (Conley and Moote 2002). Oregon's watershed council community has been used as an exemplary example of a community-based collaborative natural resource management model in the developed world (Sabatier et al. 2005).

WATERSHED COUNCILS IN OREGON

The following history of Oregon's watershed councils is sourced both from the Oregon Watershed Enhancement Board website and a recent dissertation from the University of Oregon (Rosenberg 2003). Efforts by the state to manage fisheries at the watershed scale began in 1987 with the creation of the Governor's Watershed Enhancement Board by Senate Bill 23. The guiding theme was watershed health, and pilot efforts were focused on the John Day Basin and the South Coast of Oregon. These efforts were codified into the Watershed Health Program in 1993 by House Bill 2215 and Senate Bill 81, which seeded a burgeoning watershed council movement across the state. A lawsuit against the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), now NOAA Fisheries, sought the listing of coastal coho salmon as endangered under the Endangered Species Act (ESA). NMFS

began their review of coastal salmon populations in 1995, which prompted the State of Oregon to renew their salmon recovery efforts in turn. Watershed councils thus formed in Oregon as a voluntary non-regulatory response to the potential Endangered Species Act listing of several stocks of salmon species.

In 1997 Senate Bill 924 and House Bill 3700 created the Oregon Coastal Salmon Recovery Initiative (CSRI). It was soon known as "The Oregon Plan for Salmon and Watersheds" and it clearly identified watershed councils as the key management unit. The Steelhead Supplement was added to the Oregon Plan in early 1998 to expand the program through the Willamette and Columbia river systems. This approach was initially accepted by NMFS in 1997. Various environmental groups challenged the validity of a voluntary and state-driven approach to a federally listed species and eventually overturned the NMFS decision via lawsuit in late 1998. In 1998 Oregon Ballot Measure 66 secured 7.5% of the net state lottery holdings for a 15-year period, and it is due to be renewed in 2014. Gov. Kitzhaber was undaunted by the federal listing and, buoyed by this show of public support for funding, signed an executive order in early 1999 to expand the Oregon Plan statewide to include water quality, watershed health, and native salmon stocks. House Bill 3225 was passed in late 1999 to change GWEB into the Oregon Watershed Enhancement Board (hereafter referred to as OWEB). OWEB still provides a crucial funding and administrative support role to Oregon's watershed council community in 2007.

Citizen and Landowner Involvement

> "The standard under the Endangered Species Act for private landowners is basically that you can't do anything that 'takes' any more of the endangered fish. It doesn't require private landowners to do any real watershed restoration. But the habitat needs restoration, and 65 percent of it is privately owned." (Gov. Kitzhaber in Brick et. al. 2001)

The Oregon Plan explicitly sought a voluntary, non-regulatory and local salmon recovery response, as this listing followed the Northern Spotted Owl and resulting "timber wars" which resulted in deeply divided communities and a polarized public across Oregon. The backlash to the federal listing of the spotted owl in 1990 was still lingering when the salmon issue arose, and the Oregon Plan was crafted expressly to work with citizens in a voluntary, non-regulatory manner. The Oregon Revised Statutes that established the Oregon Plan state that the "Use of voluntary and collaborative processes to achieve the mission of the Oregon Plan whenever possible" constitute a primary goal of the Plan (ORS 541.405 (2)(b)(J)).

This focus on councils connecting with citizens was re-iterated in the 2005-2007 OWEB Biennial Report. OWEB consists of "a 17-member policy oversight and decision-making board" (OWEB 2006). Members are drawn from the general public, federal, tribal and state agency boards, and the Oregon State University Extension Service, mirroring the membership of the watershed councils in question. The three statements below are featured in the Biennial Report and demonstrate that the core of the Oregon Plan is its focus on voluntary, non-regulatory approaches to restoration on private lands.

> "The ongoing success of the Oregon Plan relies in part on the sustained investment in and participation from private landowners and citizens." (OWEB 2006)
>
> "Significant public awareness of and participation in the Oregon Plan is critical to its long term success." (OWEB 2006).
>
> "Aggressively promote public awareness of and participation in the Oregon Plan." (OWEB 2006)

Thus, how councils connect with citizens is a valid entry point for further research. This is not to say that the sole focus of all watershed councils should be on private landowners and citizens. All case study councils are widely regarded as highly successful watershed councils in the state of Oregon. Indeed, one of the councils won a national award for their collaborative efforts. The OWEB Board, however, states that the connection that councils have with the citizens and private landowners in their basin will be increasingly important in the future. OWEB's recommendations, as a significant funder of council activities, are potential indicators of future funding priorities in an increasingly competitive funding environment. The way that watershed councils connect with both citizens and private landowners in particular is then a crucial and under-examined aspect of both Oregon's watershed council community, the larger community of voluntary watershed partnerships, and community-based collaborative planning overall. The substantive chapters of this thesis bring a critical lens to bear on three ways that the case study councils connect with citizens. The case study councils are summarized below to provide context for the remainder of the thesis.

CASE STUDY COUNCIL PROFILES

Oregon's watershed council community is unique in the United States due to a central organizing governmental agency, a secure and consistent funding source to support councils, and the heterogeneous yet thematically linked political and physical salmon recovery landscape that councils address through their restoration work. This consistent structure and inherent diversity creates a mature and living natural laboratory for academic inquiry. Four watershed councils were chosen for this research project. The selection and categorization process is outlined in the methodology chapter. A brief contextual overview of each council is provided below. The majority of the information below is from the 2005-2007 OWEB Watershed Council Support Grant application that each council submitted in 2005. This information was provided to Dr. Richard D. Margerum and myself by OWEB in the summer of 2006. A brief history of the council, the general physical character of the watershed, the amount of OWEB funding received for council support and the principle restoration concerns of the council are provided in the following tables. A principle concern of all four case study councils is private land use in the watershed. The private land in O1, O2 and C2 is located downstream of the public land around the headwaters, thus the management of the private land has a significant impact on the accessibility of the upstream reaches to migrating salmonid populations. Almost all the C1 watershed is in private land ownership, and they thus face similar challenges to the downstream portions of O1, O2 and C2. This similar concern

allows comparison of how these four councils connect with citizens due to the

importance of this connection their own activities and for The Oregon Plan.

Table 1: Anonymous Case Study Council (Data: 2005-2007 OWEB Council Support Grant application)

History of Formation	Physical Characteristics	OWEB Funding	Principle Restoration Concern
Formed by a group of citizens in 1996. Hired coordinator in 1997. Held first public meetings in 1998. These public meetings led the creation of the council charter in the summer of 1998.	250,000 acres. 397 total stream miles: 92.4 stream miles on 303(d) list for water quality/quantity. 92% in private land: 45% forest land, 31% agricultural land, 9% rural residential, 8% urban land. ESA listed species: spring Chinook, upland savanna and dry wetland species.	2003-2005: $92,000 2005-2007 requested: $122,000 2003-2005 matching funds $120,000 2005-2007 projected matching funds: $35,000	"The watershed population exceeds 100,000 residents and 92% of the land is privately owned...Significantly, most of the ownership is in small parcels with the exception of a handful of large timber company holdings and several families owning agricultural parcels of several thousand acres. The characters [sic] of the working landscape and the population density remain major challenges in reaching the rural and urban landowners to keep them informed of watershed issues and engage them in projects that address the limiting conditions in the basin."

Table 2: Anonymous Case Study Council (Data: 2005-2007 OWEB Council Support Grant application)

History of Formation	Physical Characteristics	OWEB Funding	Principle Restoration Concern
Community members formed council in 1998. Secured OWEB funding and developed a charter in 2000.	865,000 acres 1,342 total stream miles: 216 stream miles on 303(d) list for water temperature 70% public, 30% private. 95% forest, 1% agricultural 1% urban. ESA listed species: Spring Chinook, upland forest and dry wetland species.	2003-2005 biennium: $72,000 2005-2007 requested: $134,000 2003-2005 matching funds: $128,000 2005-2007 projected matching funds: $5,000	"(Council) used the [2002] assessment results to develop a prioritized, five-year action plan for restoration, water quality and education in the lower watershed, where most of the private land in the watershed occurs."

Table 3: Anonymous Case Study Council, Data from 2005-2007 OWEB Council Support Grant application

History of Formation	Physical Characteristics	OWEB Funding	Principle Restoration Concern
Convened by two local governmental bodies in the mid-1990's	832,000 acres 1,112 stream miles: 174 stream miles on 303(d) list, principally for water temperature reasons. 70% public, 30% private. 95% forest, 23% of which is private forest. 5% urban, rural residential and agricultural. ESA listed species are spring Chinook, bull trout, Oregon Chub and upland forest and dry wetland species.	2003-2005: $96,000 2005-2007 requested: $106,000 2003-2005 matching funds: $333,000 2005-2007 projected matching funds: $109,600	"…significant losses of important habitat has occurred. These habitat losses have primarily occurred on private lands within the lower portion of the watershed…The majority of the lower portion of the [O2] watershed is privately owned rural residential land, with much of the land being ecologically important …properties. Commercial, residential development and farming…are the common land uses. This portion of the watershed provides important habitat for many fish and wildlife species…"

Table 4: Anonymous Case Study Council, Data from 2005-2007 OWEB Council Support Grant application

History of Formation	Physical Characteristics	OWEB Funding	Principle Restoration Concern
Formed in 1997 by county board of commissioners. Re-organized as a 501 (c) 3 non-profit in 2000.	3,000,000 acres 4,227 stream miles: 1,340 stream miles on 303(d) list for water quality/quantity. 500,000 acres listed as high priority for streamflow restoration by two State of Oregon agencies. 54% public, 46% private. 81% forest, 12% agricultural, 3% rural residential, 2% urban. ESA listed species: Coho salmon, several upland forest and dry wetland species.	2003-2005: $96,000 2005-2007 requested: $134,000 2003-2005 matching funds: $104,000 2005-2007 projected matching funds: $95,700	"Flow in the South [branch of the river] and its headwaters is naturally very low in the summer due to lack of snowpack, early snow melt and the necessity of agricultural water withdrawals. This problem is exacerbated by increasing urban population growth…An outstandingly conservative and sensitive community forces very careful political consideration and treatment of every project…We have rapidly growing communities putting new pressures on already limited water supplies."

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis uses select elements of four disparate bodies of literature. The first is the use of typologies to classify watershed partnerships for comparison. The second is the idea of legitimacy as a key element of watershed council's connection with citizens. The third is the use of power by watershed councils to connect with citizens. Council's can chose how to use their power to: include citizens in council structures, provide opportunities for citizens to attend meetings, and engage citizens in council field activities. The fourth and final body of literature is centered on the concept of place and it's constitutive elements. These four elements are then summarized and linked through the remainder of the thesis.

TYPOLOGY AS A TOOL

It is often heard among people who work with watershed councils that "every watershed council is different". Several scholars have recently attempted to move beyond this observation and categorize watershed councils into a theoretical typology based on either the physical elements of the watershed or stakeholder membership. First, efforts have been made to characterize watersheds based on the physical characteristics of the land base. Example criteria include miles of waterways, population, percent public/private land, and types of land use in the watershed. (Rosenberg 2003, Wardrop 2005). Second,

several researchers have explored links between membership and organizational

characteristics (Clark and Burkhardt 2005), perceptions of effectiveness (Dakins and

Long 2005), and group accomplishments (Koontz and Johnson 2004). These efforts used

survey instruments to develop statistically significant connections between the variables

of concern. A similar effort based on a pre-existing data set led to this thesis.

Every biennium, OWEB collects Watershed Council Support Grant applications from

councils across Oregon. These documents range from 40 to 150 pages in length and

contain a wide array of information on councils, including physical descriptors,

stakeholder membership and financial information. An exploratory investigation of this

data source did not find simple correlations between physical criteria and financial

resources or stakeholder membership and financial resources. Despite the common

template of the application form the information in the applications was self-reported and

thus it could be potentially erroneous to compare councils across the state based on this

data alone. Two bodies of research then emerged to re-situate this research project. The

first body of work created a typology of watershed partnerships based on stakeholder

membership and group accomplishments. The second uses the partnership's focus to

create a separate typology that can be used to compare multiple variables.

The watershed partnership typology based on stakeholder membership found clear

differences in group accomplishments (Moore and Koontz 2003, Bidwell and Ryan

2006). Moore and Koontz conducted surveys and focus group interviews with Ohio

watershed councils to propose a three-part typology based on stakeholder membership: citizen-based, agency-based, and mixed partnerships (Moore and Koontz 2003). Mixed partnerships were significantly more likely to create a management plan. Mixed and agency-based groups cited group development and sustainability as an accomplishment more often than citizen-based councils. Mixed and citizen-based groups listed increased public awareness as an outcome more frequently than agency-based groups. Finally, citizen-based groups listed efforts at policy influence more than mixed or agency-based groups. These different accomplishments were in part based upon the context of the partnership itself, but they do point toward further research into the differences between partnerships based on stakeholder membership.

Bidwell and Ryan built upon Moore and Koontz's typology by interviewing a random stratified sample of Oregon's watershed council coordinators. They then proposed an Oregon-specific two-part typology based on stakeholder membership: agency-affiliated and citizen-based councils (Bidwell and Ryan 2006). The key distinction of agency-affiliated vs. Moore and Koontz's "agency based" category means that several Oregon watershed councils were explicitly affiliated with an agency, which was usually a Soil and Water Conservation District (a quasi-governmental body). Their connection was usually in the form of providing office space or acting as a fiscal agent for the council. The explicit focus on citizen participation required by the Oregon Plan prevented them from directly applying Moore and Koontz's typology, but they adapted it to continue

investigating the effect of partnership composition on outcomes. Bidwell and Ryan did

find significant differences in the products and outcomes generated by these two groups.

The citizen-based councils were more likely to conduct watershed assessments and then

build on restoration plans from those independent assessments, while the agency-

affiliated councils were more likely to adapt their existing information to the

requirements of the council (Bidwell and Ryan 2006). The research framed by these

typologies found substantive differences in outcomes and the distinction rendered by the

a typology based on partnership composition is worthy of further investigation.

Margerum proposes a typology for collaboratives in general by organizing groups by

what they actually do, rather than who is participating (Margerum, in press). Margerum's

three part typology is: policy, organizational, and action collaboratives . A policy

collaborative focuses on government legislation and policies (Margerum in press). An

action collaborative tends to focus on 'on the ground activities', while an organizational

collaborative focuses on the policies and activities of organizations (Margerum in press).

The division between policy and organizational collaboratives is clear, but the division

between action and organizational collaboratives is not as clear. Indeed, a watershed

partnership may switch back and forth between action-oriented discussion and

organizational discussions in the same meeting. This thesis hybridizes these bodies of

literature to address the strengths and weaknesses of each body of work. I join Bidwell

and Ryan's citizen based classification with Margerum's organizational classification to

make explicit both who is participating and what is being discussed in the case study councils.

This thesis focuses less on outcome differences due to stakeholder composition and more on how councils with different stakeholder compositions develop legitimacy with citizens to get to the point of generating outcomes. A citizen-based council is defined as having been originally convened by citizens while an organizational council was originally convened by a set of organizations. Two case study councils are organizational (referred to as O1 and O2), and two are citizen-based (referred to as C1 and C2). As the previous chapter's section on the research context demonstrated, these are an established and diverse set of watershed councils fit for comparison. The selection process is expanded in the following methodology chapter of the thesis. This typology is used to frame the research question, and the following three bodies of literature assist in the explanation of the findings.

LEGITIMACY

Recent research suggests that the amount of legitimacy a collaborative can generate with citizens, the more likely citizens are to work with that collaborative (Steelman and Carmin in Rahm 2002). Steelman and Carmin compared the creation of a hazardous waste clean up plan by respectively an organizational and a citizen-based council. They theorized that collaboratives have a set of seven resources. These membership resources were identified as in the following table.

Resource	Definition
Human	Leadership, staffing, volunteers
Technical	Knowledge about natural resources and their management
Financial	Grants, dues, and other contributions
Experiential	Knowledge and experience with other problems and management efforts
Structural	Organizational arrangements that facilitate or impede collaborative relationships
Network	Relationships within and external to the core group
Legitimacy	Degree that the community based effort is perceived as representative of the community at large

Table 5: Resources (Steelman and Carmin in Rahm 2002)

The key difference that Steelman and Carmin found between their case study

collaboratives was that the citizen, or grassroots-based, organization had a sense of

legitimacy in the community that the agency collaborative lacked. This was illustrated

when the agency collaborative attempted and failed to gain public support for the plan

that had been created with little public input. However, the citizen collaborative

struggled without the financial, technical, and organizational networks afforded by

organizational participants. The key difference used in this thesis is the idea of legitimacy

being generated through the connection of citizens and councils. The Oregon Plan was

crafted in part to explicitly connect with citizens at a local scale in lieu of imposed federal

restrictions. The development of legitimacy can be seen as a crucial piece toward the

development of these connections.

Recent work identified two types of legitimacy that can be developed by watershed

councils (Trachtenberg and Focht in Sabatier et al. 2005). The first is procedural and the

second is substantive. Procedural legitimacy deals with the policy creation process and substantive legitimacy is the content of the resultant policy proposals. The first criterion used to evaluate procedural legitimacy is the most salient for this thesis: "Participants in watershed collaborations must appropriately represent the full range of nongovernmental stakeholders" (Trachtenberg and Focht in Sabatier et al. 2005). This thesis modifies this criterion to take into account the Oregon's Plan specific focus on citizen and private landowners. The connection that councils have with citizens can thus be viewed as a way to develop citizen legitimacy as a resource through procedural means. The procedural means investigated are how councils include citizens in their council structure, provide opportunities for citizens to attend meetings and to engage citizens in field activities. The power that councils have to set up and change these procedural means is thus open to critique.

POWER

"Put simply, power is the ability to get things done…" (Jones et. al. 2004) Power is a concept with many definitions. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary has multiple definitions; as a noun, power is the "ability to act or produce an effect", as a verb, power is the "possession of control, authority, or influence over others" and as an adjective, power is "physical might" or "political control or influence". The academic sub-discipline of political geography has a particular definition, which is provided above from a current text on the subject. There are then two separate bodies of theory of how power is utilized in political geography. The first is that "…power is a property that can be

possessed...", whereas the second is that "power is conceived of as a 'capacity to act' which exists only when it is exercised..." (Jones et. al. 2004). This view of power as a "fluid medium, as something intrinsic to all forms of social interaction" is used to frame the investigation of how case study councils chose to connect with citizens (Allen in Agnew et al. 2003). The application of this definition of power to the micro-politics of political bodies such as watershed councils is an under-explored area of academic research (Walker 2003, Walker 2006). This thesis is an investigation of a particular type of power exercised in a particular way for a particular purpose. The importance of the connection between councils and citizens in Oregon has been previously discussed. The power that councils exercise to connect with councils is characterized in three concepts. The first is how councils include citizens in their council structure. The second is how councils provide opportunities for citizens to attend meetings. The third concept used is how councils engage citizens in field activities.

The first connection examined is the similarities and differences between how organizational and citizen based councils include citizens in their collaborative structures. The definition of include used in this project is "to make somebody...part of a group" (Encarta World Dictionary). Collaboratives have been defined previously, and structure is defined as "the way in which parts are arranged or put together to form a whole" (American Heritage Dictionary). The collaborative structure of a council is the way that parts (general members, committees and council staff) are put together to form the

council as a whole collaborative organization. The way that citizens have been included, or made part of a group, is examined and the findings are presented in chapter VI.

The second concept frames an investigation of how councils provide opportunities for citizens to attend council meetings. Council meetings are an important method of connection between councils and citizens. The forum they provide builds upon collaborative theory, which in turn is based upon ideas of communicative rationality. In his theory of communicative rationality, Habermas hypothesized that people move rationally and inexorably toward consensual decisions through communicative techniques (Bickerstaff 2005). Communicative rationality thus positions communication as the basis for consensus that leads to action (Tewdwr-Jones 1998). There are certain conditions that must be met for true communicative rationality to occur: all the representative stakeholders must be present, equally empowered and be ready and able to represent their interests; all claims and restraints must be open to question, testing and evaluation (Bickerstaff 2005). This setting, known as the "ideal speech situation", is then responsible for negating the inherent power differences of participants (Habermas 1996 in McGuirk 2001). This ideal setting of a power neutral space can only truly be reached in theory, but the benefits accrued by communicative rational approaches in practice have been seen as indicative of the theory's validity (Innes 1995).

Communicative rationality has been criticized, however, for failing to recognize that individuals may exercise power strictly for their own benefit and for actively obscuring this exercise of power in the perceived neutrality of communicative processes (Tewdwr-Jones 1998). McGuirk posits that is impossible to leave behind the "overlapping social, economic, political and cultural power-grids" that bound individuals, and thus it is impossible to enter into communicative rationality without bringing "power, difference, and conflict" (McGuirk 2001). This is a critique based on Foucault's theories about the role that power and institutions play in structuring individuals through discourse and other means. The theories of Foucault and Habermas have been at odds since their publication in the late 1970's and early 1980's. The field of planning theory and practice has been another front in this battle of thought. Collaborative planning is one form of communicative rationality as applied to planning practice, and thus has been subject to similar critiques. This thesis recognizes the cogency of this debate and reconciles the two perspectives to frame a substantive critique. Power-grids may be impossible to fully remove, but sincere efforts towards an "ideal speech situation" can mediate their effects.

The Oregon Plan can be positioned as an institutional framework that seeks to mediate between these two theoretical perspectives. The multiple parties needed to achieve the Oregon Plan's goals have different power-grids that yield different resources. The watershed council as an organization can be conceived as an expression of communicative rationality as a solution to complex problems. The creation of an "ideal

speech situation" can then be seen as integral to the generation of legitimacy through citizen connections to councils. If these power grids affect the structure and setting of councils, citizens might not be included or attend and the legitimacy of the council could suffer in the view of citizens. This lack of legitimacy could severely impact the core concept of the Oregon Plan, which is conducting voluntary restoration on private lands.

Councils thus have the ability to exercise their power to include citizens in their collaborative structure and provide opportunities for citizens to attend meetings. These exercises of power are defined and thus open to investigation and critique. Councils can also use their power to engage citizens in field activities. To engage is defined as to "attract and hold the attention of." (American Heritage Dictionary 2007). This thesis argues that this engagement in council field activities can be based on a citizen's notion of place. The term place has as many definitions as power, and is defined for my research project in the next section.

PLACE

The Oregon Plan focuses on the importance of connecting citizens and private landowners with watershed councils due to the amount of private land that contains restorable habitat. Citizens, and private landowner specifically, are under no obligation to participate in the Oregon Plan or to grant watershed councils access to their property. Access to private landowners is one thing that watershed councils have produced, however, and the widespread number of restoration projects on private land attest to this

fact. Among the four case study councils, a sub-basin outreach program has been used to connect with private landowners. This access can be seen as an affirmation of the legitimacy of the case study councils. I argue further that these specific programs are an example of an appeal to a private landowners notion of place.

Place is one of the core concepts of human geography. This brief review of this core concept begins with its humanistic roots as expressed by Yi-fu Tuan. Next, Relph's work connecting place to an idea of authenticity is discussed. The contemporary work of Massey and others on place as a process in the world is presented. An operational definition of place from Agnew is then introduced. Natural resource management scholars have recently embraced place as a key lens to situate rural resource management efforts are summarized. Agnew's three-part definition is used to situate the sub-basin outreach programs from the case study councils in the larger debate on the role of place in natural resource management. This section concludes with a discussion of the connection between legitimacy and this operationalized notion of place in the context of this thesis.

Yi-fu Tuan provided a foundational definition of place in 1977:

> "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value..." (Tuan, 1977)

Place, according to Tuan, is a "pause" in undifferentiated spaces where the attachment of value turns space into a specific place (Tuan 1977). Relph was concerned that this

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process was being disrupted by modern existence. Relph distinguished between existential insider and outsider in the experience of place as well as authentic and inauthentic attitudes to place. To be an existential insider is "to belong to [a place] and identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity with the place" (Relph 1976). An authentic attitude to place "consists of a complete awareness and acceptance of responsibility for your own existence" (Relph 1976). This framework can be used to position citizens, and private landowners specifically, as authentic existential insiders to a place. Massey takes this notion of placelessness and discusses the impacts of globalization upon this humanistic notion of place. Her principal point is to reject the fixity of this definition of defined place in open space and to see place as a process (Creswell 2005). Place as a process means that someone is always becoming an insider or an outsider, not that someone simply is or is not. Agnew provides an operational framework that conceptualizes this notion of place as process. He defined place as having three constitutive elements:

> "Locale, the settings in which social relations are constituted...;location, the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction as defined by...processes operating at a wider scale; and sense of place, the local 'structure of feeling'..." (Agnew 1997).

The location is an absolute point where the place occurs. A locale can be further described as the "material setting for social relations-the actual shape of place within which people conduct their lives" (Creswell 2005). Sense of place is explained as "the subjective and emotional attachment that people have to place" (Creswell 2005). A private landowners attachment to their specific property can thus be characterized as a

sense of place for a locale in a specific location. Versions of this notion of place have been utilized to understand how to understand and engage people in community-based natural resource management efforts (Cheng et al 2003, Cheng 2005, Kruger and Jakes 2003, Manzo and Perkins 2006, Rickenbach 1999). This connection between place, specifically sense of place, and community-based natural resource management is the entry point for the third section of the research findings. Relph's articulation of an authentic insider helps to understand the connection between place and the preceding discussion on legitimacy. The reception that councils receive from citizens and private landowners is an indication of their legitimacy. This legitimacy, which can in part be generated by councils using their power to include citizens in the council structure and provide opportunities for citizens to attend council meetings, is necessary to make the initial connection with private landowners specifically. Councils have no explicit power to compel landowners to engage with council activities, so instead they must develop legitimacy and provide incentives. The incentives include technical and financial resources to help conduct restoration activities on their property. Sub-basin outreach programs are used by three of the case study councils to organize individual landowner outreach and projects. I argue that these programs are based on engaging a landowner's sense of place for their specific location in a locale. The implication is that successful efforts at a sub-basin level could develop more legitimacy which could yield more citizen and landowner involvement in a positive feedback loop. The methods used to connect these four bodies of literature are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

This thesis is the product of an exploratory qualitative research project. The goal was to investigate the collaborative structures of a set of watershed councils and discover participating citizens experiences with their respective councils. The research question was:

"What are the similarities and differences between how organizational and citizen based watershed council's connect with citizens?"

My overarching goal was to deepen the body of knowledge around watershed councils specifically, and collaborative management in general, by addressing the research gaps identified in the previous literature review chapter. I compared and contrasted structures and experiences within a set of case studies through content analysis, participant observation and key informant interviews. Comparable watershed councils were selected using information found in the 2005-2007 OWEB Biennial Watershed Council Support Grant applications. The selected councils charters were analyzed to discuss their collaborative structure. I conducted participant observation of general watershed council meetings during the fall of 2006 and the early winter of 2007. I then complimented my field observations through key informant interviews during the winter and early spring of

2007. I conducted content analysis on the four watershed council charters during the early spring of 2007 as well.

CASE STUDY

A case study is a useful research design when the subject is "a contemporary set of events over which the researcher has little or no control"(Yin 2003). Yin further defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." The lack of control and acknowledged importance of the phenomenon's context differentiate case studies from other forms of contemporary event analysis, such as experiments. The blurred boundaries between phenomenon and context also make for a technically challenging research design. Data collection and analysis need to be conducted in a transparent and accountable manner to overcome this challenge. Yin states that a case study "relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion." This study triangulates evidence through content analysis, participant observation and key informant interviews to identify similarities and differences between how organizational and citizen-based watershed councils connect with citizens. Yin's final definitional element is that a case study "benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis." The definitions provided in the literature review chapter are operationalized through the three research methods defined below.

The validity of case studies has often been challenged, and Yin asserts that this is principally due to faulty research design rather than the case study approach. My study is an exploratory project aimed at capturing similarities and differences among a set of case study councils. There was no attempt to demonstrate causality through rigorous statistical analysis of observed phenomena. A gap was identified in the emerging area of typologies as a research technique. A case study was constructed to address this gap by using content analysis, field observations, and key informant interviews to triangulate on similarities and differences between the participating councils.

Yin identifies construct validity as "establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied." Yin suggests using multiple strains of evidence to establish a chain of evidence to demonstrate construct validity. The multiple qualitative methods used in this study that links the analyzed, observed and discussed material into a cohesive chain of evidence of similarities and differences.

According to Yin, internal validity, or demonstrating a causal relationship, is not feasible in exploratory studies. The goal of demonstrating external validity, or generalizability, of a case study is not statistical generalization, but analytical generalization (Yin 2003). This study used replication logic by conducting the same research methods with all four councils to reveal examples of literal replication. Literal replication means that the same

event occurs for each of the cases, thereby enhancing the external validity and

generalizability of the study results.

The final element Yin identifies to test research design is the reliability, or repeatability,

of the case study. Given that the research period focused on contemporary and

uncontrolled events, it is not repeatable in a literal sense. The steps used in each method

have been operationalized in this chapter as clearly as possible to address the question of

reliability. If a future researcher wishes to conduct this research design again, they

should have little procedural questions remaining by the close of this chapter.

The watershed council selection process is outlined in the following table:

X. Filter, (number of eligible councils remaining)
1. Seven county area (22)
2. Sort by size of watershed, eliminate smallest (16)
3. Sort by amount of OWEB 03 monies, eliminate smallest (13)
4. Compare internet presence and meeting schedule overlap (7)
5. Sort by distance from Eugene (4)
6. Categorize as organizational or citizen-based depending on convener (2,2)

Table 6: Field Site Selection Process

The first step restricted the case study councils to a feasible area for my field

observations. Funding was limited for this project, and thus the distance traveled to

council meetings was a defining variable from the beginning of the selection process.

Step two and three eliminated councils that were comparatively small in size and budget

received from OWEB. These steps insured that the case study councils would be

comparable in physical extent and state funding. Step four ensured that the meeting

schedules of the councils did not conflict which allowed full field observations to be conducted and that sufficient information for content analysis was available via the council's website as well. The closest four councils to the University of Oregon were selected from the remaining seven councils in step five. The final step was to categorize them as either organizational or citizen-based, in accordance with the definition previously discussed.

This process resulted in four watershed councils in western Oregon of comparable size and financial means. It also ensured that all of their public meetings were accessible and feasible to attend during the field research period. Three of these councils were the subject of a pilot project undertaken during a 2003 "Qualitative Methods in Human Geography" class, so I was already familiar with their orientation and operation.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data collection took three forms: content analysis, participant observation and key informant interviews. Content analysis was conducted on council charters. Participant observation occurred during monthly council meetings in the fall and winter of 2006-2007. The regularity of the field observations allowed for iterative reviews of emerging themes. These themes were clarified and framed the key informant interviews of the winter and spring of 2007. The interview process was semi-structured and also allowed for an iterative review of emerging themes. The final review of these themes was connected to existing literature to strengthen the external validity of the research results.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is the process of identifying important features in a text, then carrying out a search for them in a text (Forbes in Hay 2000). The text analyzed for each of the four councils is their charter. A charter is "a document outlining the principles, functions, and organization of a corporate body"(American Heritage Dictionary). The identified important feature in the charter was how citizens were included in the structure of the council. The charters for the four case study councils were reviewed, and how citizens were included was coded as overtly included or equally included. Overtly meant that including citizens was the dominant theme in the relevant charter subsections while equally meant that including citizens was mentioned in concert with including organizations. The number of coded sequences was summed and the results are discussed in chapter five.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is an accepted means of qualitative investigation (Kearns in Hay 2000). The goal of employing observation as a method was to provide both contextual and complementary evidence of watershed council processes and participants. The observations were primary and uncontrolled, in that I attended meetings directly and observed what occurred without "noting prescribed phenomena" (Kearns in Hay 2000). At these meetings, I positioned myself as an 'observer-as-participant', in that I self-identified myself and my research goals, but did not participate directly in the meetings themselves aside from my presence in the meeting room (Kearns in Hay 2000). Access

was easy to gain, as watershed councils are generally open to the public, although they are not classified as governmental public meetings. I requested and received permission to attend the steering committee meetings of C1 and C2 from their respective watershed council coordinators. Human Subjects clearance was obtained for this research project A brief introductory statement was approved and used to identify the researcher at each watershed council meeting that was observed during the research period (see appendix 1).

I observed 15 meetings in 8 different locations between October 2006 and March 2007. Three other potential meetings were canceled due to inclement winter weather at the core of the research window. I sat in a peripheral position at meetings, albeit with a clear view of presentations, to minimize obtrusion and maximize observation. I did not speak unless spoken to, and responded truthfully and fully to inquiries from meeting participants during breaks in the proceedings. Extensive field notes were taken and transcribed after the meetings concluded. Occasional specific quotes from observed meetings are used in this thesis, and these were carefully transcribed at the time of observation. The meetings were not recorded, so any errors in transcription are my own.

My observations focused on how the councils utilized their power to connect citizens to the council structure and to connect with citizens through council meetings. During the observation period I also became interested in how council outreach activities to citizens was presented and discussed, which led to the third theme of the thesis. My field notes

were consistently reviewed to track emerging key themes. Interview questions were then developed to check the accuracy of these key themes through key informant interviews.

Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews are an accepted method of qualitative investigation (Rubin and Rubin 2005). The interviews conducted for this project were semi-structured and included elements of 'concept clarification', 'evaluation research' and 'elaborated case studies' (Rubin and Rubin 2005). Certain concepts, such as the mission or role of a watershed council, were clarified with explicit questions. The overall goal of the interviews was to develop elaborated case studies to aid in evaluation research (e.g.- what are the similarities and differences in collaborative structures...) (Rubin and Rubin 2005). The interviews were topical and attempted to engage the participants in a dialogue rather than a one-way exchange. This required that I adapt my question order, phrasing, and general demeanor to the respondent and context of the interview. My goal was to develop awareness and some degree of trust through my unobtrusive presence at watershed council meetings, and maintain an equitable and open attitude during the interview itself. All four councils are small communities that exist largely in rural communities, so I attempted to be sensitive to the fact that the end result for me was a thesis, but that participants lives would continue in these contexts and should be approached with due respect.

Key informants were identified during the participant observation portion of the research project. The majority of the identified key informants were participants who clearly represented either an organizational or a private landowner/citizen perspective. Watershed council coordinators (C1, C2) or executive directors (O1, O2) were also interviewed. Finally, a key staff person, either in the form of a project coordinator (O2 and C1), board president (O1) or key citizen project facilitator (C2) was interviewed. A Human Subject Modification Form was filed and this documentation can be found in Appendix 1.

Interviews were organized via email, except for one interviewee who did not have an email account and could only be contacted via telephone. The interview questions were electronically provided to potential research participants with the informed consent form. These materials were provided in person to the non-email using participant at the time of the interview. All who participated agreed to both participate voluntarily and to be recorded. Interviews were set up to minimally impact the interviewee by being conducted according to their availability in a location easy for them to access. These locations included private landowners homes, coffee shops, restaurants, and watershed council offices. One interview was conducted via telephone because the participant was unavailable to meet in person. Interviews opened with an opportunity for the research participant to ask any questions they had about the project or the consent form. Most questions centered on a more complete explanation of the research project, and were

answered in a full and apparently satisfactory manner. The following table outlines final

interview participants by council.

Council	Watershed Staff	Organizational Rep	Landowner/Citizen
C1	2	1	2
C2	1	1	3
O1	1	2	2
O2	2	2	1

Table 7: Interview Subjects by Case Study Council

The questions were conceptualized in a 'tree and branch' style, with three core themes

with sub questions (Rubin and Rubin 2005). The question order itself varied by

interviewee in order to follow the thread of conversation. In general, "branch"

background questions about interviewee involvement were used to set-up "tree" inquiries

about their role and the larger role of the watershed council in the watershed, followed by

a closing "branch" discussion on personal motivations for participation. The interviews

clarified themes on how councils use their power to connect with citizens, and clarified

how the concept place can connect citizens and watershed councils.

Several clarification probe questions were planned to aid in eliciting depth on certain

points, while numerous continuation, attention and steering probes were used throughout

the interviews to keep on track (Rubin and Rubin 2005). An example of a clarification

probe is the sub-questions about the watershed council meeting room (see appendix 2).

Continuation, attention and steering probes are un-scripted communications to

respectively encourage the participant to continue with a thread of discussion,

communicate my continued attention, and redirect them back to a question following a digression.

Interviews were digitally recorded, and key quotes were transcribed to inform this thesis. Interviews generally took forty-five minutes to conduct, although some were briefer and others much longer. A total of twenty-one key informants were interviewed in a wide variety of settings during the months of February and March 2007. Council meeting attendance ranged from 10 to 40 people per meeting and five key informants were selected per council Research participants expressed a desire to be informed about the project's findings, and presentations were made to the participating research councils in the summer of 2007.

LIMITS OF RESEARCH METHODS

There are several limits to my research methods. First, my observations of watershed council meetings only capture one element of the communications that watershed councils enable.

The conversation during breaks and following the end of meetings was thick and diverse, and the communication between members outside of meetings was not tracked during my research. However, my perspective as a relatively informed outsider attending meetings without an agenda can be seen as equivalent to how an educated landowner attending meetings would perceive events. Second, my time period of observation was limited. Many councils do not meet in the summer, however, and the winter is the time for

planning and discussion, so I believe what they lacked in temporal breadth they made up for in substantive depth. A third limitation is that I self-identified key informants to interview from this brief observation window. There are perhaps other key informants who were unable to attend meetings this winter, or who were more active behind the scenes than during the meetings. I shared my list of key informants within each respective council with each informant I interviewed, and the interviewees did not point out any glaring omissions when they were provided this opportunity. Fourth, these councils are centered in a relatively densely populated, relatively wealthy portion of a large and diverse state. This selection was partly to ensure that the research project could be conducted in the time allotted, and partly due to my familiarity with several of the councils from a previous pilot project.

Despite these four critiques, I believe that the key points of the answers to my research question are of value to the research participants, Oregon's watershed council community overall, and collaborative management research in general. My goal was not to decipher and expose nefarious plans, as generally all the participants I observed are putting effort forth above and beyond their normal lives for what they see as the good of their watersheds. I sought to find the similarities and differences that a comparative case study affords, and inform the case study councils of these findings in hopes of making their efforts more effective. I hope that by being an open, honest, and self-reflexive qualitative researcher I have been able to do so.

CHAPTER V

SIMILARITIES

First, however, an important similarity existed across all four case study councils.

Despite their different orientations, a strong spirit of cooperation pervaded the meetings

and members I encountered. All of the meetings I attended were civil, productive, and

relatively efficient. The tone of all of the council meetings was similarly positive, civil,

and occasionally jovial. Participants were respectful of each other regardless of

orientation or representation. All followed the ground rules, and the meetings were

facilitated equitably by a variety of participants.

I find this to be an impressive affirmation of the principles that underlay the creation,

implementation, and continued success of the Oregon Plan. I also took this to signal the

maturity of the four case study councils. Two of the councils were undergoing

significant board membership transitions during my window of observation, and the

minimal impact this had on the actual running of the meetings and the material discussed

was remarkable. The remainder of the findings section will delve into the differences I

found between the two types of councils in regards to their connection with landowners.

CHAPTER VI

INCLUDE IN COUNCIL COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURE

The first connection discussed is between citizens and council structures. Based on a review of their charters, I identified three approaches to including citizens in a council's collaborative structure (see Figure 1). The first is their definition of members or general council members. The second is their definition of council partners and directors as separate from council members. The third is the structure of the policy group for the council.
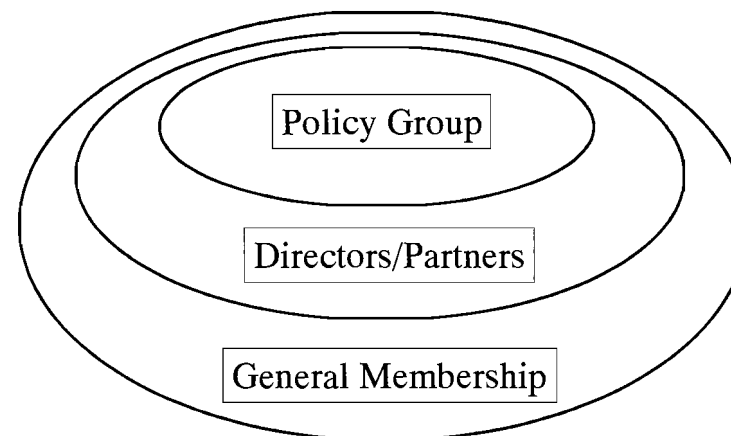
Figure 1: Visualization of council structure (by author)

GENERAL COUNCIL MEMBER DEFINITIONS

Three councils (C1, C2, and O1) have clear definitions of what is required to become a member in their charter. O2 does not have any definition of a member in their charter.

C1 and C2 have broadly construed definitions, while O1 has an equally broad definition

but clearly circumscribed ways that members can be included in the structure of the

council. The four case study council definitions are provided below in Table 8.

Case Study Council	General Member Definition
C1	"…fully inclusive and open to anyone who lives, works, or plays in, derives benefit from, or is affected by the watershed and its resources. A member is someone who participates in council activities."
C2	"…an 'open-door' membership policy." "…open to all folks who live in, work in, or are affected in any way by the watershed and its resources…"
O1	"…any Person who: 1. Has an interest in the activities of {O1}. 2. Resides in, has a business in, or owns property in {county name} or is engaged in activities that will be affected by the {O1} action program…"
O2	Does not have a definition for general council members

Table 8: General Membership Definitions (Respective council charter)

The three councils with definitions focus on people who are residents, connected to the

watershed through economic interests, or "affected" by watershed resources and

activities. The overt use of "inclusive" and "open" in the C1 and C2 membership

definitions differs from O1's definition of "any Person who: has an interest…"

The main entry points for un-affiliated citizens to be included in the structure of O2 are

two "At-Large Stakeholder" positions. They are identified as representatives for the

upper and lower sections of the watershed as part of the 17-20 representative "Partners"

that constitute the O2 council. Both O1 and O2 have "Directors" and "Partners"

respectively, while C1 and C2 lack this type of member identification.

PARTNERS AND DIRECTORS DEFINITIONS

The clearly defined Partner and Director positions are organized by special interest

group, which is different from the "inclusive" and "open" general member rules outlined

by C1 and C2 (see Table 9). This distinction between general members and interest

groups becomes important when the policy group of the council is discussed (Smith

2002). These groups differ by name, but hold a similar ability to make certain decisions

for the council in entirety, and to supervise the staff of the council. The policy group is

labeled a "Steering Committee" by C1 and C2, an "Executive Committee" by O2, and a

"Board of Directors" by O1.

POLICY GROUPS

How citizens are included in these groups is a clear indicator of how the councils view

the role of citizens. Are they simply members, or genuine participants with consistent

decision-making authority? All members in C1 and C2 are eligible to volunteer for their

respective Steering Committees. General council elections are used to confirm nominees

for the C1 and C2 steering committee. All members are also eligible for the officer

positions within O1, but the Board elects nominees to those positions. Only interest

group Partners are eligible for the O2 Executive Committee positions. The distinct label

of Directors and Partners potentially limits participation by citizens, as they have to either

fit a pre-existing interest group or be one of the limited "at-large" citizen members.

Table 9: Partner and Director Definition (O1 and O2 Council Charters)

Council	Partner and Director Definition
O1	"…will have seventeen regular Directors", which "…must represent a balance of interested and affected Persons…". One must be or represent a County Commissioner. Three Directors"…will represent agriculture and livestock interests". Four Directors "…will represent timber, aggregate, construction and mining interests". Four Directors "…will represent fishing, recreation and conservationist interests". Three Directors "…will represent cities, special districts, and public utilities". One Director will represent a federally recognized Indian tribe that has interests in the O1 watershed. The final Director "…will be elected by Members from candidates nominated by the other Directors…during the annual meeting." This elected Director "will represent the interests of the general public and will not represent any of the interests {previously described}".
O2	Consists of representative "Cooperative Partners". These Partners are specified to come from "local government, water utility companies, {O2} Valley residents, resource users (e.g. agriculture, private timber), industrial forest land managers, major water consumers, environmental advocates, state government, and federal government. A majority of partners shall be local citizens, including local officials". A list of interests, example agency/organizations and positions eligible to become a partner is provided.

C1 organizes it's policy group according to geographical designations, with "three people from each of the main sub-basins of the watershed". It also includes "…three people at-large". The lack of specific positions for interest representatives creates an opportunity for a citizen-centric steering committee.

C2 has a seven to eleven member policy group defined in their charter. All policy group members are volunteers and must be "affirmed" by the general council during a general meeting. The four designated seats are for "one representative each from the Willamette National Forest, Army Corps of Engineers, Private Timber Industry, and Environmental Interests." The other seats are for"… strictly 'at-large'" members of the council. This division of representation and "at-large" status creates the opportunity for a citizen-majority in the C2 policy group. The open invitation to become general members makes it easy to include interested citizens in the policy group.

O2 has a four member policy group defined in their charter. The charter states that "at least four interest groups…" will be in the group, and that they may be "elected officials, resource users, residents, and government [officials]". The four group members "will be nominated and approved by Council consensus on an annual basis" from the existing Partners.

O1 has a policy group that consists of the seventeen Directors in Table 9. The entire group supervises the council staff. Officers are elected by the group and have limited fiscal authority. Officers can be any member, not just Board members. The O1 Coordinator has limited fiscal authority as well. Ultimate decision-making above a certain financial threshold rests with the entire policy group.

ANALYSIS

The watershed council charter dictates how citizens can be included in the collaborative structure of the council. All four councils have similar and broad affirmations of citizen involvement in their vision, mission, and goals. All four councils also have clear roles to include citizens. The inclusive orientation of C1 and C2 carries through the structure of the council from general membership definition to policy group eligibility. The filtering of general members into a pre-defined policy group limits citizen inclusion in O1's council structure. The lack of membership definitions and the limiting of policy group positions to council Partners by O2 is the most restrictive example of citizen inclusion in this case study. If a council has greater citizen inclusion, it could result in greater legitimacy in the eyes of the communities of the watershed (Steelman and Carmin 2002). If it has limited citizen inclusion it could develop less legitimacy that could limit the other types of connections that citizens could have with councils. For instance, if a council is seen as a group of interest group and agency representatives with limited roles for citizens, it is conceivable that few citizens would attend public meetings or events. It is also conceivable that this lack of legitimacy would limit the number of citizens who

would allow councils to conduct field activities on their land, as the council could lose their independence and be seen as just another government bureaucracy. The next section continues this idea by explaining how councils provide opportunities for citizens to attend both general and policy group meetings.

CHAPTER VII

OPPORTUNITIES TO ATTEND COUNCIL MEETINGS

Council meetings are a principal way for councils to connect with citizens. Councils use this meeting time to inform attending members about how they can get involved with watershed issues, thereby addressing the OWEB recommendation to strengthen their connection to citizens. Members need to be able to attend the council meeting, however, before information can be provided. Participant observation of the publicly accessible case study council meetings in the research period revealed that key differences in opportunities for citizens to attend council meetings exist between organizational and citizen-based councils. The two types of meetings observed were the general meetings for all four councils and policy group meetings for C1 and C2. Both O1 and O2 held monthly three-hour meetings where council business and general education were jointly discussed. C1 and C2 held separate monthly three-hour general member meetings and monthly three-hour policy group meetings during the observation period. General council meetings are discussed first in each section, followed by observations on policy group meetings for the citizen-based councils. The chapter then addresses the three individual elements of the following question: *who meets where at when*? First, the membership, or *who*?, is situated in the council meeting rooms . Second, the *where*?, or location of the meeting places, is presented and is followed by a description of the set-up

of the meeting rooms themselves. A brief discussion of the meeting times follows to address the *when* portion of the framing question. The section concludes with analysis of the implications of "*who meets where at when?*" for the case study councils.

WHO?

The structure of the council's membership was discussed in the previous chapter. How this structure is translated into the council meeting room is the subject of this section. The first point observed was how attendees were asked to identify themselves verbally and through the use of nametags. The second point was the representativeness of the attendees for rural western Oregon citizens in terms of gender, age, and race.

Identification

All four councils provided an opening moment where all those attending went around the room to introduce themselves. Participants at O1 and O2 meetings introduced themselves as a representative either of an organization or a particular interest, which reflects the organization of members in the charters of these two councils. Participants at C1 and C2 meetings identified themselves by name and where they were from in the basin. Organizational representatives were observed to sometimes append their organizational affiliation to this identification, but sometimes did not. This resulted in a focus on the basin's geography rather than the organizations within the basin, which seemed to create a sense of communal focus rather than individual interests. This difference between organizational and citizen-based councils continued in the use of nametags to display identity and affiliation.

Name cards were used at O2 general meetings, and C1 policy group meetings. No name

cards were used at O1 or C2 general or steering committee meetings. Paralleling the

above observation, name cards at O2 meetings carried the name of the representative and

the organization or interest they represented, while the name cards used at the C1 policy

group meetings displayed the name of the individual and the portion of the basin they

represented. I was provided with a blank guest name card at the first C1 steering meeting

I attended, but was not provided with one at either of the O2 meetings I attended.

Demographics of the Meetings

The demographic makeup of attendees during the observation period appeared to be

roughly representative of the rural population they serve. There were no blatant

examples of discrimination based on gender, age, or race observed during the field

research. There was a slight majority of male attendees across all four councils, but the

majority of the staff for the four councils was female. The age of participants appeared to

be late 40's to mid 60's, with very few youth or 20 to 30 year olds attending. The

majority of the staff across the four councils was younger than the meeting attendees,

principally in the early to mid 30's. One staff member came to an O1 meeting to provide

a grant application briefing with her young daughter and infant son in tow, and was

received humanely and professionally by the meeting attendees. A strong majority of the

council attendees and staff were Caucasian, which is representative of rural western

Oregon. There were almost no foreign language materials or presentations, and very

little use of advanced technology to communicate council activities. The next part of the framing question "who meets where and when" addresses where the meetings are held and how the meeting room is arranged.

WHERE?: MEETING PLACE

All four of the councils in question cover large areas of land with heterogeneous land ownership patterns and a central capital city, as described in the research context section. Despite this similarity, there was a consistent difference in where the respective types of councils met during the observation period. Both O1 and O2 held their meetings in the central city of their basin in an agency meeting room. Both C1 and C2 rotated their general membership meetings throughout the prominent towns in their largely rural basins and held their meetings in grange halls, high school libraries and agency offices (see Figure 2 below). C1 and C2 policy group meetings were held in a central agency meeting room in the basin during the observation period.
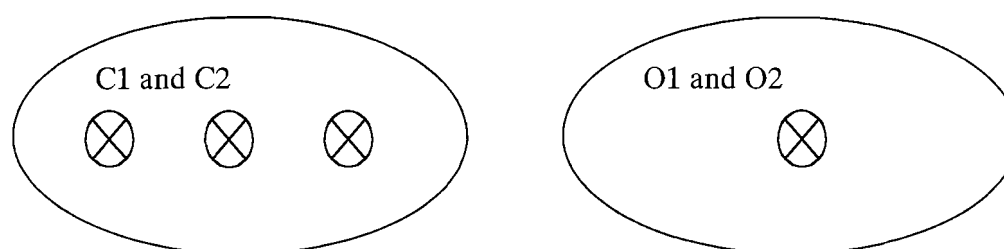

Figure 2: Visualization of meeting places in watershed (by author).

Nearly all the interview participants for O1 and O2 provided a consistent and logistically based rationale for their meeting spot.

> "The reality is that a meeting space, just the physical space, that can accommodate our size of a group is a challenge." (O1 Staff)

"[O2 Partner] donates the space, there is 25 partners, and you gotta have a place for an audience. You need a pretty good sized room." (O2 Citizen)

"Where [O1] meets is a default issue, it's a matter of, okay, they got a big parking lot. They got a meeting room that's big enough to get everybody in it. No it's not the best place probably, but the other places we've had had serious drawbacks, so that's the best one we have come up with yet." (O1 Citizen)

In general, research participants from O1 and O2 were comfortable with the meeting

place. The importance of connecting with citizens on a local level was also discussed.

"It's a lot easier for us to get comments from the different communities up there if we go to them. If we expect them to come down to watershed council meetings down here, good luck. We need to go up there." (O2 Organizational)

"I think it's important for us…to have the meetings close to peoples homes so that if they do want to participate they have gotten that opportunity." (C2 Organizational)

However, because I did not interview non-participants, I do not know if the location of

the meeting explicitly prevented individuals from attending. Several informants from the

citizen councils stated that the distance they had to travel to the meeting was not an

obstacle if the meeting subject was interesting enough to them.

"The distance of the meetings does not have an effect, the subject decides if I attend." (C2 Citizen)

"I generally only go to the [local general council meeting] unless there is something really important that I want to hear about happening [at a meeting at the other two locations]." (C2 Citizen)

Field and Annual Meetings

At least one meeting a year for both O1 and O2 is a public field trip in the basin. C1 and

C2 hold field trips in the summer to representative projects in the basin. O1 holds their

annual meeting as a barbeque in the summer in a public park in the principal city in their

basin. O2 stages an annual fall retreat for their board members to a non-affiliated facility in their basin. C1 hosts their annual meeting in the fall at a local establishment in a city in the watershed. All are welcome to attend but the C1 annual meeting was overbooked during my observation period, however, revealing a potential problem between open attendance policies and limited facilities. C2 does not hold an annual meeting or retreat, but does hold an annual potluck in January that is open to all members to attend. The set up of the meeting room itself illustrated another difference between organizational and citizen-based councils.

WHERE?: MEETING ROOM SET UP

Organizational Meeting Room Set Up

Both of the O1 and O2 meeting rooms were large public meeting rooms supplied by organizational members. These room were set up was similar, in that board members sat at tables facing each other in a "U" with materials for a presenter at the top of the U. Non-board members were provided seats along the wall facing the backs of the board members at the table (see Figure 3 below). Thus, the council members at the table for O1 and O2 literally have their backs turned to the rest of the room, which could in theory include a potential new citizen participant on the council. Several interviewees from O1 and O2 commented on the 'exclusionary' atmosphere this creates.
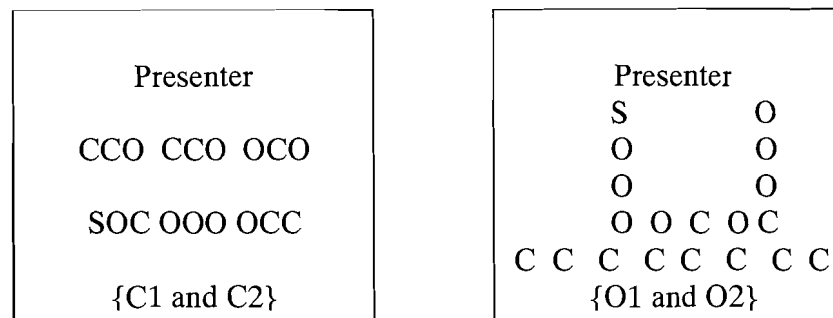
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┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│     Presenter       │   │     Presenter       │
│                     │   │    S         O      │
│  CCO  CCO  OCO      │   │    O         O      │
│                     │   │    O         O      │
│  SOC OOO OCC        │   │      O O C O C      │
│                     │   │  C C  C  C C  C  C C│
│    {C1 and C2}      │   │     {O1 and O2}     │
└─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘
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Figure 3: Visualization of meeting room setup [C= citizen, O= organizational representative, S= staff member] (by author)

"…it's really exclusionary, you know, you are on the council or your not and it's really obvious." (O2 Staff)

"I think one of the reasons they originally started [the U shaped seating]…was they wanted to make sure that everyone looked at each other… Unfortunately with the [O2] you have 20-21 stakeholders there, they are in the inner circle, then you have everybody else who wants to attend the meeting on the outside, and that to me has always been a little uncomfortable. Seems to me you are excluding a portion of folks who are obviously there and interested…" (O2 Organizational)

Interviewees from O1 did not see the room set up as exclusionary despite their similar arrangement.

"The configuration of the room has always been in that rectangle or circle attempt. The idea is that the hierarchy of board members is pretty nebulous and we all have an equal voice around the table." (O1 Staff)

"The table arrangement, at one point back when we had some other kind of arrangement and everybody came to the conclusion that it would be best if we could be sitting around a table and look across at one another and fight and bicker or smile or what have you. It is, really and truly, a more friendly working type thing I feel, rather than in some kind of an auditoriums style type thing." (O1 Citizen)

Interestingly, two citizen council members interviewed from O1 and O2 also did not think this arrangement was a deterrent. Both discussed their initial attendance and how they worked their way up to the 'table' over time.

"The watershed council was a tool of training for me. I went to a year of meetings without being a member. I would just show up, sit there and listen. What was exciting for me was that things that I had already inculcated in my concepts of what was at work out here were being discussed openly and dealt with openly in the watershed council." (O1 Citizen)

"My propensity was to show up at the meeting, and there was a chair in the corner in the back, and I sat there. The last watershed council meeting was the first one where I sat at the table." (O1 Citizen)

"Well, we started going to some of these kinds of things and seeing what's happening. So we just went and sat in the back row…and after a while we got to, a couple of years of being there most of the folks knew who we were, so we got to throw our two cents worth in, even though we weren't members of the council or anything like that, cause they are always trying to encourage citizen involvement…those are the valuable members, the true volunteer citizen, one of their most valuable members and they don't have many of those. They are always wondering how to get them." (O2 Citizen)

The set up of the room worked well with their personalities during their early attendance.

It allowed them to quietly observe and provide input when given the opportunity, then

gradually move into more 'official' positions on the watershed. The O2 citizen

interviewee quoted above recognized their value as a participant and further discussed the

access that the council seat provided.

"I like the fact that…on one side of me was ACorps…and the other is the Forest Service." (O2 Citizen)

An organizational interviewee from C2 also attends O2 meetings, and supported this

contrasting view on the O2 meeting set up.

"Many people have talked about a perceived elitism of [O2]. I don't recognize that. At all the meetings I have been at there are lots of opportunities to participate, people just need to show up and speak up. There is ample opportunity for their voices to be heard. I am not on the committee or the council, but I feel like my input has been heard, and I usually have lots to say." (C2 Organizational)

However, a citizen participant from C2, when informed about this difference in meeting room layout, said:

> " I can't imagine that. Well...I can just imagine what someone...would feel in a room where they're physically- they're in the same room but yet- they are very physically cut off from this group, because they already think that anything that involves an agency or agency-like people...is not for them, maybe. Boy, I wouldn't guess that you would get too many lumberjacks and farmers attending [O2] watershed meetings." (C2 Citizen)

A staff member of O2 supported this difference in opinion.

> "...the setup now has lots of good information sharing, lot of back and forth discussion, I think that works out pretty well. It would be interesting to go to that group as some Joe Schmoe from [an upstream town] and have that take on it, might be a little bit different." (O2 Staff)

Citizen Meeting Room Set Up

The C1 and C2 general meetings in public spaces stand in contrast to the layout of the O1 and O2 meetings, although the general meetings held by C2 in an agency-provided meeting room had the same layout as O1 and O2. The C1 and C2 general meetings in public spaces (e.g.- high school libraries, grange halls) had a central presentation area, but a much more open table arrangement (see figure above). This allowed attendees to sit where and with whom they wanted. Organizational representatives and private landowners were thus provided with an opportunity to informally mix and communicate during a meeting. Often organizational representatives sat with their own at a table and private landowners sat with their own at a different table, but there was some fruitful crossing of boundaries at the meetings I observed. Watershed staff from C1 and C2 were observed to freely moved about the room throughout the meeting to facilitate these

connections. The open atmosphere supported by this layout seemed to support a more casual atmosphere than the organizationally focused "U".

The C2 general meeting at an agency office introduced an interesting variation to these findings. The room was set up with all the tables facing in a large rectangle and overflow seating around the perimeter of the room. Attendance was sufficiently light, however, to allow everyone a seat at the "table". The organizational "U" hierarchy could be due then to the sponsor agency that provides the meeting room, rather than the inherent nature of the council itself. This can also be seen as mutually constitutive though, in that O1 and O2 have the connection to the organizations that provide their meeting space due to their focus on organizational membership.

C1 and C2 policy group meetings took place in the council offices, which were provided by an organizational partner during the observation period. They continued the trend of organization-affiliated rooms with a central table with seats around the margins for interested attendees. This setup allowed a focused group of steering members to communicate directly with each other across a common table. The split meetings created a separation of business meetings from watershed information meetings. Two interviewees from C1 and C2 explained the reasoning behind this separation.

> "…[have to have a separate business meeting because you will] bore citizens to tears if you tried to do that in another format. You need to take to the citizenry something that is far more Hollywood, far more dramatic, and far more staged and represents…positive movement not boring process." (C1 Citizen)

> "Nobody cares about the business of a watershed council, they (citizens) just want the benefits, which are educational information and help with grant funding. That is why we have always split the business and education elements in two, because the [policy group] knows that business is a necessary evil that keeps the organization going." (C2 Organizational)

A citizen interviewee who was on the C1 policy group did not think that this separation

impacts the abilities of citizens to participate in the policy group.

> "my impression is no it wont, because the ones who are willing to do it [volunteer for the policy group] are willing to do it and are interested in doing it, the others are people who just come to the meetings to see what's going on, hang out in the back, don't say anything, and wouldn't join no matter what you do." (C2 Citizen)

A staff member from C1 said that over time they have figured out the role of general

council meetings.

> "[we learned that] meetings are for meeting people and people that like meetings and if there is a topic of interest [they will attend]." (C1 Staff)

WHEN?

The time that a watershed council is held is the third element of the framing question for

this chapter. C1 and C2 general and steering committee meetings were both held on

weeknight evenings from around six pm to around 9 pm. O2 council meetings were on

weeknights in the early evening. O1 met on a weekday morning and two interviewee's

acknowledged that this timing could or does impact attendance.

> "That's another thing you might oughta stick in your report here, is the amount of miles and hours that the people of the watershed councils donate. You know, they don't get reimbursed for gas or mileage or time, so also in that context, why, and its one thing that's maybe not the greatest, is that retirees…or they work for an organization that gives them time to participate in this. You know, the average 35-40 year old out there making a living, doesn't give them any chance to participate really." (O1 Citizen)

"One drawback for me is that its an all day deal, I have to go into town, I leave here very early in the morning, I get back and the day is shot." (O1 Citizen)

Meeting times overlapped with meal times, and all four councils worked to offset this fact. O2 provided a complete dinner to all who attended the meetings I observed, which helped offset their dinner hour meeting time. This benefit was provided to O2 by the public utility that also provided the room for their general meeting. Food was provided for free by the council at C1 and C2 general and policy group meetings with scheduled break times to allow for eating and networking. Coffee and homemade cookies were available at O1 meetings for a small donation, and field trip participants were instructed to bring their own lunch.

ANALYSIS

"What was decided at the retreat was to take a cold hard look at the charter and maybe really if a community member were to come to a meeting…you stare at everybody's back and all these decisions are made, the conversation is kind of in this circle, that unless you are part of the council you are not in the circle. In the long run, if this council wants to remain effective, it's going to have to have a more open approach to interacting with the community." (O2 Staff)

Each element of who meets where at when can seem minor in isolation from the other elements. I argue that the cumulative impact of who can attend, how they are labeled, where the meetings are held, how the room is set up, and when the meetings are held limits citizens ability to become informed about council activities through general and policy group meetings. The cumulative impacts inherently limit citizen attendees to those who feel comfortable with the current structure, or are determined enough to stick around

long enough to change it. This is a significant challenge for an interested but unaffiliated

citizen to undertake, although the citizens that I interviewed were able to make it work

with their demanding personal lives. There appears to be ample middle ground to change

who meets where at when, and the self awareness of interviewees from each council on

this matter is a positive sign. The potential for limiting citizen information exchange

based on who meets where and when is again compounded when taken in consideration

with the existing limits on membership within the councils, as discussed in the previous

chapter. The general and policy group meetings were an important public face of the case

study councils during the observation period. These decisions on how to connect with

citizens can impact a council's legitimacy with the citizens of their watershed by limiting

citizen inclusion and information exchange at meetings. Legitimacy becomes a crucial

commodity when a council attempts to leave the office and move out into the field. A

lack of legitimacy could become a barrier to engaging citizens in field activities, while a

council with legitimacy will have greater trust and thus could have greater access to

citizens. The decisions councils make to answer the question "who meets where at

when" are thus worthy of continued self-reflection. The translation of legitimacy into

citizen engagement is the subject of the following findings chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGAGE IN COUNCIL FIELD ACTIVITIES

OVERVIEW

There are several ways that a citizen can be engaged in council field activities. One focus of the Oregon Plan is facilitating restoration on private lands. This section focuses on councils specifically connecting with landowners due to this rationale behind the Oregon Plan. This chapter explains how the four case study councils used individual outreach methods to engage citizens (specifically private landowners) in council field activities (specifically restoration projects). The positives and negatives of these individual outreach methods are discussed. Sub-basin outreach programs that are used to minimize cost and maximize benefit to councils and participating landowners are discussed. Finally, I argue that individual outreach is successful because it directly appeals to a landowner's concept of place.

INDIVIDUAL OUTREACH

A recent dissertation identified individual outreach efforts by Oregon watershed councils as the key to their outreach success (Rosenberg 2005). Newsletters, newspaper articles, and other such third person forms of communication offered limited success in comparison to individual outreach efforts (Rosenberg 2005). All four case study councils

also found individual outreach to be the most effective method to connect with private

landowners to conduct restoration.

> "A recent grant proposal included an emphasis on personal contact with landowners because we found that mass mailing and sticking envelopes in their mailboxes doesn't work, you don't get a response. You have to go knock on the door. You have to go actually talk to the people…that's the only way you can make those contacts." (O1 Staff)

This form of outreach is expensive to conduct, however, and the resulting patchwork of

restoration projects can be expensive to implement.

> "It's expensive, you have to do separate plans, quite honestly not a whole lot more work goes into a big grant and a big project than goes into a little grant. There is less time spent planting trees and digging holes and clearing blackberry, but in terms of permitting and planning and regulations and whatnot, you still have to jump through all those hoops. So you jump through all those hoops and you get 1500' ft in one place and 200' in another, that's a problem." (O2 Staff)

The same interviewee also recognized the benefits of individual outreach.

> "Benefits of working with private landowners are public outreach…in my experience far and away the most effective form of public outreach is just one neighbor talking to the other. You can change opinions, or at least change mindsets, it is possible to do. One person at a time type-situation, and you can create…good little niche projects on private land…One of the drawbacks is you are creating fragmented restoration, but it is possible depending on the situation to create nice little micro-habitats." (O2 Staff)

Another O2 staff member commented on the positives and negatives of individual

outreach efforts.

> "We just planted a site that was 1500' for five landowners. That's a lot of collaboration work, getting out there, holding hands, making sure its ok, it can take a long time. The first thing we do with most people the first time we sit with them is listen and tell them repeatedly that we're not government. Then maybe the next meeting we can start talking about 'well, what would like this property to look like in the long term?' I will miss that piece, getting out and talking to folks.

It's a lot of work, but for me if you can change one person's mind or more importantly one persons behavior, that's a lot harder to do, that's a huge victory. It can be really inspiring, if you have had a long run of bad luck, something like that can turn that around and revitalize my energy." (O2 Staff)

Several interviewees commented on how individual outreach can lead to other

landowners getting involved in restoration.

"You know, word of mouth is the best salesman, and if you can do a few projects in the right spot, next thing you know, it's not going to be a constant wave of people, its going to be one landowner coming in every other year and saying 'do you guys do this kind of work, I'd be really interested'." (O1 Staff)

"For outreach, there is nothing like that personal contact to make it actually happen, cause you got to get the landowner interested. The spin-off from that is that that landowner will be at a livestock association meeting and a friend will come up and say 'hey what are you doing over there, I see that excavator across the fence over there in your creek, what's that all about?', They'll talk to each other and pretty soon they'll get them interested in a project as well." (O1 Staff)

Individual outreach is also effective because many rural areas in the case study councils

have lost a central meeting place that could be used by councils to contact landowners.

"…we don't have those traditional meeting places. This is a cultural thing, how do you meet with your neighbors? There aren't those one stop shopping kind of places where you can go, you know the local store doesn't exist anymore where you can just kinda sit and drink coffee in the morning and get to know people. Churches don't even necessarily represent a geographic area, people go all over to get to their churches, if your looking for another means to get to them. So it's literally knocking on the door and door to door to door…" (O1 Staff)

Individual outreach is expensive, yet yields benefits that other forms of outreach do not

produce. The cost of individual outreach can be offset by focusing outreach and by

combining individual projects on a sub-basin level in the watershed.

"…wherever we do or identify a project…we try to do the whole stream reach if we can so we will contact everybody on the stream and try to get everybody involved…Many times the landowners will have equipment where they will be

able to work on the project, or a quarry or something that we can use in the project as their in-kind contribution...If you have more landowners to do the whole stream you are likely to get more...match overall for your grant." (O1 Staff)

SUB-BASIN OUTREACH PROGRAMS

Three case study councils used sub-basin outreach programs to minimize costs and

maximize benefits by integrating outreach and implementation within a sub-basin. The

programs run by the case study councils are either formal or informal.

Formal Sub-Basin Outreach Programs

An example of formal outreach methods is a sub-basin enhancement program run by C1.

This is a systematic effort to apply an adaptable template to each of the council's sub-

basins to engage private landowners. It has an official title and the program is

prominently featured on the council's website. Individual contact with landowners is

initiated either by the council project coordinator or a key landowner in the sub-basin.

The council project coordinator then shares sub-basin water quality data directly with the

interested landowners, usually in a presentation at an interested landowners house. The

council project coordinator then conducts a tour exclusively for and with the interested

sub-basin landowners. Landowners that are interested in conducting restoration on their

land then work with the project coordinator to plan a synchronized set of projects that

maximize planning efficiency and implementation time. The watershed council provides

technical resources and asks for an in-kind commitment from the landowner, usually in

the form of donated equipment use and labor. For example, I observed two landowners

who participated in this program present their efforts at a C1 general meeting. The

principle presenter discussed his involvement in the project in a frank and open way. He

outlined the positives, which included the volunteer driven planting day, and the

negatives, such as filling up the water tank for the fourth time when it was 120F in July.

Another project participant and sub-basin landowner was in attendance and freely

provided her input on how the project went. This participant was able to donate trees

from her small woodlot to the in-stream portion of the project, which saved the project

considerable money on acquisition and transportation. This engagement with sub-basin

landowners also enhanced the connection between the two landowners by focusing on the

health of their common creek.

Informal Sub-Basin Outreach Programs

"We participate in civic organization presentations, to schools, and to various
other organizations. You reach a broader audience, but you often times will come
back with maybe one or two people that actually express interest and contact you
again. We've found that through our strategic plan, our action plan, working with
partners, where we identify a seventh field that we are wanting to go work in, we
are going to go out there and contact everyone of them to get permission to do
what we want to do with them. We have found that that's the only way to do
that." (O1 Staff)

Both C2 and O1 practice the informal sub-basin outreach method. Both councils have a

prioritized action plan organized by sub-basin. They do not, however, have an officially

titled sub-basin outreach program promoted through their website. O1 will initiate direct

contact with landowners, often in the form of door-to-door outreach. C2 will either

initiate or respond to motivated landowner contact, in a manner similar to C1's approach

above. These outreach methods then lead to an ad-hoc version of the formal program. C2 will conduct a short series of local workshops to bring focus to the prioritized issues the council has identified in the sub-basin and then to solicit landowner input on elements they may have missed. Both of these specific efforts attempt to organize a similar type of joint project plan for the participating stream reaches to leverage the same temporal and fiscal advantages from their efforts as the formal program. The ad-hoc nature of these informal efforts allows the councils to first gauge and respond to landowner interest, then to act quickly on existing interests to produce action on the ground.

<div align="center">Standing Sub-Basin Programs</div>

In contrast to these responsive ad-hoc sub-basin outreach programs, O2 has a single standing sub-basin watershed partnership. A highly motivated resident, who was the volunteer sub-basin coordinator for several years, began the partnership. It was still in existence during the research window, and was being run by a volunteer half time coordinator. The institutional requirements for a standing partnership are higher than the formal program run by C1 and much higher than the informal ad-hoc groups formed by O1 and C2. A standing partnership demands a similar continuous investment in staffing, development funding, and concentrated citizen interest as a larger council, but by its nature draws from a much smaller resource pool. The standing sub-committee in O2 does have a committed volunteer membership, however, which suggests that a citizen interest threshold exists for sub-basin councils to function.

O1 has two independent sub-basin councils that formed in response to a perceived lack of representation at the watershed level. These councils have operated independent of O1 to this point, although they have recently begun to explore sharing coordinator duties with each other. O1 covers a large and diverse area, which also suggests that a spatial threshold exists for adequate representation of sub-basin interests.

PLACE

"The O2 resident is two acres and a goat. They move out there, they want to get out of town, there's tons of blackberries so they get a goat. That's how they are managing their land. How do you get those people? What they are doing now is just letting a goat go, how are you going to convince them to go out and cut down blackberry and water?" (O2 Staff)

"...if they have a stake in what's out there, they will want to look after it." (O2 Citizen)

Place, as defined for this thesis, consists of a sense of place (emotional attachment) to a locale (material setting) in a location (geographic area). Several interviewees clearly identified their sense of place as a motivator to engage in council field activities. For example, I observed several landowners comment on how participating in a restoration project on their property made them feel good about where they live and their connection to their land at a C2 annual potluck. These comments are an example of invoking the concept of a "sense of place" for a locale within a location by using different terms to express it. I was provided with other examples by several interviewees.

"I now live here, I now have a home here, and I want to be able to say what happens." (C2 Citizen)

"I love the [C2] basin, I've been familiar or around it or involved in one way or the other for about five years and...I'm invested in the area." (C2 Staff)

"So when I came up to Oregon it was with this clear feeling, I mean I knew this piece of land and was looking for something to do to get into restoration." (O1 Organizational)

"I've been on the McKenzie now for 21 years. I just fell in love with it the first time I drove up the valley, so it's an important part of my life. I enjoy fishing it and just seeing it everyday…" (O2 Organizational)

Several interviewees also spoke of a deeper commitment to and responsibility for their locale.

"We both realize that the picture is bigger than us, that we have the responsibility of stewardship, good stewardship, it's intimately connected to our spirituality, and we do it." (O1 Citizen)

"[I have the] responsibility of stewardship, pure and simple. I am one of them fortunate…silver spoons of inheriting a piece of land; 170 acres with 3 or 4 million board feet of timber on it, pastures, ponds, creeks, always 2-3 dogs…I mean, what a gift, no matter how you look at it, what a gift. Well, with that comes a responsibility which I just inherently learned as a kid, but to me it's a real thing…what do you do with this land? I mean, slaughter all the logs off of it and move to Hawaii?" (C1 Citizen)

The legitimacy gained by engaging citizens through their sense of place is illustrated by a particular story an interviewee told me.

"In the winter of 04/05 a single coho hen was spotted in the crick that bisects our ranch. I didn't even know about, my neighbor saw it and called me. I got a call from the ranger district from a guy…I had met him before, I had gone on a native plant tour with him. He called and he asked if I would mind if a fish biologist from the district would come up and take some pictures because it was a historical event. There hadn't been coho documented in [this] crick for fifty years. So, he showed up, we introduced, I walked him over to the pool, he took some pictures and we were talking back and forth. He was describing the kind of in-stream conditions that the fish need for building the redds. I said 'I bet I've got a dozen places like that', and he said 'would you mind if we went up and took a look?' and I said 'no lets go take a look'. There was coho spawning in those spots, most of them. I was awestruck by this, okay, and I think it was the gentle forwardness of this fish biologist that turned my life upside down, cause it actually has." (O1 Citizen)

Although the outside agent was not a watershed council representative, this story illustrates a successful individual outreach effort. This interviewee continued on to explain how this individual outreach effort was leveraged to conduct a sub-basin program with his neighbors despite their historic hostility to external agency involvement.

> "All of my neighbors that are adjacent to the crick were immediately on board. There was no reticence whatsoever on their part, they said yeah, lets do something…it was just like a magnet, just metal filings, here's this fish, the fish haven't been here, this is a token gesture on the part of nature saying I want to fix this. And I just took the bull by the horns, my neighbors pretty much said yeah we'll go with it, you deal with it." (O1 Citizen)

This event eventually led the interviewee to become a full participant with the O1 council. The project grant applications received full funding and the projects were implemented the following summer.

ANALYSIS

> "When the projects all done, and I get a call from the landowner, says 'the fish are back, they haven't been here in 70 years', that's really, that feeds my soul, I really do enjoy that. I think I'm doing something that's positive for the community and for the people of Oregon especially." (O1 Staff)

Individual landowner engagement is a lot of effort for a limited amount of restoration work on the ground. These efforts do, however, potentially produce qualitative impacts that can be politically, culturally, and socially significant. Individual outreach programs allow councils to engage with private landowners by organizing their outreach around their location, locale and sense of place. Sub-basin outreach programs are an effective way to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of individual outreach efforts.

CHAPTER IX

OVERALL IMPLICATIONS

There are two overall implications of my research project. The first is that legitimacy is a

valuable resource for councils to develop by including citizens in council structures,

providing opportunities for citizens to attend council meetings and engaging citizens in

council field activities. The second is that councils without citizen legitimacy face

financial challenges that could impact their operations.

Legitimacy as a resource

"I think councils can be that liaison between the regulatory agencies and private
landowners. A lot of landowners, myself included, will not, have a very bad taste
in my mouth for certain regulatory agencies in this state and the feds. They aren't
going to have access to...private landowners that they would like to have access
to, not that they want to go out and write tickets- learn more, do something,
provide resources to landowners. Landowners just, they see a uniform and we get
defensive. A watershed council has no regulatory authority, has money and
technical advice, that resonates with landowners." (O1 Staff)

Legitimacy has been discussed throughout this thesis as a key resource for Oregon

watershed councils due to the Oregon Plan's focus on voluntary restoration on private

lands. The preceding findings chapters argued that if a council includes and informs

citizens, the council could develop legitimacy within the citizen and private landowner

communities of the watershed. If a council has enough legitimacy, a landowner may be

more likely to participate in field activities. A council could have limited or no access to

a landowner's property if they have not developed the necessary legitimacy in part through their council structure and public meetings. Citizen-based councils were observed to use their power to enhance their legitimacy with citizens. The citizen councils that I observed focused more on the representation of and working with local landowners than on working with organizational members. Their citizen-based boards and membership provided them with legitimacy that can only be gained through consistent and arduous effort at the local scale. The network that citizens bring is entirely different from the network offered by organizational representatives. It is based on long-term involvement and residency within a discrete, often sub-basin, area, as well as an awareness of the realities of rural residence. This network of connections is less transparent than an organizational network of professional connections, and is based on tacit understanding rather than legislated obligation. Thus, it is both more tenuous and thicker than organizational networks, in that one miscue can shut off access to a citizen network for a significant period of time, but once access is earned and gained it is retained beyond political changes that can disrupt an organization.

Financial Challenges

"…we need to develop a project program, we don't have projects in the queue because we don't have any relationship with landowners. We can look at a map and say we want to go there, but we don't know any of those people that live there and how are we going to do that unless we are out in the community?" (O2 Staff)

As the federal funds for salmon restoration become more competitive and the focus shifts to other sources, such as private foundations, landowner participation in restoration

projects is increasingly important. Administrative funding is decreasing in availability and support for field projects is currently steady, which means that the solicitation and successful implementation of restoration projects on private land will critical for future watershed council fiscal solvency. Funding sources are changing from governmental to private foundations, and are requiring more private landowner participation and partnerships. The success of citizen engagement is thus crucial to the continued validity and financial viability of the specific case study councils. The success of this engagement will likely be enhanced by approaching landowners in a way that resonates with their location, locale and sense of place. Individual outreach programs are a proven and effective way to connect with private landowners. These individual outreach programs can be effectively scaled up to the sub-basin level to minimize costs and maximize benefits. They can also be integrated with other forms of outreach like site-specific workshops and local educational programs to further minimize costs and maximize benefits. In challenge lies opportunity, and the case study councils are well positioned to take their operations to the next level.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

There were three principal conclusions identified through the field research that are relevant to the larger watershed council community of Oregon. The first is that there may be opportunities for councils to participate in increasingly sophisticated natural resource management efforts in their watershed. Second, there are opportunities for councils to expand their grassroots connections with citizens and thus enhance their legitimacy in the larger community. Finally, the legitimacy of watershed councils could allow them to facilitate discussions on controversial issues, such as climate change. These conclusions point toward a tremendous opportunity to reframe council activities to both engage citizens and participate in larger projects under a cogent framework.

Increasing Sophistication

An article in the winter 2007 Oregon Planner's Journal provides an example of the increasingly sophisticated environmental management opportunities facing watershed councils. The article deals with the complicated players and policies relevant to water planning in Oregon, and argues that new community-based water plans are needed.

> "This type of plan would have to be done on a basin, working closely with watershed councils, which have already prepared watershed assessments as part of the Oregon Plan." (Mabbott, 2007).

This quote supports the observation that councils were being increasingly solicited to participate in sophisticated environmental management opportunities. These opportunities offer new resources to councils in the form of new funding sources, new partners and new technical resources. These opportunities could also impact council legitimacy with citizens, however, in that citizens may see councils as just another agency involved in a complex bureaucratic process.

C1 and C2 were both approached during the observation period to assist local rural communities within their watershed achieve compliance with the Willamette Basin Total Maximum Daily Load (TMDL) process. Research on this process discussed the power differentials inherent to the technical complexity of the TMDL process (Corbett 2003). Local planning practitioners who seek to join forces with the council recognize the legitimacy that councils hold with citizens. This holds the potential for "mission creep", as an organizational representative at an O1 general meeting called it, which means that the council could become distracted from it's core mission by other opportunities. If the opportunity is in accordance with the mission of the council, however, this opportunity could enhance the fiscal solvency of the C1 and C2 councils.

Increased Connection with Citizens

"…[It's important to] not lose sight of the small landowners that do need assistance, who…may not interact with some of these larger agencies or jurisdictions, and…who really benefit from our assistance. The only drawback [to involvement with more sophisticated processes] is…the potential to get swept up into the larger pool and to lose sight of the small landowner." (C2 Staff member)

Citizen-based councils need to maintain their connections with citizens, however, while

engaging with these opportunities. Organizational councils need to maintain their

involvement in similarly sophisticated efforts while developing a deeper connection with

citizens to increase their sense of legitimacy. One reason these councils have succeeded

is because they engaged with private landowners and citizens within their larger sense of

place. This sense of place is not entirely informed by physical geography, rather it is the

community that citizens identify with. These community-based senses of place are

powerful existing networks of connection that councils can join for less energy and

higher reward than creating their own through mass outreach campaigns. Local artists,

authors and 'authentic' insiders present a constellation of opportunities for outreach and

cultural engagement that councils have only begun to explore. For example, a council in

the Willamette Valley co-sponsors an annual Summer Solstice poetry reading festival at a

local winery. Tours of the winery's restoration projects are conducted, native plants are

sold, wine is tasted, and poets speak the praises of a sense of place. This broader view of

how councils can connect with citizens offers many opportunities for creative outreach

efforts to Oregon's watershed council community.

Facilitate Discussions on Controversial Issues

Finally, the legitimacy that councils bring to public outreach efforts could be used to

facilitate discussions on controversial issues. One of these controversial issues is global

warming. The legitimacy that councils have accrued with citizens sets the stage for frank

discussions of the impacts of global warming. The project coordinator for C1 told me

how she talks about global warming during contact with private landowners.

> "[the work that watershed councils do has] a lot of potential to …mean that we will have trout and salmon 20 yrs from now despite global warming. If we don't do things to shade streams and reduce temp impact, we are not seeing quite yet global warming on water temperature…at the stream degree yet, but we will and we have to alleviate all the ways we have created warm water temperatures from removing shade and having instream impoundments…there's this potential…if you install shade, you can reduce temp significantly just by that…you can remove in-stream impoundments…all these things …if we do nothing and global warming hits, we won't have trout and salmon here in Oregon…starting to have conversations about it…is important, when you talk about it, people really do think about it." (C1 Staff)

The adaptability, resilience and legitimacy generated by watershed councils will be a

crucial asset to face an uncertain future. The transformative potential of community-

based watershed planning lies at the core of the Oregon Plan, and is expressed in other

research on community-based planning (McGinnis et al. 1999, O'Neill 2005, Hibbard

and Lane 2006). Watershed health is a concept that integrates physical, social and

economic functions into an evaluative framework. The potential exists to use the concept

of watershed health to move the focus of councils from restoring a set of individual

species to a holistic view of the role their watershed plays in mediating the effects of

global warming. A citizen participant in council activities expressed his changing notion

of place as a result of his participation in council activities.

> "…I live on [name] creek in the [sub-basin] of the [C2] watershed. Although actually that's how I would identify [where I live], but I look at things now more as though there is the [C2] watershed and that's what I'm a part of, in my mind that's the way I looking at it." (C2 Citizen)

This scaling-up of consciousness needs only to continue to situate the role a citizen plays

in the health of their sub-basin, their watershed and their world.

Summary

"…when I drive over the bridge every day, you look down [at the river] and have a little better appreciation what its all about." (C1 Citizen)

The opportunity to become involved with increasingly sophisticated environmental

management processes offers new resources to watershed councils. It is important that

councils utilize other opportunities to connect with citizens, such as an integrated

education and outreach program. Finally, the legitimacy that councils have developed

with citizens could allow them to begin to facilitate discussions on controversial issues

like global warming. If councils can maintain their connection with citizens through

these opportunities, they have the potential to reach deeper levels of meaning within the

concept of watershed health.

CHAPTER XI

FUTURE RESEARCH

Three areas for potential future research are discussed. The first is extending this chain of investigation from how different councils connect to citizens to how different councils deal with relations of power (Robbins 2004). Questions of representativeness of those citizens who do connect is an example of a possible investigation. How are race, gender and other social markers dealt with in the group? Previous researchers have discussed how class is dealt with in watershed planning and how those who do participate can run up against the limits of their power to change things in their watershed (Adams 2005, Singleton 2002). The Oregon Plan provides a powerful platform for local power, and how this local power is expressed is worthy of future research.

A second area for future research builds upon an extensive participation literature. Once the citizens are included, attending and engaged, how much is enough (Irvin and Stansbury 2004)? Research indicates that there are explicit transaction costs to citizen participation, and that the success of council efforts may actually result in less participation (Focht and Tractenberg in Sabatier 2005). There is a wide and diverse literature on collaborative processes that can then be tied in to evaluate similarities and differences in actual participation using these categories.

A third area for future research is to transform this cross-sectional study into a longitudinal study by following the case study councils as they change their citizen outreach strategies. Does participation change? Are more citizens heard, and if so, is it valuable input that was missing before? Does a more specific focus on connecting to landowner's notion of place change participation in field activities, all other things being equal? This shift in research design would offer multiple avenues of investigation to an interested researcher.

The Oregon Plan provides a rich laboratory for field research, and these three areas are a sample of what a creative and dedicated researcher could do.

APPENDIX A

HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL

I was required to provide an oral introduction of my work and myself during my

observation period. The statement is as follows:

> "Hello! My name is Sam Fox, and I am currently a graduate student in
> Geography and Environmental Planning at the University of Oregon. I am
> conducting non-evaluative and anonymous observations of four local watershed
> councils to compare and contrast how they run meetings and field trips. If you
> have any questions, please do not hesitate to approach me during a break to ask.
> Thank you very much."

I was also required to seek informed consent from each interviewee before conducting

my interviews. The text of the consent form used is below.

> My name is Sam Fox, and I am a graduate student from the University of Oregon.
> I am conducting interviews for my joint master's thesis in Environmental
> Planning and Geography. Your input will be invaluable in my research, and I
> plan to fully share my results with your respective watershed council. These
> interviews will help me understand how collaborative processes, expressions of
> power, and place attachment are similar and different between agency centered
> and citizen centered watershed councils in the southern Willamette valley.
>
> Today you will be participating in an individual personal interview, which should
> take approximately 40 minutes. Your participation is *entirely voluntary*. If you do
> not wish to participate, you may stop at any time, and you may freely decline to
> answer any questions. Responses will be anonymously described by the type of
> watershed council (i.e.- agency or citizen centered) and role of respondent (i.e.-
> citizen, agency representative, or watershed staff). With your permission, I would
> like to record your responses to aid in accurate transcription. The audio files will
> be anonymously labeled, securely stored, and eliminated at the conclusion of my
> research in June 2007.

Your initials and signature below signify your agreement to participate and whether or not you agree to be recorded. Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research project.

If you would like a copy of this letter for your records, please let me know and I will provide a copy to you today. If you have any questions regarding the research, contact me at 541-729-7426, or via email at sfox1@uoregon.edu. My advisor is Dr. Rich Margerum, PPPM Department, 541-346-2526, rdm@uoregon.edu. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact the Office for Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Oregon, (541) 346-2510. Thank you again for your help!

_____ (Signature here please)

I provide informed consent to participate in this interview process.

_____ (Initial here please) I provide formal consent to be recorded during this interview on _____ (date).

The interview questions used are in Appendix B.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interview questions used in my field investigations are below.

Background:
Position in council:
Length of involvement:
Official positions held, if any:

What do you use to identify yourself geographically within the council, and why?

Can you describe the organizational structure of the WC?

What are your thoughts on the current council meeting format (i.e.- monthly meetings, Policy Group or General Council)?

Probe:
How do you feel about where the council meets?

What about how the room is set up?

If you could change one thing about the council meetings what would it be?

What role do you play in the WC?

What primary role do you think the Council should be playing in the watershed (ex.- working with private landowners, stakeholder in regional multi-party proceedings)?

What are the benefits or drawbacks of the council increasingly working with agencies <or> local residents?

What motivates your personal involvement in the WC?

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