THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF FORESTRY: DESIGNING A PARTICIPATORY STRATEGY FOR SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITY-BASED COLLABORATION IN PACKWOOD, WASHINGTON

by

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is community-based forest management (CBFM) in Packwood, Washington. I employed participatory action research and grounded theory to address the challenge of designing a strategy for successful community-based collaboration to manage natural resources. My findings suggest that Packwood is in the formative stages of CBFM, with several local organizations exhibiting some characteristics of CBFM, but lacking a planned and coordinated strategy to sustain CBFM. Packwood's current efforts have only been modestly successful in meeting the socio-economic, environmental and other needs of the community. Barriers to the success of these organizations include challenges associate with the perception of insiders and outsiders, power struggles, institutional barriers, and misinformation. These challenges could be addressed by implementing a participatory community strategy focused on increasing social capital. The newly formed Packwood Empowering Packwood Team is using this research to develop and implement such a strategy.

Keywords: community, community capacity, community forestry, community-based natural resource management, community-based forest management, Pacific Northwest, participatory action research

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GLOSSARY

Community	(1) A group of people living together in the same location. (2) A group of people sharing certain attitudes or interests.
Community Well-being	The economic and non-economic condition of a community and the communities' dynamic ability to create opportunity and respond to local needs.
Community-based Organization (CBO)	An organized group of people sharing a similar purpose or interest in connection with a community.
Community-based Forest Management (CBFM)	The networks, supporting organizations, and grassroots initiatives that promote community well-being and sustainable forest management while working towards a legitimate voice in decision making through collaboration with local, state or federal government.
Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)	The networks, supporting organizations, and grassroots initiatives that promote community well-being and sustainable natural resource management while working towards a legitimate voice in decision making through collaboration with local, state or federal government.
Community Capacity	The combination of social, physical, human, and financial capital that enables a community to achieve community goals and vision.
Community Forestry	Synonymous with Community-based Forest Management unless otherwise specified.

Forest Dependent Community	A community where the economic foundation is primarily reliant on economic and non-economic (intrinsic value of nature etc.) goods and services dependent on the existence of adjacent forestlands.
Public Participation	Participation by the general populace who are not part of the decision making entities or entity.
Community of Packwood	(1) A group of people living in or near Packwood. (2) From the East Lewis County border at White Pass to the Cora Bridge.
Pacific Northwest	The region of North America encompassing northern California, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia, west of the Rocky Mountains, to southeast Alaska.
Pacific Northwest Cascades	Washington, Oregon, and northern California west of the Cascade Mountains.
Community-based Forest Management Initiative	A project, program or organization (collaborative groups, cooperatives, land owner associations, land trusts and tribal lands) dedicated toward gaining access to forests or stewardship of the landscape that provides benefits for local communities.
Community-based Forest Management Supporting Organization	Organizations or agencies (local, state or federal) that provide capacity building and training for community forestry initiatives.
Community-based Forest Management Networking Organization	Organizations specializing in connecting CBFM initiatives with greater resources and other supporting institutions.
Destination Packwood Association (DPA)	Non-profit community-based organization focused on promoting Packwood outside the community and providing support for tourism and recreation.

Packwood Improvement Club (PIC)	Non-profit community-based organization focused supporting local community efforts and maintaining the community hall.
Pinchot Partners (PP)	Non-profit community-based organization focused on promoting watershed health and creating local natural resource-based jobs.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Brave New World of Forestry

The world of Gifford Pinchot, the founding father of conservation forestry in the United States, is vastly different from the world today. Though his famous words, "the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run," still echo in the hearts of many involved with forestry and natural resource management, we must question how best to apply them in the 21st century (McClure and Mack 2008). A brief survey of literature discussing the complex nature of the problems and issues facing 21st century resource managers reveals that achieving and even understanding the "greatest good" is becoming increasingly difficult (Kimmins 2008; Lachapelle 2003; Wang 2002). One of the most poignant examples of how the complexity of the 21st century contributes to challenges in resource management is the case of the spotted owl controversy in the Pacific Northwest. In the spotted owl controversy, a public shift in values took place where the "greatest good" no longer meant exclusively timber; it gradually came to mean forests, biodiversity, and ecosystems (Charnley and Poe 2007; Sowards 2007). This shift in values spurred the Clinton Administration to implement the Northwest Forest Plan on the recommendation of a scientific panel (Thomas et al. 2005). With protecting spotted owl habitat as a major goal, the Northwest Forest Plan drastically reduced timber sales in the Pacific Northwest (Thomas et al. 2005). Forest dependent communities, whose economic foundation is primarily reliant on economic and non-economic goods and services produced from adjacent forestlands, watched helplessly as their way of life and culture

hinged in the balance. Unlike the general public in more urban areas across the U.S., rural forest-dependent communities often viewed the situation as "owls versus jobs" rather than as the "greatest good" (Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative Assessment 2002). In the end, the resultant economic downturn in rural forest-dependent communities, and the uproar over the Northwest Forest Plan forced resource managers and policy makers to reconsider the role of the public, both rural and urban, in natural resource policy and decision-making (Baker and Kusel 2003; Burns 2001; Charnley and Poe 2007; Egan and Luloff 2005; Selin et al. 2007; Thompson et al. 2005).

In response to conflicts such as the preservation of spotted owl habitat, a brave new world of forestry is emerging in the Pacific Northwest, where a new collaborative approach to resource management is growing. The topic of this study is this new approach in the Pacific Northwest, sometimes called community-based forest management (CBFM) or community forestry. I use the term CBFM throughout this paper to refer to this new collaborative approach to resource management, though as you will see it goes by many names and has many variations. In the Pacific Northwest region of the United States the success and viability of CBFM remains relatively unknown (Ballard et al. 2008; Glasmeier and Farrigan 2005; Moote et al. 2001), though several recent studies have made substantial contributions (Cheng et al. 2006; Christoffersen et al. 2008). In this study, I seek to address this gap in knowledge, but first let us walk through a brief history of forest management in the Pacific Northwest to gain a better appreciation and understanding for the context driving the development of this new approach.

1.2 The Role of Participation in Forestry in the U.S. Pacific Northwest

Public participation by the general populace in urban and rural settings in natural resource management has ranged from passive acquiescence to active partnerships with resource managers throughout the history of the Pacific Northwest (Table 1). Prior to the 1900s the public as a whole played a passive role in resource management as the federal government guided the push of settlement towards the west coast of the United States (Poffenberger 1998; Weber 2000). In the early 1900s Gifford Pinchot helped lead the transition from expansion and exploitation to conservation and scientific forestry (Kennedy et al. 2001; Weber 2000). The national forests came under the management of the USFS and firmly rooted top down management and scientific forestry as the dominant paradigm for generations to come (Baker and Kusel 2003). During this time, the public had high faith in government and science to manage natural resources for the benefit of all, and passively accepted their authority (Kennedy et al. 2001; Weber 2000).

The post war housing boom in the 1950s fuelled the expansion of the logging industry, pushing harvest levels increasingly higher. New roads, new cars and new leisure time allowed greater public access to national parks and wilderness areas, while simultaneously exposing visitors to the impacts of industrialized logging practices on the landscape (Bosworth and Brown 2007). During this time, the Multiple Use Sustained Yield (MUSY) Act of 1960 marked the beginning of a shift in values as society considered recreation and other uses for the national forest part of the "greater good" (Poffenberger 1998; Sowards 2007). The MUSY Act also formally recognized in law the public value of recreation together with more traditional values such as timber, fish and wildlife for the first time (Sowards 2007). However, dissatisfaction with the MUSY Act

coupled with increasing public awareness of environmental degradation signalled impending conflict as the public, and more specifically environmental organizations, gained legitimacy in their effort to organize and protest logging practices.

Society's growing concern over industrialized practices marked the beginning of the contemporary environmental movement (Bosworth and Brown 2007, Weber 2000). Consequently, public participation increased, transitioning from a more passive role to a consultative and active participatory role in the late 60s and early 70s. Laws such as the Endangered Species Act, the Wilderness Act and the National Forest Management Act enabled individuals and environmental organizations to sue the Forest Service over management decisions (Bosworth and Brown 2007; Weber 2000). A paradigm shift in resource management took place as the public forced managers to consider the broader values of society (Kennedy et al. 2001). Due to this shift, the facade of the trusted omnipotent manager fell by the way side; and the charge of facilitating the short and long-term "greater good" of society became the new agenda for resource managers.

Despite this broader outlook by resource management agencies, rural forest-dependent communities were largely excluded from the conversation during this period, though the general public (individuals not dependent on forest resources for their livelihood) had a strong voice through environmental organizations (Charnley and Poe 2007; McCarthy 2005). The exclusion of rural forest-dependent communities led to a state of "crisis" characterized by widespread poverty and subsequent loss in community well-being (Egan and Luloff 2005; Selin et al. 2007; Thompson et al. 2005). Community well-being throughout this paper refers to the economic and non-economic (social, cultural and spiritual) condition of a community and the communities' dynamic ability to

create opportunity and respond to local needs (Kusel 2001). Out of this "crisis" a new community-based approach has emerged, though not without its own challenges (Gray et al. 2001). Rural forest-dependent communities across the Pacific Northwest are now working to have a legitimate place at the table, and a legitimate voice in decision making regarding the "greater good" in natural resource management. See Table 2 for a summary of the principles and goals of community-based forest management.

Table 1: Role of public participation in forest management paradigms. Timeline of management paradigms and corresponding roles of public and government participation in important policies and events in the Pacific Northwest United States. Primary management goals are also listed corresponding to each management paradigm. Source: Kennedy et al. (2001), Poffenberger (1998), Sowards (2007) and Weber (2000).

Management Paradigm	Important Policy and Events	Primary Management Goals	Participation of the Public	Role of Federal Government
Pre-1890 Forest Disposition	• Louisiana Reserve Act 1891. • Homestead Act of 1862.	Natural resource exploitation	Passive role	Active role, expanding settlements.
1890-1945 Sustained Yield and Scientific Forestry	• Multiple Use, Sustained Yield Act 1960. • Wilderness Act 1964.	Natural resource development	Passive role	Active role, sole expert
1945-1969 Multiple Use and Industrialized Forestry	• Forest Reserve Act 1891. • Organic Act of 1897. • Weeks Act 1911. • Sustained Yield Forest Management Act 1944.	Sustaining natural resource development (considering economic value of forests).	Limited voice in public dialogue.	Active role, sole expert
1969-1990s Ecosystem-based Management and The Environmental Movement	• National Environmental Policy Act 1969. • Endangered Species Act of 1973. • National Forest Management Act 1976.	Sustainable natural resource management (considering ecosystem).	Active role, elevated status of environmental non-profits.	Active role, multiple experts and stakeholders.
1980s – Present Community-based Forest Management	• Northern Spotted Owl listed as endangered. • New Perspectives Program 1992. • Northwest Forest Plan 1994. • Seventh American Forest Congress 1996. • Establishment of National Community Forestry Center and Communities Committee 2000. • First annual Western Community-based Forestry Policy Meeting 2001. • Establishment of the National Rural Assembly and U.S. Endowment for Forestry and Communities 2006.	Sustainable natural resource management (considering ecosystems and communities).	Active role, elevated status of community, environmental and other non-profits.	Reduced role and downsizing, multiple experts and stakeholders.

1.3 Introduction to Community-based Natural Resource Management

1.3.1 Community-based Forest Management

Community based natural resource management (CBNRM) is loosely defined as multiparty natural resource management employing participatory approaches to include a range of community-based stakeholders in decision making (Christoffersen et al. 2008; Kellert et al. 2000; Moote et al. 2001). In the forest sector, many different management approaches demonstrate CBNRM including community-based forestry, community-based forest management (CBFM), grass roots ecosystem management, community-based ecosystem management, community forestry, social forestry and several others (Brendler and Carey 1998; Charnley and Poe 2007; Glasmeier and Farrigan 2005; Gray et al. 2001; McCarthy 2006). Each of these community-based approaches reflects a different form of management depending on the level of collaboration and public input in the decision making process and the management goals themselves (Table 2).

CBFM is related to community-based conservation and sustainable rural development, but exists as a distinct, but often overlapping entity (Table 2). The emphasis of sustainable rural development on community well-being is often approached form an economic standpoint, while community-based conservation places an emphasis on ecosystem or environmental health (Wilmsen 2008). CBFM encompasses aspects of both environmental health and community well-being, though different forms may emphasize one aspect or the other depending on the interest of the community and organizations involved.

Table 2: Summary of community-based approaches. A summary of different goals, values, ownership types and names for community-based approaches to environmental management and economic development. Source: Baker and Kusel (2003), Christoffersen and Harker (2008), Charnley and Poe (2007), Glasmeier and Farrigan (2005) and Wilmsen (2008a).

Type of Approach	Associated Names	Description and Goals	Common Land Ownership Types	Forest Value Stream
Community-based Natural Resource Management	Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)	Collaborative community-based approach to improve community well-being and promote stewardship for a suite of resources often linked to terrestrial systems including timber harvesting, non-timber products, fishing, cattle grazing and more.	Public, private, tribal, community-owned.	Wood products, tourism and recreation, non-wood products, ecosystem services, stewardship and restoration.
	Community Forestry, Community-based Forestry , Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM), Grass Roots Ecosystem Management (GREM)	Collaborative community-based approach to improve community well-being and promote stewardship of forestlands. In the Pacific Northwest, it is often used to resolve conflict.		
	Social Forestry	International antecedent of present day CBNRM – widely practiced in Asia .		
Community-based Conservation	Community-based Conservation (CBC)	Protection of biodiversity and natural resources .	Public, private, tribal and community-owned.	Tourism and recreation, ecosystem services, stewardship and restoration.
Sustainable Rural Development	Sustainable Rural Development, Rural Community Development	Improving community well-being through: • Economic development. • Equitable benefits. • Access to resources. • Increasing community capacity.	Public and municipal lands.	Wood products, tourism and recreation, non-wood products, ecosystem services and stewardship.

1.3.2 Historical Antecedents and Social Forestry

Worldwide, the concept of local people managing forest resources sustainably is well established and provides the foundation for modern day community-based forest management (Charnley and Poe 2007). Local people and indigenous communities practiced swidden agriculture, controlled burns, and other techniques to manage their forest resources sustainably for centuries before industrialized logging practices came to dominate (Charnley and Poe 2007). However, after World War II, industrial extraction and top down management left many communities impoverished and their forests degraded. In the 1970s social forestry efforts emerged in response to these challenges and expanded throughout developing countries in Asia (Gray et al. 2001; Menzies 2007). India, Nepal and the Philippines formally recognized the rights of local communities to manage their forest resources. Many researchers and practitioners involved with this effort internationally brought their experience to the United States and Canada (see Charnley and Poe 2007 for a detailed review) as changing values set the stage for community-based forest management in developed countries in the 1980s and 90s (Gray et al. 2001).

In the U.S., the earliest forms of CBFM were found in Native American traditions of environmental management, in Hispano communities of northern New Mexico, and in the New England style town and municipal forests of early America (Baker and Kusel 2003). These practices, in addition to international traditions, though varied among three distinct styles of resource management, contributed to the foundation of modern CBFM resurgent in the U.S.

1.3.3 Contemporary CBFM in the Pacific Northwest

Contemporary CBFM in the Pacific Northwest United States is difficult to define, as there are literally hundreds of different community-based "experiments" taking place, which can be broadly categorized as CBFM initiatives (Christoffersen et al. 2008). For the purposes of this study, the Pacific Northwest region of the United States refers to Washington, Oregon and the northern California, west of the Cascade Mountains (Figure 2). Agrawal and Gibson (1999) suggest that CBFM is best understood through its underlying goals and institutions. Similarly, a recent study conducted by Christoffersen et al. (2008) conceptualizes CBFM by defining its institutions in the following way:

1. **Community forestry initiatives** - these are programs, projects, organizations (cooperatives, land owner associations, tribal lands etc.) focused on gaining access to forests or stewardship of the landscape that provides benefits for local communities.

2. **Supporting organizations** - these are supporting organizations or agencies (local, state or federal) that provide capacity building and training for community forestry initiatives.

3. **Networks** - these are networking organizations specializing in connecting CBFM initiatives with greater resources and other supporting institutions.

I would overlay this conceptualization with the additional dimensions of a spatial scale and a continuum of private to public landownership as it enhances our understanding of CBFM further. These two dimensions are presented as the axes of the chart of Figure 1, which portrays this conceptualization. Networks and supporting organizations occur across the full continuum of private to public land ownership types, though they mainly exist at larger spatial scales, from the county level to the international level. The National Network of Forest Practitioners is a good example of a networking organization, though they also function as a supporting organization because they provide support and capacity building for CBFM initiatives (National Network of Forest

Practitioners). The National Rural Assembly and the Rural Voices for Conservation Coalition in contrast, are examples of organizations more focused on supporting the CBFM approach in the Pacific Northwest, and are therefore categorized as supporting organizations (National Rural Assembly Steering Committee 2008; Rural Voices for Conservation Coalition 2009). Supporting organizations often span a wide range geographically (Figure 1). CBFM initiatives, however, tend to be limited to smaller scales given they are grass roots in nature, and are commonly found at the community, watershed, county and occasionally the regional level (Figure 1). Larger scale county and regional CBFM initiatives, however, often fill the role of networks or supporting organizations in addition to specific CBFM initiatives, as in the case of The Watershed Center in Hayfork California (Watershed Resource and Training Center 2008).

The second dimension of CBFM institutions is the continuum of private to public landownership types; this is where CBFM initiatives exhibit a variety of different forms (Figure 1). Networks and supporting organizations tend to span the range of the public to private continuum, where CBFM initiatives are often have a more specific audience. There are private landownership forms of CBFM and there are public landownership forms of CBFM, and in between, there are CBFM initiatives connected to community owned and tribal lands. Depending on the size of the CBFM initiative, there is often a lot of overlap among the different types (Danks and Jungwirth 2008).

Among the private landownership CBFM initiatives, there are private landowner associations that work with communities to manage a larger area (sometimes at a watershed level) for a common set of goals. Additionally, there are also cooperatives that have formed where associations share ownership and management (Baker and Kusel

2003; Christoffersen and Harker 2008; Danks and Jungwirth 2008). In the middle of the continuum there are community owned land trusts and conservation easements, where a community gains ownership of the land. Similarly, tribal reserve lands fall into the same category where the community or the tribe holds non-alienable ownership and management rights to the land (Baker and Kusel 2003; Christoffersen and Harker 2008; Danks and Jungwirth 2008).

On the opposite end of the continuum, publicly owned national forests managed by the United States Forest Service (USFS), state natural resource agencies, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service collaborate or form partnerships with local communities adjacent to forests. Prominent examples of this form of CBFM in the Pacific Northwest include the Applegate Partnership in Oregon and the Pinchot Partners in Washington State (Pinchot Partnership 2008; Applegate Partnership and Watershed Council 2008). The Applegate Partnership is a good example of an initiative that overlaps different landownership types. Roughly 70 percent of Partnership's focus is on publicly owned BLM lands while the rest of the watershed they manage is rural privately owned farmlands (Applegate Partnership and Watershed Council 2008).

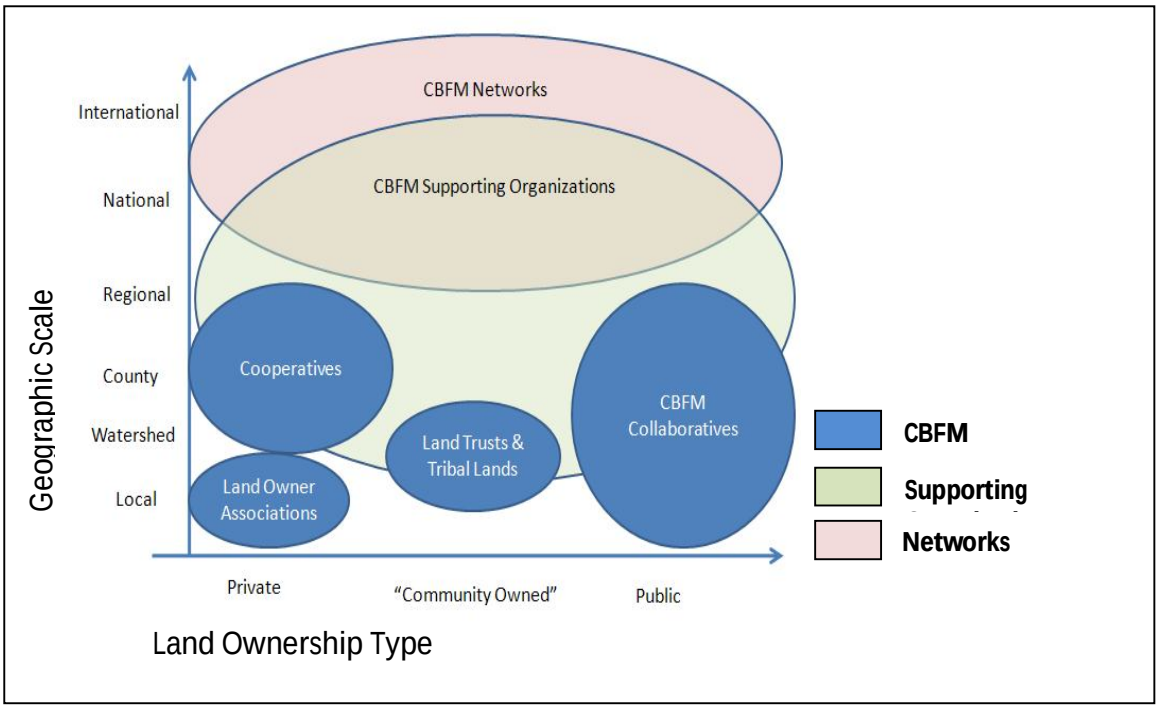

Figure 1: Continuum of CBFM entities in the United States. CBFM initiatives are programs or projects focused on gaining access to, or stewardship of, forestlands to provide benefits for local communities. Supporting organizations or agencies provide capacity building and training for CBFM initiatives, and Networks connect participants to each other and other resources. In many cases CBFM initiatives (in blue) overlap the spectrum of private to public, though it is not depicted in this figure. Overall, CBFM entities occupy a broad spectrum geographically as well as by land ownership type. Source: adapted from Cristoffersen and Harker (2008).

Institutionalizing CBFM in the United States has proved challenging, though the approach is gaining recognition. The failure of the National Community Forestry Center to take hold as an institution in 2004, and the subsequent reduction in funding for the Environment and Community Research Partnerships Program at in 2008 are examples of this challenge (Wilmsen and Krishnaswamy 2008; Wilmsen 2008b). However, the development of the U.S. Endowment for Forestry and Communities in 2006, and the creation of the Rural Assembly in 2007 mark a more hopeful trend (Christoffersen et al. 2008; National Rural Assembly Steering Committee 2008).

1.3.4 Challenges of Contemporary CBFM

Many researchers and practitioners in the United States still consider the current CBFM approach experimental due to the lack of evidence that it has resulted in improved community well-being and policy outcomes (Ballard et al. 2008; Glasmeier and Farrigan 2005; Moote et al. 2001). Recent studies (Cheng et al. 2006; Christoffersen et al. 2008) suggest the approach appears to be crystallizing as an institution, though a general lack of systematic meta-analyses and syntheses of the broader literature is still missing (Cheng et al. 2006; Christoffersen et al. 2008; Conley and Moote 2003; Koontz and Thomas 2006; McKinney and Field 2008; Moote et al. 2001). Despite apparent gaps in the data, these studies suggest a number of recommendations for the future success of CBFM in the United States. Many of these recommendations focus on having effective and meaningful participation with communities, developing support for increased capacity to implement CBFM initiatives, ensuring an equitable power distribution between the parties involved, and effectively promoting co-learning and the dissemination of knowledge. In my work, I use the case of Packwood, Washington to examine how well these recommendations are being implemented.

1.4 Research Goals

In my research, I employed a case study approach and worked with the community of Packwood, Washington to design a participatory process for successful community collaboration. After initial observation and discussion, community members and I developed the shared goal of working through community visioning as part of the creation of a local scale CBFM initiative at the beginning of the study. The process of community visioning I introduced to the community is based on the Community Toolbox

Vision-Mission-Objectives-Strategy-Action (VMOSA) approach which combines community goal setting, needs assessment and strategic planning (Nagy and Fawcett 2009). As part of the process, I attempted to answer the following three research questions with the community:

1. What are the governance structures and approach to CBFM in Packwood?
2. How successful is Packwood's approach to CBFM in meeting the socio-economic, environmental and other goals of the community?
3. What are the specific challenges associated with developing a CBFM initiative in Packwood given that that CBFM is a worthwhile pursuit?

Additionally, I sought to achieve the following process related goals throughout the project period:

1. Help to empower Packwood to create positive change as defined by the community through community visioning
2. Help to increase community capacity to communicate and collaborate within the community and with outside organizations and agencies
3. Include and help empower traditionally marginalized groups

1.5 Organization of This Document

This document is organized into six sections. In the introduction, I review the research problem and research rationale, the context for the development of community-based forest management, and the research goals. In the following section, I present the research methods and case study context. In section three, I present the research results for the interviews, participant observations and potluck/workshops. In section four, I present the findings from the participatory process. In the discussion, I consider how each finding relates to the research goals, how they complement or compare with relevant

research in the field, and I make suggestions for future inquiry. I conclude with a discussion of the future of Packwood and recommendations for the community and resource managers.

2 RESEARCH METHODS AND CASE STUDY DESCRIPTION

2.1 Case Study and Social Assessment Approaches

In this research project, I use three qualitative approaches to address the project goals. I utilize the case study approach, grounded theory interviewing, and participatory action research (PAR). A case study approach is appropriate for this study because the subject is complex, current in nature, and is best understood through in depth study, as the issues are fully dependent upon the community context (Yin 2008). Grounded theory, as conceptualized by Charmaz et al. (2006) is especially useful because this approach assumes the researcher may not know the specific interview questions to address the research goals. Additionally, in-depth semi-structured interviews are more appropriate than surveys in the community of Packwood because it is difficult to get respondents via mail, as very few members in the community actively use email, many phone numbers are unlisted, and in-person interviews and less formal consultations also contribute to the participatory nature of the study.

Participatory action research is best suited to address the process goals of this project including community empowerment, increasing community capacity for communication, and developing a participatory strategy with the community, as these are some of the major tenants of PAR in connection to community-based natural resource management (Fals Borda 2006; Reason 1998; Wulfhorst et al. 2008). Participatory research (PR) comes in many different styles, where the level of participation lies on a

continuum from participation, to collaboration, to equal partnership and co-management (Wilmsen 2008). In this study, I employ a version of PAR that is community centered and is best described by Wulfhorst et al. (2008) where the focus is on promoting community centered control, reciprocal production of knowledge, and community capacity building to ensure positive outcomes and equal access to benefits.

I worked with the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at Simon Fraser University to comply with the university guidelines for data collection with human participants. The motivation, purpose and methodology were made transparent to the community participants in every stage of research. Moreover, several prominent organizations in Packwood reviewed my research proposal and approved it prior to submission to ORE. Furthermore, my supervisory committee and the board of the Office of Research Ethics reviewed my research methodology and approved it prior to data collection.

2.2 Data Collection: Participant Interviews

I conducted a total of 33 in-person, semi-structured, in-depth interviews with individuals in Packwood from December 2008 through March 2009 (Table 3). Interview questions were designed to be open ended, but I generally followed a flexible protocol as per Charmez et al. (2006), and adapted the questions based on the interviewees' level of knowledge and experience (Charmez 2006). A sample protocol is provided in Appendix A.

I began the process of selecting interviewees by consulting with my key informant, John Squires. John introduced me to the community and helped me make connections with potential interviewees and workshop participants. All interviewees were full time

residents in Packwood. I define full time as residing in the community for a minimum of six months to a year. I selected interviewees via the snowball method (Marshall and Rossman 1999); however, after my suggested sample population grew from 40 interviewees to well over 70, I employed maximum diversity sampling to cull the number down to a manageable level (Marshall and Rossman 1999). I achieved maximum diversity by selecting a sample of participants with the most diverse attributes possible. I considered the following attributes in my selection of interviewees: age, date of arrival to the community, gender, level of involvement in the community, membership to a community organization, occupation, residency status, and visible minority (Table 3). Each interview lasted for approximately 1.5 to 2 hours per person, with some exceptions (several interviews last over three hours, especially with my key informant). Interviews were recorded using a Sony MP3 digital audio device, and then dictated into NVIVO via Dragon Speak Naturally dictation software. NVIVO is software commonly used to quantify interview transcription data and other forms of data such as video and pictures.

Given the nature of subjectivity in individual interviews and the possibility of interviewee and interviewer bias, I triangulated the interview data with other interviewee data, participant observations, and with available text documents such as news paper articles, historical accounts, and project reports to promote a robust analysis (Charmez 2006; Marshall and Rossman 1999; Yin 2008).

Table 3: Participants interviewed by participant type. An asterisk indicates the participant is counted under two different categories. One asterisk indicates only one participant in a category has been double counted, two asterisks indicates two have been double counted and so forth. The asterisk is placed next to the participant's secondary interest with the exception of the participants business or livelihood. Totals for participant groups and the entire set do not double count.

Participant Group	*Number of Participants Interviewed*
Packwood Community-based Organizations Total	**31**
Packwood Improvement Club	3***
Destination Packwood	4**
Packwood Timberland Library	3
White Pass Country Historical Society	5**
Packwood Senior Center	4
Packwood Fire Association	1
Pinchot Partners	1***
Packwood Churches	3*
Airport Board	1
Merry Mountaineers	2
Packwood Preschool and PTO	1
White Pass School District	2*
White Pass Scenic Byway	1
Outside Agencies and Organizations Total	**13**
Forest Service Employees or Retirees	8*******
Lewis County Commissioner	1
Packwood Americorp Coordinator	1
Gifford Pinchot Taskforce Members	1
Rural Voices for Conservation Coalition	1
National Network of Forest Practitioners	1
Industry and Business Total	**9**
Business Owners or Managers	6***
Past Mill Employees	3***
Other Community Members Total	**2**
Resident Age Class	
Old Timers (born prior to 1946)	7
Baby Boomers (born between 1946-64)	16
Generation X (born between 1964-1980)	8
Millenials (born between 1980 and present)	2
Residency Status (Date of Arrival)	
Born in Packwood	6
1920-1950	2
1950-1990	12
1990-2000	7
2000-2008	6
Male or Female	
Men	14
Women	19
Visible Minority	2
Total Participants Interviewed	**33**

2.3 Data Collection: Community Outreach and Potluck Workshops

This project involved extensive community outreach in the form of visiting homes door to door, hosting neighbourhood meetings, creating a website and monthly newsletters, and presenting at local organization meetings and at the local senior center (Table 4). In addition to these outreach activities, I hosted and facilitated three community potluck workshops. I designed these gatherings to promote ownership of the project, clarify the role of the researcher, and inform participants about the theory of CBFM and PAR. Additionally, these workshops were structured to facilitate communication among diverse participants, foster trust, provide a new mechanism for community dialogue, and engage participants in co-learning through the process of community visioning. Detailed agendas for all three workshops can be found in Appendix B. Moreover, I spent spare time volunteering at the local senior center nearly every Thursday and at the White Pass Country Historical Society on the weekends.

In total, I spent approximately 300 hours working directly with the community of Packwood, not including daily casual encounters, general observations and conversations. Additionally, data about the process used in the workshops was collected at the end of each of the 3 workshops through an optional anonymous survey (Appendix C). In the survey, participants were encouraged to comment on one positive thing about the workshop, and one thing that might be changed for the next workshop. Participants were then asked to rate their agreement with specific statements regarding their experience at the workshop on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being “Strongly Disagree”, and 5 being “Strongly Agree.”

Table 4: Summary of research methodology. Description of research activity, length, frequency, target audience and purpose.

Activity	Average length of activity	Frequency of activity	Target audience	Purpose
Door to door visits.	2-3 hours	15	General community members	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.
Business to business visits.	2-3 hours	12	Business owners, managers, employees	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.
Public information session.	30 – 45 minutes	2	General community members	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.
Website, e-newsletter and print updates.	3-4 hours	5 +	General community members	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.
Presentations at community-based organization meetings and gatherings.	10 -20 minutes	11	Packwood community-based organizations and stakeholders	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.
Workshop #1	4 hours	1	Diverse community membership	Discuss project ownership, researcher role, interest in project, build trust, increase capacity for communication, share knowledge.
Workshop #2	4 hours	1	Diverse community membership	Discuss goals and needs for Packwood, build trust, increase capacity for communication, share knowledge.
Workshop #3	4 hours	1	Diverse community membership	Discuss the best way to organize as a community, build trust, increase capacity for communication, share knowledge.
Volunteer time	2 hours	Senior center: 14 Museum: 12 General: 30	Senior center, museum, and waste water working group/ general community	Engage, inform, study, promote project, assist community-based organizations in Packwood and general community in any way possible.
Interviews	2 hours	32	Diverse community membership	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance
Observation and casual community encounters.	3 months full time 2 month part time	N/A	General community members	Engage, inform, study, promote project and workshop attendance.

2.4 Case Study Context

2.4.1 Ecological and Geographic Context

The community of Packwood is nestled among the foothills of the South Cascade Range of the Pacific Northwest United States (Figure 2). With Mt. Rainier to the North, Mt. Adams to the South and Mt. Saint Helens to the West, the community of Packwood is surrounded by mountains. The Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Mt Baker National Forest, Mt Saint Helens National Monument, Mt. Rainier National Park, Washington State Department of Natural Resource Management, Bureau of Land Management and Lewis County lands make up the forested areas surrounding the community (Figure 2). These forested areas reside in the South Cascades Ecoregion of the Ecoregion Assessment System developed collaboratively by Washington Department of Natural Resources, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife, and The Nature Conservancy based on the work of Robert G. Bailey (Bailey 2008; Washington Biodiversity Council 2009). The South Cascades is characterized by moderate temperatures, heavy precipitation and is considered a temperate rainforest for much of the area. Douglas-fir, western red cedar, western hemlock, noble fir and pacific silver fir populate the mid-elevation forests near the community of Packwood.

A legacy of logging has depleted the area of much of its original forest leaving a patchwork of transitional seral stages with the new classifications of “Matrix,” “Adaptive Management Areas,” “Late Successional Reserves” and “Old Growth Conservation Areas” after the implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan (Thomas et al. 2005). At the time of this research, the total amount of accessible and merchantable timber for harvesting was unknown. The Pinchot Partners in collaboration with the Forest Service

actively conducted stand exams of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest in an effort to develop a long term action plan for harvesting and stewardship activities (Pinchot Partners Annual Planning 2009). The Gifford Pinchot is the national forest immediately adjacent to the community of Packwood. Like many national forests, the Pinchot is a forest in transition, both ecologically and socially, as changing values dictate the direction for future management activity.

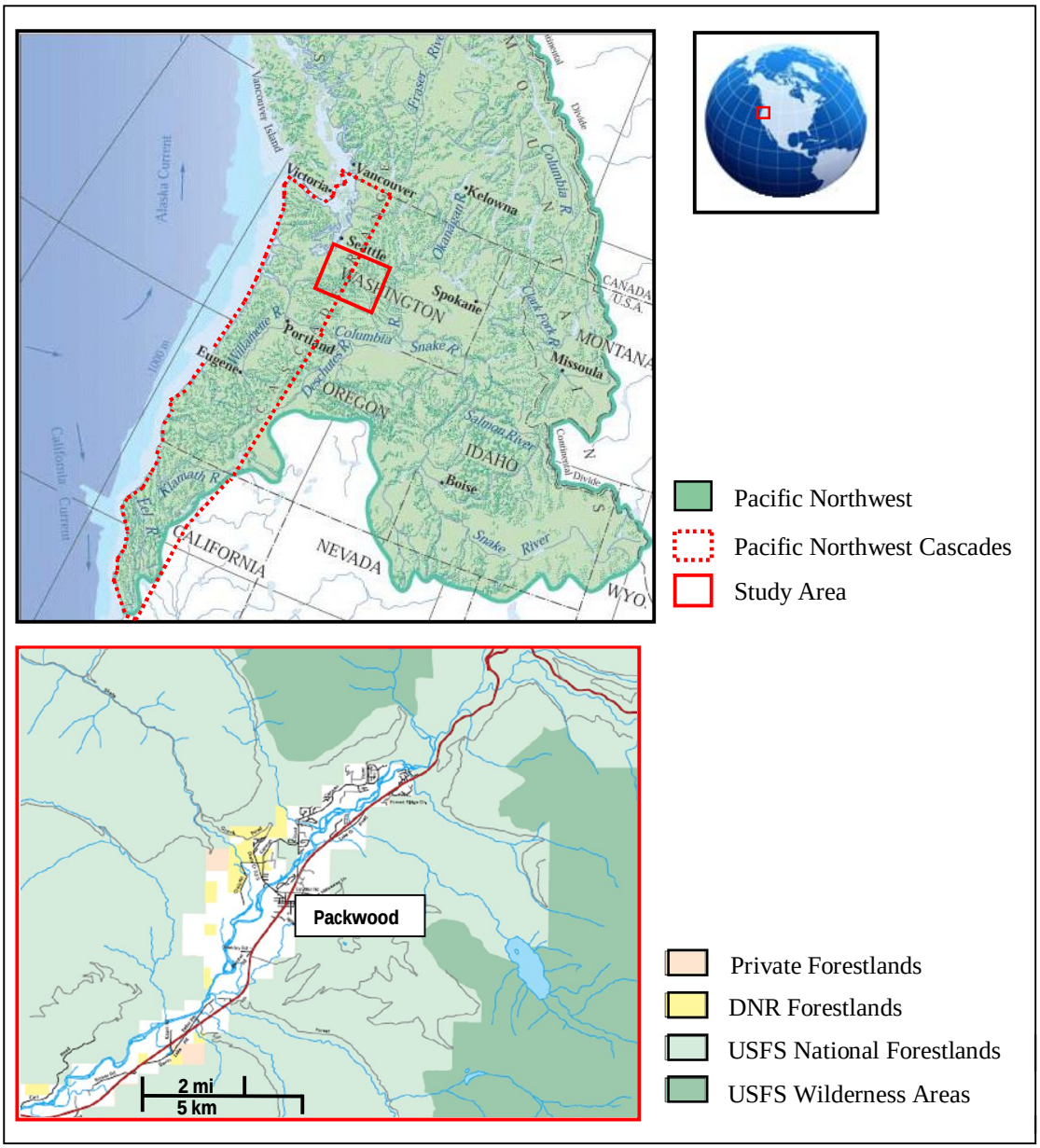

Figure 2: Map showing the study area and location of Packwood, Washington. Packwood is surrounded by a diversity of different landownership types from national forests managed by the United States Forest Service (USFS), to the parcels of Washington State Department of Natural Resources (DNR) lands, private forestlands, and the Goat Rocks USFS wilderness area (a no harvest zone). Source: adapted from Lewis County Geographical Services (2001), Shindler et al. (1999) and Thomas (1995).

2.4.2 The Falling Mill: Community Context

Packwood was a frontier town at the end of the road until 1929 when the first dirt road snaked its way across the mountain pass (Packwood Community Study Program 1954). People moved to the area in the early 1850s to work in mining and to work in the

woods (mill, truck driving, and logging). Later on, people came to join the Forest Service (especially with seasonal summer work), and work with the highway expansion (Bunting 2009; Packwood Community Study Program 1954; Tobe 2002). Prior to European settlement, the area primarily belonged to the Cowlitz People. No treaties were signed, however, and the Cowlitz People legally lost their lands in 1863 (Irwin 1994).

After the war, things changed drastically for the small community. The community transformed into a rapidly expanding timber town as housing developments sprouted up in the late 60s and 70s (Tobe 2002). This brought a flurry of new residents into the community and with them came a more urban, conservation-oriented set of values and culture. Simultaneously, the increased harvest activity supporting the housing boom, fed the expansion of the two local mills and subsequently the local offices of the Forest Service (Bunting 2009; Tobe 2002).

By the mid 1980s Packwood had approximately 400 full time and 150 seasonal employees with the mill and Forest Service combined, many of these being family wage jobs supporting an abundance of young families and children (McClure and Mack 2008; Tobe 2002). Moreover, there was a doctor, a dentist, a pharmacy, a volunteer fire department, a golf course, a large community hall, a library, a new elementary school, three established Protestant Churches and one Catholic Church, several gas stations, a laundry mat, an air strip and more than 30 local businesses. Additionally, there were community dances, roller skating for youth and adults, a baseball team, boy scouts, girl scouts, and an arcade (Bunting 2009; Panco 2008; Squires 2008b).

The situation changed drastically for the community with the listing of the northern spotted owl as an endangered species in 1990 (Sowards 2007). In Packwood, the

spotted owl became the poster child perceived by the community as signalling the end of the traditional economy based on natural resource extraction. Bumper stickers and T-shirts, the local grocery and several businesses, all expressed intense anger directed at the spotted owl as they blamed its listing for the demise of their logging-based economy (Truit 2008). The local Forest Service received a lot of the blame, though some of the locals understood that the Forest Service employees were simply carrying out orders from Congress (Truit 2008). This single event left a deep wound in the community, sharply dividing Forest Service employees from the greater community, as well as coloring perceptions of environmentalists and the term "habitat" ever since (Miller 2009).

After five years of court battles and blocked timber sales, globalization of the timber market, mechanization of harvesting technology, labour union problems, and mismanagement of the mill, Packwood Lumber Supply closed its doors in 1998 (Lawrence 2008; Sowards 2007; Tobe 2002). Hampton Associates purchased Packwood Lumber the same year but they did not reopen the Packwood Mill because it was not able to process timber competitively as it was designed for large diameter old growth wood. Hampton Associates did eventually reopen and is now operating mills in Randle and Morton (Tobe 2002). With the closing of the Packwood mill in 1998, the trickledown effect of losing the mill and the Forest Service affected almost everything in Packwood. All but the library, the churches, two gas stations, a grocery store and some struggling businesses closed down (Benbrook Rieder and Hansen 2004). Over 60 percent of residences in the downtown core of Packwood were still below the Lewis County average for low/moderate household income levels at the time of this study (Lenentine 2009).

Furthermore, 51 percent of children participated in the national reduced lunch program in the local White Pass Grade School (OSPI Washington State Report Card 2007).

Clearly, Packwood was struggling to make the transition from a timber town to the next phase in its evolution as a community. During the time of the study, Packwood remained unincorporated, it still had its post office, a volunteer fire department, a senior center, a local newspaper, the community hall building, the old grade school building (though the school was relocated to Randle in 2002), the air strip and the golf course. The population of full time residents in 2000 was 1206 people, though many individuals and families continued to leave following the closure of the Packwood Ranger Station and Packwood Elementary School (US Bureau of the Census 2000). Several businesses have tried and failed to prosper in the community, while a few have sprung up in their place. The old grade school building now houses the Lewis County Sheriffs Hub, the new White Pass Country Museum and the new office for Destination Packwood. For a community that has lost nearly everything, Packwood still has a lot of capacity. As the mill closed, a grass roots movement to improve the community's economy and well-being started rising.

2.4.3 The Rising Wave: Development of Grassroots Organizations

Before the loss of the mill, Packwood had several well-established community organizations dedicated toward improving the community (Table 5). In fact, the community has a long history of involvement documented back to the early 30s. One of their most significant efforts was a community study, which took place in 1953, called "Packwood on the March" (Packwood Community Study Program 1954). Packwood on the March was a collaborative initiative developed in cooperation with the University of

Washington. It involved a core group of individuals overseeing the project and hundreds of community volunteers (Packwood Community Study Program 1954). This initiative included creating a community action plan to follow the initial assessment. There was no evaluation or follow up conducted after this initiative closed, but it appears to be the force behind almost every major achievement of the community including the creation of the entire Timberland Library System (Squires 2008b). In addition to Packwood on the March, the Lions Club and the Packwood Improvement Club were also very active in the community.

As people realized the inevitable closure of the mill, several groups started coming together in an effort to plan for the future of Packwood. Over the next ten years, community-based organizations such as the South Cascades Tourism Council, Destination Packwood Association, and the White Pass Scenic Byway formed to focus on tourism, recreation, wilderness stewardship and community promotion. All the while, the pieces were slowly coming together for an even more diverse group made up of loggers, environmentalists, researchers, and Forest Service officers in the Packwood area to come together in the creation of the Pinchot Partners.

Concurrently, a number of organizations focused on maintaining community well-being came together such as Packwood Americorp, the Parent Teacher Organization and the Charter Schools Association to support youth programs. The White Pass Country Historical Society and the Packwood Cultural Council also formed to promote and support the arts, culture, history and music in the community, both as an attraction for tourists and for the preservation of community heritage. The Packwood Fire Association

formed to support community improvement and safety, and the Packwood Improvement Club renewed their focus on meeting the needs of the greater community.

Overall, Packwood community-based organizations address community well-being, stewardship of the surrounding forests, or both. Packwood community-based organizations generally strive towards the goals and values espoused in community-based forest management, but where do they lie on the spectrum of CBFM approaches? In this next section we will take a closer look at the governance structures of these community-based initiatives and the institutions created to support them, as well as where they fit within the spectrum of community-based forest management.

Table 5: History of community-based organizations in Packwood, WA. Timeline and description of major organizations and events in Packwood, Washington.

Date Formed	Name of Organization or Event	Type of Organization or Initiative
1890	**Establishment of Packwood**	
1940	Packwood Lions Club	Local community improvement.
1951	Packwood Improvement Club (incorporates)	Local community improvement.
1953	Packwood on the March	Community self study and improvement.
1967	High Valley Country Club	Support for High Valley.
	Packwood Senior Center	Local support for seniors.
	Economic Development Council	Regional support for economic development.
1970s	Gifford Pinchot Taskforce	Regional support for environment and communities.
1995	White Pass Self Assessment and Discovery Team	Regional self study for improvement.
1997	South Cascades Tourism Council	Regional tourism support.
1997	Packwood Americorp	Local Support for Youth.
1998	**Closure of Packwood Lumber**	
1999	Packwood Community Action Plan	Commissioned Study for Improvement.
2001	Advisory Committee on Growth	Local Support for Economic Development.
2002	NEIA Case Study of Packwood	Evaluation of Community Initiatives Associated with the NW Forest Plan.
2003	Packwood Preschool and PTO	Local support for youth.
2003	Packwood Fire Association	Local support for community improvement and safety.
2003	Destination Packwood	Local support for community promotion, tourism and job creation.
2007 – 2008	Packwood Partners	Local support for utilization of forest service facility for a senior center, low income housing, a national park center, a Cowlitz Tribe cultural center or a sheriff substation.
2005	Packwood Cultural Council	Local support for arts, culture, music and events associated with tourism.
2005	Packwood at the Crossroads	Commissioned study for improvement.
2006	White Pass Historical Society	Local support for history and culture.
2007	White Pass Scenic Byway	Regional support for tourism and recreation.
2007	Pinchot Partners	Regional support for job creation and watershed health.
2008	Packwood Waste Water Group	Local support for improving community. infrastructure for waste water treatment.
2009	Packwood Empowering Packwood	Local support for designing and implementing a participatory strategy for community revitalization and resource stewardship.

3 INTERVIEWS, OBSERVATIONS AND WORKSHOPS

3.1 Governance and Institutional Structure

The top three organizations I focus on for my analysis of Packwood's community governance structures and institutions are the Pinchot Partners (PP), Destination Packwood (DPA), and the Packwood Improvement Club (PIC). Many Packwood community-based organizations focus on revitalizing various aspects of the community from the promotion of youth programs to promotion of community well-being through religion and spirituality; however, these three community-based organizations represent the organizations with the broadest community wide focus and with goals most appropriate for considering within the context of CBFM.

The Pinchot Partners, Destination Packwood and the Packwood Improvement club are all incorporated non-profit organizations. They all employ Robert's Rules of Order for decision making, save for the Pinchot Partners, which relies on consensus building for difficult decisions. They each have a board of officers with a president, secretary and treasurer, as well as several other board member positions. DPA and the Pinchot Partners both have a paid administrative staff member to help with day-to-day operations. Though the Partners, the PIC and DPA have many overlapping goals, they each differ in their level of connection with the community and outside organizations (Figure 3).

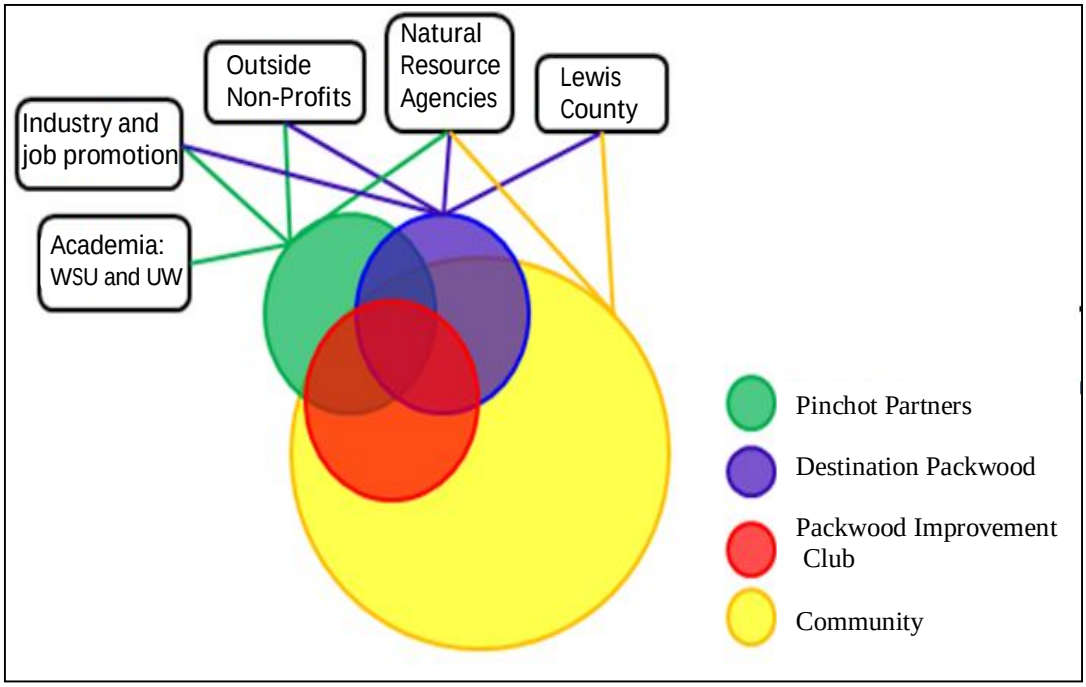

Figure 3: Institutional structures of Packwood community-based organizations. Each small sphere represents a different Packwood community-based organization. The amount of overlap of each small sphere with the yellow community sphere indicates the level of involvement with the community as a whole. The corresponding colored lines to each sphere indicate the connection of each Packwood community-based organization and the community as a whole with outside entities.

The Pinchot Partners (PP) focus is maintaining watershed health for the Cispus Adaptive Management area to the southwest of Packwood, and surrounding areas, while promoting and supporting job creation through natural resource development and stewardship. The PP focus is Packwood, but they also focus on all communities connected to the Cispus Watershed, though most of the board members are originally from Packwood. The Pinchot Partners is a regional level supporting collaborative organization in the CBFM spectrum (Figure 1). The PP board and membership are very diverse with old-time loggers, representatives from environmental organizations and everything in between. They collaborate with the Forest Service, the University of

Washington, Washington State University, non-profits such as the National Forest Foundation, and local industry (Figure 3). Their past projects include the Smooth Juniper Timber Sale, the Iron Creek Watershed Restoration, and the Cat Creek Stewardship Project. The PP also hosts workshops for natural resource practitioners to network and build skills (Pinchot Partners 2008).

The Packwood Improvement Club board and membership is composed of a diverse mix of local individuals, not perhaps as diverse as the Pinchot Partnership, but diverse in their interests and backgrounds in the community. The PIC is one of the longest standing organizations in Packwood. It was originally formed in the 1930s, though not incorporated until 1951 (Packwood Community Study Program 1954). Similar to Destination Packwood, the PIC's focus is continuous community improvement; however, unlike DPA the PIC solely focuses inward rather than outside the community (Figure 3). The mission of the PIC is broad and they have varied in focus through time (McVicker 2009a). Currently, their specific focus is restoring the community hall and providing events for the community like the Valentine's Day Crab Feed (McVicker 2009b). Unlike DPA and the Pinchot Partners, the PIC does not actively collaborate with outside agencies or organizations (Figure 3).

Destination Packwood focuses on tourism, recreation, and creating jobs to revitalize the community (Aydelott 2009). The DPA board and membership is composed mainly of business owners, but also includes individuals active in other areas of the community such as the senior center and public library. DPA works to promote the community and create the connection with the outside world (agencies, other non-profits, Lewis county), rather than focus on activities within the community unless they are

intended to draw tourism (Figure 3). Like the Pinchot Partners, DPA collaborates extensively with outside agencies, though they focus on engaging Lewis County rather than academic institutions (Figure 3). Some of DPA's past and ongoing projects include the Wernke Watchable Wildlife Area, hosting the Art Festival, the Mountain Festival and various music festivals, and maintaining the local visitors center (Aydelott 2009).

3.2 A Strategy for Packwood

Within the first few months of living in Packwood, it became clear that despite the number of highly active community-based organizations and their overlapping goals, there was no formal connection between any of them. In interviews with participants, we discussed their knowledge and involvement in community-based organizations, and regardless of their background or experience, all 33 interviewees unanimously declared there is no overall strategy connecting the community organizations in Packwood. One interviewee who is a lifelong resident of the community observed that the community-based organizations in Packwood are not coordinated and are sometimes in conflict. *"I think that there are conflicting strategies.... you represented a very fair assessment of the way it is here. There is not a coordinated effort."* Another interviewee commented that beyond the absence of a strategy, many organizations do not even have long-term goals. *"A lot of those organizations don't have extended goals. They are basically.... they move from one project to the next, and that is the goal. Long-term goals would be great. I would say most of them don't have a real strategy and how they're moving them forward, I really don't know."*

A few individuals were surprised at the question of "is there a strategy," believing or hoping there was some sort of strategy. One interviewee relatively new to the

community asserted that there must be some strategy, though they were unsure of what it was. More experienced interviewees (30 plus years in residence) tended to feel otherwise. A long-time resident of the community observed in an interview that organizations do not work together and have never been able to agree. *"All the organizations each have their own agenda… I don't know though if they have ever been able to agree on a goal or commonality. I guess I look at things a little differently."*

Despite their apparent lack of coordination, several interviewees commented that though community-based organizations do not plan together, or coordinate their efforts, many individuals involved in one organization are involved in others, so in this way people are able to keep the activities of other organizations in mind. It appears the last time Packwood had any intentional community-wide strategy linking together organizations and individuals, was Packwood on the March in 1954 (Packwood Community Study Program 1954). However, one interviewee suggested that several community-wide attempts at creating a strategy had occurred. This was supported by several casual conversations with other community members. It should be noted that this interviewee felt that these efforts did not really include the greater community. *"As I said, your effort is about the 4^{th} or 5^{th} one that has occurred. I wonder what happened to all of the paper work...on each of these efforts they had goals and objectives. This started back in the 70s, 80s. I am trying to remember how we got started? I remember the county was involved at some point."*

Documentation of previous community efforts is unorganized and is distributed haphazardly among organizations and individuals involved. Nevertheless, the documentation that was available reveals there have been several attempts at strategic

planning by individuals or organizations in Packwood. DPA collaborated with Lewis County on several occasions to use grant money to commission consultants to conduct community studies. These efforts produced the Packwood Community Action Plan in 1999, and Packwood at the Crossroads in 2004 (Benbrook Rieder and Hansen 2004; E.D. Hovee and Company 1999). Additionally, there was one other documented effort associated with the Western Washington Growth Management (WWGM) Hearings, where community members formed an advisory council to provide input to the growth and development of the community, and appeal the suggested boundaries by the WWGM board (Packwood Advisory Committee 2001). Last, at the time of this study, an ongoing effort by several members of the community took place to consider the challenge of wastewater alternatives for downtown Packwood. This effort began in the early 1990s with Destination Packwood hiring an engineer to assess the feasibility of constructing a sewer system (Gray and Osborn Inc. 2001). Subsequent meetings have taken place relating to this plan, though none have been documented until most recently. Taken as a whole, the community of Packwood has no strategy connecting individuals and organizations, though it does have many active organizations and a history of community-based initiatives. However, none of these independent efforts, other than Packwood on the March, have resulted in tangible positive change for the community of Packwood. In the next two sections, I discuss the interview results for the overall perception of Packwood community-based organization approaches, and the challenges associated with these efforts.

3.3 Perception of Community Organizations and CBFM in Packwood

The concept of community-based forest management in Packwood is almost entirely new. There are a few exceptions to this however, my key informant John Squires, was well aware of CBFM due to his involvement with the Pinchot Partners, and several other supporting organizations. Community members connected to the Pinchot Partners are very knowledgeable about the concepts of community-based forest management; however, very few PP members actually live in Packwood. The rest of community appears to be entirely unaware of the concept of CBFM, despite the fact the Pinchot Partners (whose focus is almost entirely on CBFM) seek to benefit the community directly. Therefore, the majority of participants who had not heard about it other from me were unable to define the success of Packwood's CBFM approach. As an alternative, participants directed their thoughts toward defining the success of general community-based initiatives in Packwood. Interviewees considered Destination Packwood, or the Packwood Improvement Club the main community-based organizations who have connections with the community, while there was almost a complete lack of knowledge regarding the Pinchot Partners.

More often than not, interviewees involved in Packwood community-based organizations were very knowledgeable about the project and events of the organization they belonged to; however, most were unclear about the goals or mission of their organization. For the purposes of this project, I define success as the ability of an individual or organization to achieve their goal. Given most interviewees' lack of knowledge of clearly defined goals for community-based organizations in Packwood, it was almost impossible to measure the success of community-based organization

approaches based on this definition of success. As an alternative, I sought their definition of success, and then I asked for their opinion of the success of organizations in Packwood as a whole (Appendix A). The following list of indicators of success was developed from interviewee responses:

- Number of jobs created in the community and overall contribution to economic vitality.
- Number of individuals who attend community events.
- Upkeep and appearance of community buildings.
- The time it takes to conduct business during a meeting.
- The reputation and credibility of a particular organization.
- How well respected the leadership of a particular organization is.
- How diverse the board and membership are in terms of their income level, and cultural background.
- How accepted the projects are by the community as a whole.
- Having tangible completed projects visible to the community.
- If the community-based organization contributes financially to the community or if they are perceived as taking away from the community.
- The ability of the organization to bring individuals together for the community.
- How well known the community-based organization is throughout the community.
- The amount of conflict or conflict resolved.

The indicators of community-based organization success listed above were selected based on frequent interviewee, participant observation, and casual encounters during the study period. Interviewee results suggest there is a very mixed perception of the effectiveness Packwood community-based organizations in meeting these criteria. In general, interviewees view community-based organizations as beneficial to the community. However, when interviewees consider Packwood community-based organizations as a whole, they tend to mention Destination Packwood (unless they were heavily involved in the PIC or PP), and as a result much of their understanding about

Packwood community-based organizations was influenced by their feelings for Destination Packwood.

Destination Packwood is the most controversial community-based organization in the community because of their affiliation with the community wastewater project, an effort to create a sewer system for the downtown core and residential areas (Reed 2008). As such, many community members feel DPA is only modestly beneficial for the community, while others view DPA more negatively. Tobe (2002) corroborates this finding in her study of Packwood, where she found community members had mixed feelings toward DPA even at that time. The following comments from interviewees highlight two typical stances toward Destination Packwood:

> I guess I would ask what has DP done to bring people to the community? _____ is going to give you a whole list of things…but it didn't bring in people. That was the beginning of the Mountain Festival, that didn't bring people in…maybe two people came. That was the beginning of the art festival, that didn't bring people in. The only thing that is working is the quilt show at the Mountain Festival, that actually brings some quilters in – active member of a Packwood community-based organization.

> I don't want to get involved with an organization that will tear up this community. You cannot lead a horse to water and make him drink it…you can lead him up to the trough but you can't make him drink the water..well, I don't want to drink the water. I don't like their ideas so I am not going to go down there and put my two bits in and have it go to pot which most of it will, and then have the community look at it and say well he is on that committee look at what he did to me. I don't want no part of it – active member of a Packwood community-based organization and lifetime resident.

Interviewee and participant observation data suggest that the fear, anger and mistrust associated with Destination Packwood creates a negative perception toward all the community-based organizations in Packwood, even though interviewees may be

supportive of other efforts. Interestingly, though DPA may have a poor reputation, several interviewees consider DPA leaders in the community and in the strongest position to create positive change for the community. One long-term resident of the community had this to say about Destination Packwood: *"I absolutely favor people who want to get involved and better the community. Destination Packwood had that in mind when they started as a business generating type of organization…a chamber of commerce organization that helped not only businesses come in but helped grow businesses that were here."* Similarly, a lifelong resident of the community suggested that DPA might be the only organization capable of having an impact on the community. *"Destination Packwood seems to be the one, if something happens here, to really benefit the economic structure of the community. If they were to really sit down and talk if their mindsets are the same way."*

The Packwood Improvement Club, in contrast to Destination Packwood is widely supported and embraced by the community, though the PIC is not as visible to people outside the community. Overall, individuals who did recognize the PIC were supportive and did consider them mostly successful (in accordance with the above list of indicators). A long-term resident of Packwood suggested in an interview that PIC has always been the people's organization, while DPA had more of an elitist reputation. *"I think the people think that Destination Packwood started out as an elitist organization, when it started out it was about 10 of us in business that realized something needed to be done. We invited anyone to join in, but the PIC has always been a local community-based organization and not business people per say. So, I think they are better accepted."* Several community members felt even more passionately about the PIC, stating in

interviews and in casual conversations that it was the only organization really benefiting the community. One involved community member stated in an interview, *"The PIC as far as I am concerned is the main one, the only one that has represented the people."*

As I described above, the Pinchot Partners (PP) are not widely recognized in the Packwood. The majority of interviewees had never heard of the PP, and in the event that they had heard of them, interviewees were unsure of the purpose of the organization. Based on the indicators of success identified by community members of having tangible completed projects visible to the community, or even just being visible at all, the PP are currently unsuccessful by the communities' standards. However, there are two sharply contrasting views on this. On the one hand, interviewees who have been involved in the process were supportive of the group. One member of the PP who was supportive shared the following story to illustrate how far the group had come:

> I think the work they are doing is great… Just to let you know the tone of it and how much it has changed and evolved and matured. On our first field trip we were way up in the forest and looking at a site that was old growth stuff and a lot of cedar in there. They wanted to decommission the road, that was the project they wanted to look at. And we got out of the vans and one of the logger guys was like…where's my chainsaw or something like that. And one of the guys from Sustainable Northwest was just livid. There was conversation back and forth but it was very uncomfortable for those of us who didn't fit either of the extreme spectrums..those of us waffling around here in the middle. They have come a long way – former active member of the Pinchot Partners

Furthermore, at least one individual had moved to the area just because of the news of the Partner's widespread success. This individual shared in an interview how that person had heard about the success of the Partners while working in another community. *"… I value them tremendously and again that's one of the reasons why I wanted to come here. … I saw an article in the newspaper that had a piece about them [The Pinchot Partners] and*

I thought wow, a collaborative group that is actually working…" The Partners have had dozens of articles written about them and from the eyes of resource practitioners outside of the community of Packwood, they are widely regarded as a success (Pinchot Partners 2008).

On the other hand, there are several references to individuals who did not receive the news of this group's formation favorably, though I did not have the opportunity to interview them in person. These individuals appear to dislike the idea of environmental groups and loggers collaborating together (Robinson 2005). One interviewee and current member of the Partners shared about his experience with this. *"I have been willing to stick my neck out with the Partners. I get comments you know. I read in the newspaper how I was a turn coat. I read those things. My family read those things. That didn't matter to me."* Though the community as a whole does not appear to be aware of the Partners, several individuals who are aware seem almost antagonistic toward the group. One interviewee working with the Partners commented, *"I get a little bit of static from people occasionally when I talk about work we're doing with people with the Pinchot Partners. ...Pinchot Partners, why are you even giving them the time [of] day because they have environmentalists in their group? That is why you're even paying attention to them because you are in bed with the environmentalists."*

Taken all together, Packwood community-based organizations are perceived as modestly successful in some cases, but with much room for improvement. It seems that three independent organizations in Packwood each tackling different aspects of community-based forest management is not necessarily a successful approach for the

community, at least not yet. In the next section, I consider some of the barriers to the success of these organizations.

3.4 Challenges to Community-based Organization Success

There are nine major areas I identified as challenges to successful community participation and collaboration in Packwood (Table 6). Each area is weighted by the percent of the total interview time that interviewees used in discussing the topic. The concept of "insiders and outsiders" received the most amount of attention in the interviews in proportion to the average length of the interviews (Table 6). The terms "insider" and "outsiders" refer to any mention of a relationship between an individual who considers themselves part of a group, and other individuals not considered part of this group. For example, there are insiders in the PIC where DPA members are outsiders, and there are insiders in Packwood, while weekenders are outsiders. Related to the concept of "insider" and "outsider" are the concepts of "power struggles," "diverse values," and "communication and misinformation" challenges respectively (Table 6). Interviewees made mention of these three challenges independently of the concepts of "insider" and "outsider," but most often in connection to it.

In my analysis I combine "burnout," "self-doubt" and "survival mode" as they each represent instances where individuals question their own abilities or the abilities of others to create positive change in their community (Table 6). Natural disturbances refers to the amount of energy the community expends in dealing with natural disturbances such as floods, mud slides, and fires, as well as violent weather like blizzards and snow storms. Other challenges related to the concept of "insider and outsider" include the challenge of Packwood's family rivalries. Last, a challenge not commented on directly by

interviewees is the challenge of addressing the recent yet powerful emotional history of mistrust and conflict between Destination Packwood and the greater community, as well as between several outside agencies such as the Forest Service, the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife and the greater community. A summary of the nine challenges to success for Packwood community-based organizations can be found in Table 6.

Table 6: Challenges to community-based organization success in Packwood, WA. Summary and description of most commonly mentioned barriers to success for the community of Packwood in meeting the goals for community-based resource management and sustainable rural development. Barriers to success are organized by the most frequently sited to the least cited topics.

Barriers to success	**Average percent of time spent on individual topic per interview**	**Significance**
Insider versus outsider relations	35%	The notion of insider and outsider in Packwood breeds mistrust, misunderstanding, and presents communication barriers, especially concerning the present day forest service.
Power struggles and institutional barriers	15%	Power struggles between insider, outsider groups, part time urbanites and local Packwood residents, and the forest service constantly create conflict in many areas of community-based initiatives.
A changing world, complex problems, and diverse values	13%	Packwood now faces an increasingly diverse population with people from urban and rural backgrounds, with differing values and cultures, often with the result of conflict, back stabbing and general disassociation.
Communication and misinformation	12%	Community-based organizations in Packwood do not effectively communicate their goals, projects, successes or events to the community resulting in misinformation, suspicion, and lack of community buy-in. There are also many interpersonal miscommunication and respect issues that compound the problem.
Burnout, self doubt, depression and survival mode	10%	Much of the leadership in Packwood is burned out, over worked, frustrated and exhausted. The new recruits lack the confidence or know how to help, and many are in survival mode – riding out the weather and the economic climate.
Natural disturbances	9%	The weather plays a significant role in governing the day-to-day, season-to-season lives of Packwood residents. It is something to consider carefully in community-based organization initiatives, as getting to meetings can sometimes be a life or death situation with floods, blizzards and mudslides.
Cliques, family rivalries, participation and independent spirits	7%	Packwood residents have a tendency not to look beyond their family groups or personal community-based organization, to the detriment of the greater community. Working together and teamwork was one of the main points of advice from interviewees.
Total percent of interview spent on challenges	100%	

4 PARTICIPATORY PROCESS FINDINGS

4.1 Participation and Inclusiveness

My initial plans for meeting with the leaders of Packwood and developing a strategy for evaluating the success of the current CBFM approach were quickly revised as I discovered there was no established group of individuals meeting regularly for the benefit of the community as a whole, and there was no formalized community-wide CBFM approach to evaluate. Moreover, as interview results came in I learned how several community-wide efforts had been unsuccessful in the past chiefly due to the lack of community acceptance and participation. Therefore, my original emphasis on creating a strategy to evaluate Packwood's current approach to CBFM shifted entirely to developing a *participatory strategy* to *create* a formal CBFM initiative.

I involved the community from the very beginning of the project starting with the first coffee shop presentation (Table 4). In total, there were approximately 60 unique participants throughout all three workshops, and over 100 unique participants throughout the course of the project. The first workshop had 25 individuals in attendance; the second had an astonishing 45 individuals, and the last had 35 participants. Considering it is uncommon to have more than a handful of participants at comparable, non-controversial events, it was not surprising to hear one interviewee exclaim, *"I think from what I gathered you are doing a great job. I can't believe you got this many people to talk to you. It is a miracle. When you came I thought oh, are you in for a disappointment. Whatever you have done, you have taken the right track. You are doing wonderfully."*

In addition to the high level of participation throughout the project, the participants represented a very diverse group of individuals in the community. During Workshop 2 Lee Grose, the County Commissioner, who has lived in Packwood most of his life, stood up at the end of the workshop and stated he had never seen so many different people come out in support of the community in all his time in Packwood. There were members of each generation, Matures, Baby Boomers, Generation X as well as Millenials (Table 4). For Packwood, there was also a diversity of ethnicities with at least two participants per workshop who were visible minorities. Moreover, there was roughly an equal number of males to females throughout the workshops because many participants brought their partners. Additionally, there were individuals with very different cultural backgrounds, from retired and present day Forest Service employees, to urban and rural environmentalists, business owners, tourists, old timers, and new individuals to the community (Figure 4).

Results from anonymous feedback surveys delivered at the end of each workshop suggested people had fun at the meetings, enjoyed the meeting style and felt included and heard, in workshop discussions (Figure 4). The majority of participants, 93 percent and 87 percent respectively, marked they ‘strongly agreed’, or ‘agreed’ with the statement that they, “had fun, ” and “liked the meeting style.” Moreover, 83 percent of participants marked they ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ with the statement, “they felt heard, or truly had the opportunity to be heard,” (Figure 4).

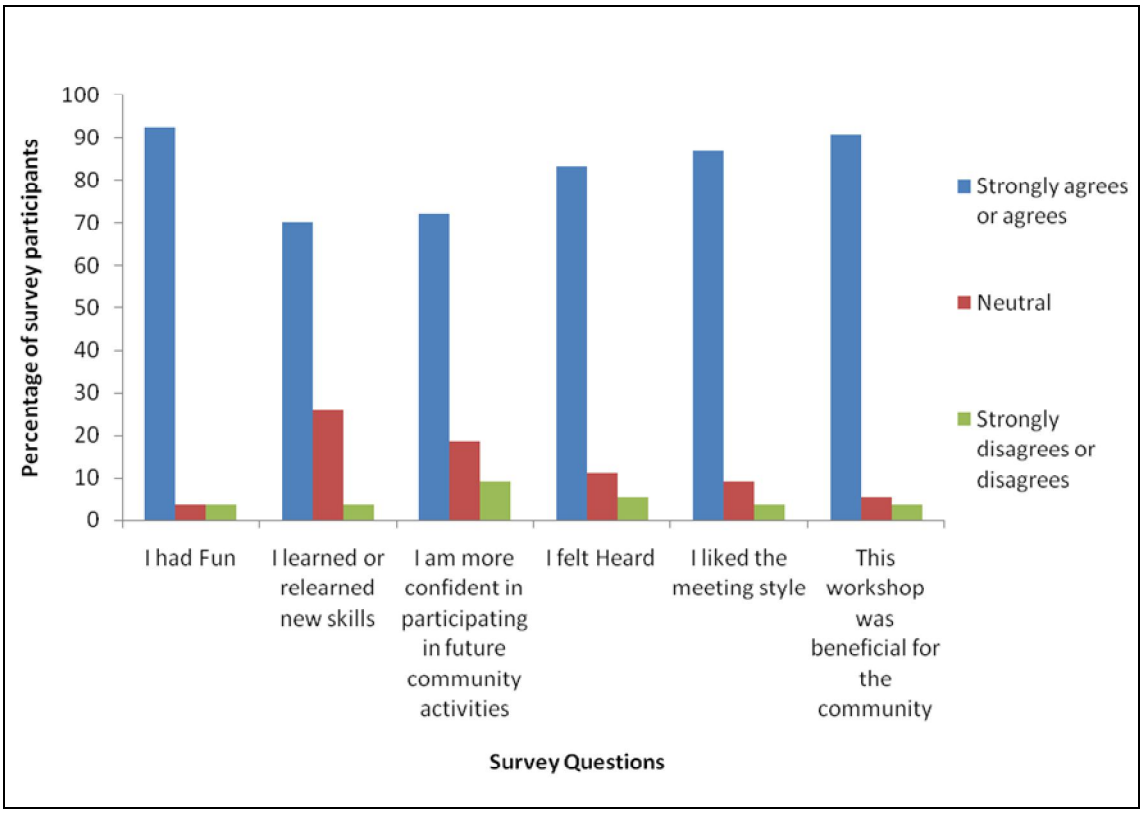

Figure 4: Results from anonymous workshop surveys. Workshop participants responded to the anonymous surveys by marking their level of agreement with the survey questions (X-axis). The Y-axis indicates the percentage of survey participants who responded to a given survey question. The blue bars for strongly agrees or agrees, the red bars for neutral, and the green bars for strongly disagrees or disagrees, indicate the participant's level of agreement with the survey questions.

4.2 Increasing Community Capacity

In addition to having fun and feeling included, most people walked away from the workshops learning something new, feeling their efforts had benefited the community, and feeling more confident in participating in community centered projects and meetings in the future (Figure 4). At each workshop, I introduced information about CBFM, other communities, and basic skills for collaborating effectively. The majority of participants from workshops 1-3 (70 percent) marked on their surveys that they had indeed learned, or relearned new skills or information. However, some individuals did not necessarily feel one way or the other as 26 percent of the participants marked they were neutral on

the subject. Similarly, with the question of their increased confidence to participate in community meetings, the majority (72 percent) marked they 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with the statement of increased confidence, while 19 percent of the participants felt neutral. Despite, the mixed feelings toward personal growth in response to the workshop, the majority of participants (91 percent) felt the workshops as a whole were "beneficial to the community" (Figure 4).

4.3 Empowering the Community

The workshops themselves served as a valuable tool to empower the community to create positive change as defined by community members themselves. First, workshops provided a new model for community meeting which participants felt to be very beneficial. Next they provided an effective means for the community to come together to discuss complex issues and community-wide goals. Several workshop participants suggested in conversation and in their surveys that working together and meeting others in the community was one of the best things about the community workshops. The following comments from workshop participants taken from the anonymous feedback surveys illustrate this point:

> [One thing or more I liked about this workshop was] the opportunity to meet other stakeholders in our community…thanks for getting us started talking to each other!

> [One thing or more I like about this workshop was] meeting the people of Packwood. I liked how we split into groups and worked in teams.

Secondly, out of the three community workshops (and through interviewee nominations) a group of individuals emerged to take over, coordinate, and carry on the efforts initiated by this research and the three community workshops. At Workshop 3 individuals voted for the new name of the project, and though it was a tough choice between "Packwood on the March II" and "Packwood Empowering Packwood," participants chose the latter, known now as the "PEP Project." This method of selecting the coordinating body of individuals was intentionally grass roots to promote the legitimacy of the PEP Team to the community. In addition, at workshop I community members discussed a list of values important to the community. Approximately half the values focused on community-wellbeing and half focused on natural resource issues (including recreation and tourism). At workshop II participants came up with a list of over 100 goals and needs (with several repeats) for the visioning of Packwood, and at the last workshop participants discussed the most appropriate way for the PEP Team to function in Packwood and network with existing community-based organizations to achieve these goals. All research results from the workshops and interviews are now available for the PEP Team as they work to fulfil their mission. The mission of Packwood Empowering Packwood is to be the community toolbox in Packwood enhancement projects. Develop leadership skills in the visioning process. Provide support — voice, expertise, networking, and capacity building — in moving projects forward. Ultimately this effort will lead to a unified community vision, and social, economic, and environmental resilience, vitality and sustainability.

So far, the specific goals of Packwood Empowering Packwood are:

1) Act as a hub of information and a network for community enhancement.

2) Coordinate community visioning and the promotion of an inclusive participatory community dialogue regarding community enhancement.

3) Act as a voice for the community in connecting, partnering, and collaborating with outside agencies and organizations.

4) Promote and support community capacity building in communication, knowledge, leadership, and team building.

Several individuals and interviewees expressed concern that individuals in Packwood may not have the momentum or knowledge to carry on the PEP Project without outside facilitation. As such, I volunteered to continue working with the PEP Team over the summer of 2009 acting as a neutral outside facilitator to help the team to build confidence and trust, and to work together to create a culture of learning, respect, and fun, as was suggested in Workshop 3. The PEP Team committed to meeting twice a month for the summer of 2009 to focus on building the capacity of the team in communication, knowledge, facilitation, and team building so they will have the ability to take the lead of the project in September as they host their first community workshop together. As a team, Packwood Empowering Packwood will work to act as a communication hub networking with existing community-based organizations, collaborate with outside agencies and regain trust, empower and increase capacity community-wide in the areas of communication, trust, leadership and confidence, and promote the ongoing dialogue and achievement of Packwood's community vision (Table 7).

Table 7: PEP Team 2009 summer meeting schedule. Dates and description of meeting topics for Packwood Empowering Packwood over the summer of 2009.

Meeting Date	Meeting Topic	Meeting Resources	Meeting Facilitator
April	General Information		Miku L.
May	Community visioning, operational rules, governance structure, creating officer positions.	Community Toolbox (Online Resource)	Miku L.
June	Meeting content, logistics, roles, mission statement and goals, planning for workshops and visioning.	Community Toolbox (Online Resource)	Miku L.
July	Trust building, team building. How to act as a hub in Packwood.	Community Toolbox (Online Resource) Guest Speaker Field Trip?	Education Officer Guest Speaker
August	Facilitating (general) and hosting workshops.	Community Toolbox (Online Resource)	Open Education Officer
September	Preparing for the workshop.		Open

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Considering Packwood in the Context of Contemporary CBFM

5.1.1 Situating Packwood in Contemporary CBFM

Defining contemporary community-based forest management in the United States is not easy, but we can, as Agrawal and Gibson (1999) suggested, consider Packwood with respect to its underlying goals and institutions. I presented an idea of how to approach defining contemporary CBFM in the U.S. in Figure 1, where CBFM, initiatives, supporting organizations, and networks exist on a continuum of private to public landownership across multiple geographic scales. In the case study of Packwood, we see that the community is really in the formative stages of a CBFM initiative and has some local components of supporting organizations due to the existence of Pinchot Partners. Several prominent organizations in the community exhibit the characteristics of CBFM (promoting sustainable development in connection to sustainable natural resource management), but as this research suggests, the community currently does not have a coordinated set of goals and supporting institutions.

Studies of community-based forestry efforts across the United States indicate that there is still no standard approach to structure supporting institutions or to coordinate community efforts towards the goals of CBFM. In all likelihood there never will be as each community brings with it its own unique set of circumstances and challenges (Christoffersen et al. 2008). Regardless, it is evident from numerous examples of successful natural resource collaboration that certain crucial elements are necessary for

success of such efforts (Blumenthal and Jannink 2000). One of the most essential elements is a clear understanding and agreement on a common goal or mission. Furthermore, the goal or mission should have clear measurable objectives, and ongoing monitoring, evaluation and adaptation built into the initiative (Blumenthal and Jannink 2000). In other words, it is essential to agree on a strategy for a successful collaborative effort. Tobe (2002) suggests several reasons for the slow progress of initiatives in Packwood. Among her suggestions is the lack of connection between the vision of the community and clear definable objectives (Tobe 2002). Though there is some overlap between the memberships of individuals in different organizations, without a well-planned and coordinated participatory approach it is unlikely that Packwood's community-based organizations will be successful in meeting the goals and needs of the community.

5.1.2 Evaluating Success in Community-based Forest Management

Evaluating the success of community-based forest management is often community specific and in many cases, it is important to evaluate success based upon criterion defined by the participants themselves. A number of evaluations of CBFM approaches have been conducted in the U.S. but there are major methodological challenges associated including issues of scale and a general lack of meta-analyses and syntheses of the broader literature as a whole (Conley and Moote 2003; McKinney and Field 2008). Moreover, a general set of indicators for successful CBFM currently does not exist, or is not readily applicable (Christoffersen et al. 2008). Evaluations of community-based forest management initiatives in the United States, with some recent exceptions (Cheng et al. 2006; Christoffersen et al. 2008) generally emphasize three

areas: community well-being, environmental stewardship and restoration, and increased democratic processes for natural resource decision making (Charnley and Poe 2007). One might consider any of these three areas for evaluating the effectiveness of CBFM approaches.

In the case of Packwood, the findings from this research suggest assessing the effectiveness of CBFM in Packwood may be viewed through the lens of the existing community-based organizations, especially because Packwood is in such an early stage of developing a community-wide approach. In Packwood, the criteria individuals use to describe organizations focuses on the community-based organization's ability to increase community well-being rather than the community-based organization's ability to promote resource stewardship or collaboration with outside agencies. The focus on community well-being over the other two areas commonly found in evaluations reflects the stage of development of Packwood's CBFM.

Currently, Packwood is focused on building social capital and increasing their capacity to collaborate amongst themselves as a community before they consider stewardship and increasing their standing with outside agencies. This finding is mirrored in the U.S. Endowment Study where Cristofferson et al. (2008) found communities with new and emerging CBFM approaches focused most heavily on conflict resolution and collaboration. Packwood's focus on community well-being also highlights the importance of community context in the maturation of CBFM initiatives. A community with a history of conflict in the emerging phase of CBFM such as Packwood will most likely invest more time in conflict resolution than one with a more peaceful history.

5.1.3 Challenges of Contemporary CBFM in a Complex World

In the case of Packwood, the best way to conceptualize the nine major areas perceived as challenges to successful community collaboration is through the lens of insiders and outsiders (Table 6). The terms "insiders" and "outsiders" highlights the tension between pioneer families, newcomers and old-timers, government agencies and the community, tourists, urbanites, and membership to a particular community organization versus another. With the exception of the existing tension between pioneer families, and the frequently alluded to "independent spirit" and strong personalities of this small rural community, insider and outsider tension exists primarily because of urban exodus and the increasing complexity of society (Dwyer and Childs 2004; Egan and Luloff 2005; Lachapelle et al. 2003). The migration of urban individuals to more rural areas, as described by Dwyer and Childs (2004), is a substantial factor contributing to the challenges in rural resource dependent communities. Packwood is struggling not only because it has lost its principal industry and with that much of its community capacity, but also because the community is simply growing more complex.

A good example of how this complexity affects the community is the elk controversy. Community members are divided over the issue of elk management (Associated Press 2008a; Associated Press 2008b; Chittim 2001). At a town meeting, hosted by Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW), hundreds of people turned out to comment (Squire 2008a). It was a very heated discussion with several individuals calling names, and at least one person storming out (Squires 2008). Approximately half the people in attendance wanted to relocate, hunt or kill the elk, and the other half wanted to keep them in town and conserve them because they enjoyed

viewing them as local wildlife (Mapes 2008; Squires 2008a). Historically, people used to eat the Packwood elk as a supplement to their diets, and very few community members would have considered the elk as pets or wildlife to protect (Grose 2008). This view has changed dramatically as a steady flow of urbanites (and other individuals not dependent on hunting for sustenance) move to the community, frequently bringing in their conservation-oriented values.

The example of the elk meeting is also useful to demonstrate another facet of the complex, insider and outsider relations in Packwood. In addition to the divisiveness among community members at the meeting, there was also a marked distinction between the community as a whole and the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW). Interviews and conversations with community members suggest there is a lot of animosity and mistrust towards agencies like the Forest Service and the WDFW. Interviewees suggested that quite often, attempts at meaningful participation are merely for show. Several interviewees felt the elk meeting was a waste of time because they believed the WDFW had made the decision on how they were going to manage the herd prior to the meeting. The majority of interviewees currently consider the Forest Service, and especially the WDFW outsiders who do not respect local knowledge or local people. This is a significant challenge for the community and resource managers for implementing successful CBFM initiatives.

Despite important differences in governance and institutional structures, contemporary community-based forest management in the United States and other developed countries face a similar suite of challenges as the community of Packwood (Charnley and Poe 2007; Christoffersen et al. 2008). Many of these challenges center on

effectively engaging in and sustaining meaningful community participation, dealing with community conflict, developing support for increased capacity to implement CBFM initiatives, ensuring an equitable power distribution between the parties involved, and effectively promoting co-learning and the dissemination of knowledge (Charnley and Poe 2007; Christoffersen et al. 2008; Fernandez-Gimenez et al. 2008). In this complex world of changing values, and especially with the changing meaning of "the greatest good," the significance of including participation, empowerment and capacity building as part of the basic skill set for resource managers is becoming clear. Effectively addressing these issues, however, is no longer up to the resource manager alone, the community must also rise to the challenge in this brave new world of forestry.

5.2 Study Limitations

This study focused solely on Packwood. To understand the various dynamics for the Pacific Northwest Cascades region with respect to CBFM, it would be better to study and compare several communities, especially in connection to the region associated with the Pinchot Partners (Cispus Watershed). Additionally, this study was limited by time. I was not present in the study area during the summer tourism season, and the winter tourism season was quite poor due to the economic recession during the 2008-09 period of fieldwork. I did not have the opportunity to engage any part time winter recreationists. Seasonal residents and tourists should also be included to capture the full demographic of the area. Furthermore, it was difficult to attract young families with children to attend workshops. Any follow up to this study should seek to engage these groups.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Inquiry

This project is a snapshot of one aspect of community-based natural resource management. There are dozens of other aspects to explore. In the case of the Pacific Northwest, and especially Washington State which has received less attention than Oregon and California, exploring how rural forest-dependent communities form CBFM initiatives, and how better to serve them as academics, non-profits and especially resource managers, is an appropriate starting place. Likewise, it would also be beneficial to explore how resource management agencies such as the Forest Service, discover the concept of CBFM, and how well it is embraced and institutionalized within their agencies. Last, there are several issues surrounding migrant forest harvesters that should be considered. Migrant workers represent communities of interest as they return seasonally to Packwood to harvest mushrooms, fir boughs and other specialty forest products. A common challenge facing rural place-based communities like Packwood is the mistrust and racism felt toward seasonal harvesters. Thus, communities of interest in addition to communities of place should be considered in future work.

6 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this paper, I have discussed the difficulties of resource management in a complex age with changing values, the history of participation in natural resource management in the U.S., and the development of community-based forest management. I then introduced the community of Packwood as a means for understanding contemporary challenges to implementing CBFM in the Pacific Northwest, and as a case study for participatory action research. I conclude that the community of Packwood is in the formative stages of a CBFM initiative. Several community-based organizations in Packwood exhibit the characteristics of CBFM such as a focus on sustainable rural development and sustainable resource management. However, there is no coordinated strategy for the community as a whole. Despite the overlapping membership of several of these community-based organizations, most community-based organizations act independently of each other with little collaboration between themselves and the larger community. Except for the Pinchot Partners, most Packwood community-based organizations have moderate to no collaboration with outside resource management agencies.

Packwood's current approach to CBFM as I describe above has only been moderately successful in meeting the socio-economic, environmental and other needs of the community. Interviewees consider most community-based organizations beneficial, but there are several potential challenges these organizations must overcome to meet the needs of the community. These challenges include difficulty with the perception of

insider and outsiders, power struggles, institutional barriers, misinformation, volunteer burnout and self-doubt, natural disturbances, family rivalries and the independent spirit of its pioneer residents.

In addition to studying Packwood's current approach to CBFM, I worked with the community at empowerment, increasing community capacity to communicate and collaborate within the community and with outside organizations, and including traditionally marginalized groups such as seniors, youth, visible minorities and women. We successfully achieved each of these goals and the project has culminated in the development of Packwood Empowering Packwood, to fill the gap of Packwood's earlier failed CBFM efforts.

My recommendations for the community of Packwood as they continue on the path toward successful community collaboration and CBFM are outlined below:

- Complete the Vision-Mission-Objective-Strategy-Action (VMOSA) process for the community, and entrust a neutral community focused organization (such as PEP) with the responsibility of ongoing monitoring, evaluation and coordination.
- Conduct a needs assessment of local organizations to establish skills, knowledge, and networks.
- Develop options for Packwood community-based organizations to coordinate activities and communicate amongst themselves.
- Increase the visibility of all community-based organizations in Packwood to the people of Packwood.
- Develop a rigorous public relations campaign to improve the image of existing community-based organizations and emphasize the benefits of being involved in community initiatives.
- Encourage a neutral entity (such as PEP) to facilitate trust building and team building activities within Packwood community-based organizations and with outside agencies.

- Work to re-establish connections and collaborations with outside resource management agencies and sustainable rural development organizations.

Similarly, resource managers, and other outside experts connected to the community can also benefit from the following recommendations as they work with the community of Packwood toward successful community collaboration and CBFM. Such individuals should:

- Familiarize your organization with the concepts of CBFM or community-based natural resource management (CBNRM).
- Clearly define your position as an institution supporting CBNRM and have flexible policies to enable your full participation in the process.
- Develop your skills and knowledge in the soft skills such as leadership, communication, education and public speaking.
- Analyze and acknowledge your position as an outside expert in the community and seek the role most suited for collaborating with the community.
- Accept local and traditional knowledge as legitimate and valid.
- Attend community events, volunteer at functions, and increase your visibility in the community.

Despite losing so much community capacity – financially with the mill, physically with the floods, the loss of human and social capital as people lost jobs – so much still exists in Packwood. Packwood still has the library, the post office, the volunteer fire department, and the community hall. Packwood lost the school, but gained a museum. It has lost several businesses, but new businesses sprang up in their place. Above all, Packwood still has a real sense of community, of family, and the feeling everyone is in this together. Interviewees and community members discussed many different definitions

for community well-being in Packwood, but the one theme that emerged repeatedly was communication, and working together. This theme came up as advice to others, in the challenges, and in the definition of what is healthy. The sheer number of people who came out for the community workshops is an indicator that people really do care about Packwood, and are willing to come together for the good of the all. Now, is the time to carry the torch, heal old wounds, forge new relationships, and continue projects like Packwood Empowering Packwood. Packwood can stand out as an example of an empowered rural forest-dependent community in the Pacific Northwest.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A:
Interview Question Protocol

Initial Open Ended Questions

1. Tell me the story of Packwood. Tell me about your life here in Packwood.
2. When did you first notice any signs of hardship (challenges, depression...still working on wording here) in Packwood?
    a. What does hardship mean to you?
    b. What does a thriving or vibrant community mean to you?
3. [If so] What was it like? What did you think then?
    a. How did you adapt?
    b. Who, if anyone, influenced your actions at that time? (Did anyone step up to take the lead in the situation?) Tell me how they influenced you.
4. Could you describe the events that led up to the hardship? How, if at all, has your view of the community changed?
    a. How about your view of forestry and the USFS?
    b. How about your view of the "spotted owl legislation" and other environmental legislation?
5. Did anything else contributed to the struggles in Packwood for the people here?
6. How would you describe the person you were then?

Intermediate Questions

1. What, if anything, do you know about community based forest management (CBFM)?
    a. [provide brief definition and discussion if individual is unsure]
2. What, if anything, do you know about the local organizations in Packwood?
    a. Such as the Pinchot Partners and Destination Packwood
3. Tell me about you thoughts and feelings when you learned about the activities of CBFM in Packwood (or the activities of these organizations).
    a. Do you agree or disagree with the goals set forth by these organizations and why?
    b. What other goals should be included?
    c. How well have these organizations address these goals?
    d. How well have these organization addressed the needs of the community as a whole?
4. Who was, if anyone was involved? When was that? How were they involved?

5. How, if at all, have your thoughts and feelings about the future of Packwood changed since you learned about these organizations?
6. What negative changes have occurred, if any, as result of the actions of these organizations?
7. What positive changes have occurred, if any, as result of the actions of these organizations?
8. How do personally feel about creating change in Packwood? How are you involved? How do you go about creating a better community?
    a. [Probe for different times here]
    b. Tell me about a typical meeting, or a typical activity you engage in to better the community of Packwood (or yourself).
9. As you look back on the transition of Packwood from a timber town into the future are there any events (we haven't discussed..review a few) that stand out in your mind? Could you describe each one? How did you respond to the situation? [note events and responses]
10. Where do you see yourself in five years? 10 years?
    a. Describe the person you hope to be then.
    b. How would you compare the person you hope then to be with who you are now?
11. Who has been most helpful for you during this time? How has he or she been helpful?

Ending Questions

1. What is your vision for Packwood's Future?
2. Given everything we have just discussed, with your current understanding of what community based forest management (CBFM) is – how successful do you feel CBFM has been in Packwood in addressing the needs of the community and promoting overall community wellbeing?
    a. Describe what you mean by success.
    b. Describe what you mean by community wellbeing.
    c. Describe what you mean by community – do recreationalists and part time residents count?
    d. [Clarify about CBFM if needed]
3. After having gone through this experience in Packwood, what advice do you have to other communities who may be experiencing the same challenges?
4. Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?
5. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand the situation in Packwood better?
6. Is there anything you would like to ask me?
7. [Prior to workshops] What have you heard about the workshops which will be going on as part of this project?
    a. Do you have any questions?
    b. Are interested in attending or finding out about more information?

    c. Do you have any advice for me about how to increase participation at these events and how to spread the word?
8. As I mentioned I am recording your interview with my handy little device here, would you mind reading a sentence from this book so I can use special software to automatically convert this recording to a text document?
    a. [mention that it can potentially save me 10 hours of work]
    b. [describe Dragon Speak Naturally Software capabilities for dictation if participant is interested]

Appendix B:
Workshop Agendas 1-3

COMMUNITY WORKSHOP #1 AGENDA

Packwood CBFM PROJECT

Facilitated by Miku Lenentine
Jan. 15th 2009 Community Hall

POTLUCK SOCIAL 6PM
Visit and share good food, meet new people & learn about different organizations and clubs in Packwood

WELCOME 6:45 PM
Review Agenda
Workshop Goals
Introduction to Project
Project How & Why (Methodology)
Review Ethics Form
Drawing for first Prize
Bathroom Break (5 Minutes)

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION 7:30
Brief introduction to Activity #1 & working in groups
Small group discussion (5-8 people per group)
Discuss interests, concerns, ownership, commitment, time period, & questions

REVIEW ACTIVITY 7:50
Review highlights from group discussion
Take Break...desert, Drawing for Prize #2

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY #2 8:10
Miku will present activity #2, part 1
Small group brainstorming: what do you care about in Packwood?
Miku will present activity #2, part 2
8:30 Groups *(taking turns—breaks for other groups)* create collage of Community Voice (interests)
8:50 Review Activity & Discuss Final Collage

EARLY BIRD GOODBYE 8:55
We will excuse those needing to leave early from the workshop at this point
Drawing for *Prize #3*
Break for others (5 minute bathroom break)

FINAL PRESENTATION 9:00
Introduction to approaches for Community Improvement
Remember Packwood on the March

WRAP UP WORKSHOP 9:15
Discuss Workshop +, -
Submit anonymous evaluations
Discuss Next Meeting & Select Time

WORKSHOP CLOSE 9:30

COMMUNITY WORKSHOP #2 AGENDA

Packwood CBFM PROJECT

Facilitated by Miku Lenentine
Feb 10th 2009 Community Hall

POTLUCK SOCIAL 6PM

Visit and share good food, meet new people &
get to know your group members – come up with group names.

WELCOME & INTRODUCTION 6:30 PM

Workshop #2 Agenda & Workshop Goals
Introduction to Project – Cartoon Journey of Packwood CBFM Project
Presentation of Workshop #1 Results (Outcome Results & Process Results)
Confidentiality Agreement & Drawing for first Prize
Bathroom Break
Tips for working in groups & Brief introduction to Activity #1

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY #1 BRAINSTORMING GOALS & NEEDS 7:00

Part I Brainstorming about the goals and needs for the future of Packwood.
Mix 'n' Match Groups
Part II Groups take turns 1-2 groups at a time working on timeline
During the group down time take "gorillafoxowlturtleteddybear" quiz.
Take Break...dessert, drawing for Prize #2

MINI PRESENTATION 8:00

Discuss Brainstorming Results
Presentation of Preliminary Interview Findings
Presentation of example organizational approach
Revisit gorillafoxowlturtleteddybear results

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY #2 DISCUSSING "THE HOW" 8:10

Facilitated small group discussions about: what has been done, the hurdles, and ideas about how to overcome hurdles and achieve specific goals. What kind of organization is needed to achieve goals as a community?

EARLY BIRD GOODBYE 8:30

Discuss "The How" Results
We will excuse those needing to leave early from the workshop at this point
Drawing for Prize #3
Presentation of NewsBite. New Study Results from Colorado State University.

WRAP UP WORKSHOP 8:40

Discuss Workshop +, -
Discuss Next Meeting & Select Time
Submit anonymous evaluations

WORKSHOP CLOSE & CLEAN UP 8:50

COMMUNITY WORKSHOP #3 AGENDA

Packwood CBFM PROJECT

Facilitated by Miku Lenentine
Feb 24th 2009 Community Hall

ASIAN THEME POTLUCK SOCIAL 6PM

Visit and share good food, meet new people & get to know your group members.

WELCOME & INTRODUCTION 6:30 PM

Review Workshop #3 Agenda
Brief Introduction to the Packwood CBFM Project
Presentation of Workshop #2 Results – Goals & Needs
Confidentiality Agreement & drawing for first prize
Introduction to Activity #1 & working in small groups

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY #1 GETTING ORGANIZED 7:00

Small group discussion – how to organize & what works best for Packwood using **SWOT.**
7:30 groups present/display their findings on the wall for all groups to see.

MINI PRESENTATION 7:40

Take Break…dessert, drawing for Prize #2
Tips for Working in Groups – **"Norming"** defining group norms & decision making
Presentation of Project "Products"

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY #2 SELECTING THE PRELIMINARY ORGANIZATION 7:50

Groups practice **"Norming"** – selecting how to make decisions etc.
Decision Time. Each group selects their favored organization style for Packwood
Groups also discuss the new name for the CBFM Project

EARLY BIRD GOODBYE 8:20

Discuss Group Results
We will excuse those needing to leave early from the workshop at this point
Presentation of NewsBite - Introduction to the "Community Toolbox"

WRAP UP WORKSHOP 8:30

Discuss Workshop +, -
Discuss Project Future (revisit timeline)
Closing Speech

WORKSHOP CLOSE & CLEAN UP 8:45

Appendix C:
Workshop Survey Instrument

WORKSHOP COMMENT FORM

Packwood CBFM PROJECT

ONE THING (OR MORE) I LIKED ABOUT HIS WORKSHOP WAS:

ONE THING (OR MORE) YOU MIGHT DO DIFFERENTLY NEXT TIME IS:

Optional Survey: Please Circle
1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

I had fun: **1 2 3 4 5**

I learned (or reviewed) some new skills/ information: **1 2 3 4 5**

I feel confident (or more confident) in participating in community projects: **1 2 3 4 5**

I feel like I was heard (or truly had the opportunity to be heard): **1 2 3 4 5**

I like this style of community meeting: **1 2 3 4 5**

I feel this workshop was beneficial for the community: **1 2 3 4 5**

COMMENTS / SUGGESTIONS