Seeking Energy Sovereignty: Pacific Northwest Tribal Engagement in Proposed Offshore Wind Energy Development

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Abstract

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Climate change is a global problem that warrants widespread reduction in fossil fuel emissions. If the world is to phase out fossil fuel emissions, developers must aim to meet energy production and consumption needs with renewable energies: these include solar, wind, and wave energies. Offshore wind has the potential to become one of the leading climate mitigation strategies, with proposed sites on the West Coast of the United States. Pacific Northwest Tribal Nations[1] are grappling with many complicated questions related to their potential participation in this wave of renewable energy development. Offshore wind projects also have the potential to harm ecosystems, disrupt access to ancestral waters and infringe upon treaty rights. Furthermore, the

[1] In this thesis I use the term "Tribal Nations," "Tribes," and "Native Nations" to refer to federally recognized American Indian Nations. In keeping with the common usage among American Indian people, "Tribal" refers broadly to citizens of members of American Indian Nations.

proposed offshore wind projects are the first of their kind on the West Coast; as such, there is a steep learning curve for both the way the projects are being planned and the real world long term effects. In addition, often energy and settler development projects fail to consult with Indigenous communities. Specifically, this thesis examines offshore renewable energy proposals and their relationships with Tribes in the Pacific Northwest, and calls for greater attention to problems stemming from the lack of consultation, location, and scale.

Introduction

Globally, offshore renewable energy projects and proposals are underway (TGS, 2024). In 48 different countries, including China, Japan, the UK, Ireland, and Brazil, it is quickly becoming a widely adopted technology. Here in the U.S. Pacific Northwest, offshore wind projects are actively being planned. One in Washington, and two in both Oregon and California. These five potential proposal areas are key to achieving U.S. national goals of decarbonization by 2050. With so much pressure to install these projects, how will Tribal Nations respond?

The Quinault Indian Nation, (QIN) is located on the coast of Washington. The reservation is home to approximately 2500 Tribal members. Their reservation is approximately 210k acres, with a coastline of 23 miles. Similar to other coastal Tribes, their culture is centered around the ocean, with fishing being a central pillar to the community. This is important, because offshore wind potentially lends itself to being compatible with a culture based on the ocean. In 2019 Quinault Indian Nation (QIN) began efforts to work together with Trident Winds on an offshore wind project. Trident Winds Inc. is a NGO founded in 2015, specializing in deep water projects. The joint effort between QIN and Trident Winds, was elegantly named "Nagwia'sup".

In Taholah[2] legends , Nagwia'sup was the name of a great provider who would travel into the harsh, unforgiving ocean, and not only bring back a significant amount of food to help the Nation get through the cold dark winter months, but allow them to flourish (HeraldNet, 2022). I think this name beautifully explains what the Quinault had hoped for in offshore wind: that the project could be an economic provider, to help the Tribe not only survive, but thrive.

[2] A Quinault village.

“Nagwia’sup” was to be located 25 miles off the coast near Gray Harbor and promised to be a “sustainable source of revenue, employment, and economic development”, as well as a project to help diversify Washington's mix of energy production (Weinstein, 2021). But the partnership between Quinault and Trident Winds only lasted two years.

“Nagwia’sup” had a lot to live up to. From the outside, everything looked like it was going exceedingly well. A massive infrastructure project with a well oiled team, promising to bring in economic development to the region. Providing somewhere around 1000 MW, or the equivalent of powering 400,000 homes (Weinstein, 2021). The proposed zone was flat and had a huge building area, along with an approved Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). However, when searching the internet for the project's most recent developments, the stories seem to stop in 2021. Trident Winds had heavily relied on media to help build attention and promote the project. If the project was still in production, they certainly would still be talking about it. So what happened?

The Nagwia’sup project is no longer in production. The cultural cost of development was simply too high. The proposed site for the project was very important for the fishermen in the community and received heavy pushback. How could have this been avoided? Could Trident Winds have conducted better internal consultation of the QIN community? Could they have chosen a more suitable area for development? Could they have scaled down the project to make it less invasive of space? These are some of the themes in consider in this thesis.

Background

President Biden's administration has put a premium on supporting renewable energy infrastructure. In 2023, it was unveiled that the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) has allocated $270 Billion dollars to fund the ambitious goal of reaching net zero carbon emissions (Cheng, 2024). To put this into perspective, the last time the U.S. federal government had a social project of this scale was during the 1930s New Deal; a policy that was lauded for helping end the "Great Depression" (Young, 2021). With a significant portion of IRA funds being awarded to renewable energy projects and infrastructure, the Pacific Northwest Tribal Nations are grappling with many complicated questions related to potential participation in this wave of project development.

The US climate strategy outlines two major dates or deadlines to guide mitigation efforts: 2030 and 2050. By 2030, the US is supposed to have a large number of our offshore energy projects completed. The specific number currently is unknown, but nationally, the total US offshore wind planned by 2030 is 30 GW[3]. This would power approximately 12 million homes. Our largest goal, or the culmination of renewable energy efforts should be realized in 2050 (Podesta, 2021). This is our target date for net zero emissions. Net zero emissions does not only apply to offshore energy projects, but it also accounts for all energy production and utilization. Net zero emissions is a goal to restructure our way of life where we are no longer reliant on the fossil fuel economy. This issue affects way more than just the business sector, or one group of people. Simply put, US Climate policy is going to affect anyone who uses and relies upon electricity.

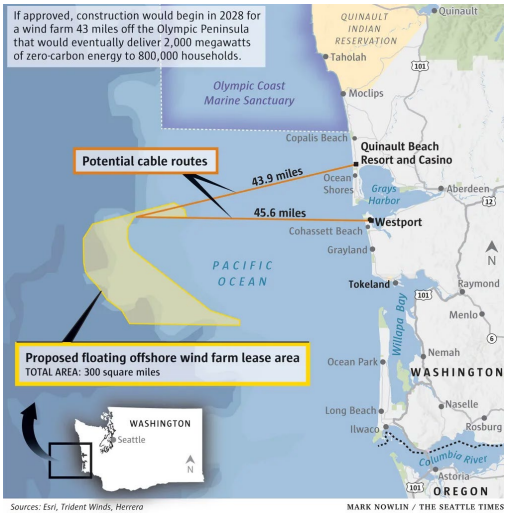
[3] "Fact Sheet: Biden Administration Jumpstarts Offshore Wind Energy Projects to Create Jobs." *The White House*, The United States Government, 29 Mar. 2021, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/29/fact-sheet-.

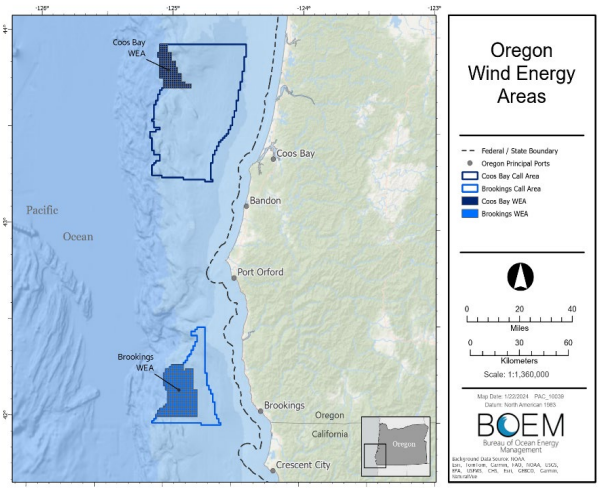
The Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (BOEM) is the federal department whose sole purpose is to regulate offshore energy development. Even though BOEMs regulatory authority extends to mineral and geological resources, the most substantial portion of their work is predominantly in oil and gas extraction. BOEMs offshore wind authority is still relatively new to the purview, only being around since 2009.

BOEM has a four phase process for offshore wind development: 1) Planning and analysis; 2) Leasing; 3) Site assessment; and 4) Construction and operation (McCann, 2020). There is however, distinction in process between non-competitive (unsolicited), and competitive leases. This distinction comes primarily in the planning and analysis phase. For the competitive lease process, BOEM starts the planning and analysis phase, with a "request for information" (RFI) stage. The purpose of the RFI is to engage different stakeholders, Tribal Nations and intergovernmental agencies to workshop and identify areas that would be desirable for offshore energy development. The unsolicited bid essentially skips this RFI stage, and all of the potential collaboration that could come along with it. An unsolicited bid essentially means that BOEM was not actively seeking a project in an area, rather a developer reaches out with a project proposal. Or, in other words, BOEM did not initiate the leasing process.

The West Coast has become a hub for proposals and has several potential offshore wind "call zones," or potential areas for locating and building a wind project (BOEM, 2022; Romero, 2024). In Washington State, near the town of Westport, and the Quinault Indian Nation (QIN); QIN and Trident Winds initiated the process to convert their unsolicited lease request to a lease area.

Meanwhile, the state of Oregon has two sites they are considering: one off the coast of Coos Bay, near the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw (CTCLUSI), and the other is off the shore from Brookings, on the border of Oregon and California.

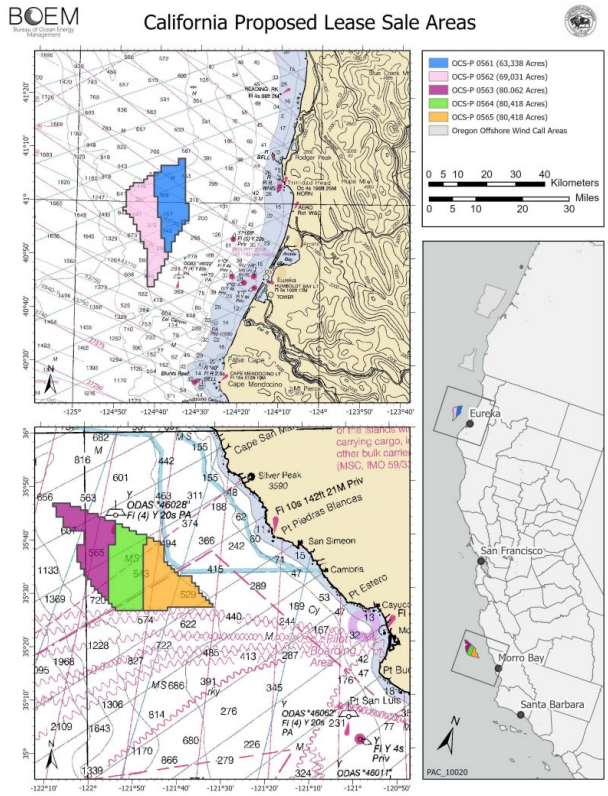




"Washington Offshore Wind " Photograph. *Seattle Times*. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/environment/seattle-developer-pushes-for-was-first-floating-offshore-wind-farm-off-olympic-peninsula/, publication date, Jan 2024.

"Oregon Wind Energy Areas." Photograph. *BOEM* . https://www.boem.gov/renewable-energy/state-activities/Oregon, publication date, Jan 2024.

California is farther ahead than Washington and Oregon in terms of project development. They are as of January 25th 2024, officially funded by the U.S. Department of Transportation for over $400M to create their offshore wind project off the coast of Humboldt Bay, near the town of Eureka. This location is just off the coast from the Yurok Tribe of Northern California's reservation, and is in Yurok ancestral waters (Loco, 2024). The other proposed area, Morro Bay, in Southern California is near the Chumash Tribe's ancestral lands and waters (Schmal, 2023). Each of these Tribal Nations shared serious concerns about the placement and process behind these proposed lease sites (Walker, 2023).



"California Offshore Wind " Photograph. *BOEM*. https://www.boem.gov/renewable-energy/state-activities/california, Jan 2022.

Native Nations are concerned about the speed and lack of transparency around offshore wind permitting up and down the West Coast. They have also encountered barriers to reliable information about the potential impacts of these projects or ways to meaningfully impact the planning process. Violet Walker, a Chumash Tribal Member has recently emphasized this concern to a *Guardian* journalist: "The Tribe isn't opposed to offshore wind, they just want to see it done in a responsible way, rather than becoming the next oil and wreaking havoc on marine ecosystems. The Tribe, like the majority of Indigenous communities in the US, have felt shut out of decision-making and are demanding a say in how the land and ocean is managed" (Sherriff, 2023).

In the Pacific Northwest (PNW) there have been a few notable, successful Tribal renewable energy projects. Such as the Spokane Tribe and their continuing expansion of community solar projects, or the Blue Lake Rancheria's gold standard of what a microgrid should be. While each of these projects are land-based, they demonstrate several characteristics that a successful Tribally-led marine based renewable energy project may need to be successful. This thesis project considers the question of success for Tribal renewable energy projects. What

priorities, goals, and concerns to Native peoples bring to this work? And how might the process and outcomes of Tribally-led renewable energy, especially in marine environments, differ from prevailing non-Native approaches? This thesis centers on the following question: How are Pacific Northwest Nations choosing to engage, or not, with proposed offshore wind projects? What might coastal Native Nations need to be successful in this space?

Literature review

A few concepts are important to consider when discussing how renewable energy projects can either uphold or deter the objectives of Native Nations: Sovereignty, Energy Sovereignty, and Indigenous Planning. These concepts also are exemplified in the following case studies, with Navajo Coal, The Spokane and Blue Lake Rancheria projects, and as a negative example, Pacific Northwest Dams.

Sovereignty, Treaty Rights, and Ocean Policy

Sovereignty is a critical concept to understand whenever speaking about Tribal Nations; it is an exceptionally deep, and extensive area of theory within Indigenous studies. Put simply, sovereignty is a nation's ability to self-govern. In American Indian contexts, Jack D. Forbes, a scholar and political activist descended from the Chickahominy Nation, has said that sovereignty "has come to be regarded as the equivalent of an autonomous state," by in large "referring to 'freedom from external control.(Cobb, 2005)'" In particular, sovereignty refers to a state's "relative independence from and among other states," a concept signifying "something systemic and relational" (Cobb, 2005). As Forbes notes, there are two of sovereignty: inherent and recognized sovereignty which impact a Native Nation's efforts to enact self-governance. Although Native sovereignty is inherent - that is, not given or granted by any external entity - its

power in the world, or ability to fully exercise that sovereignty, is based on the recognition, acknowledgment, and respect other nations accord it. (Cobb, 2005)

In the Pacific Northwest context, Janine Bowechop, the Executive Director of the Makah Cultural and Research Center, articulates how Tribal Nations, specifically the Makah Tribe, ensured their inherent sovereignty through treaty-making with the US government:

> The Makahs had lived in the same area from time immemorial, securing a truly indigenous position. They also governed themselves with a sophisticated system of laws and values for centuries. Their treaty-negotiating authority stemmed from this inherent sovereignty. Makah people reserved important rights within their land and ocean territories, and the U.S. government agreed, via the treaty, to reserve and protect these rights (2000).

Tribal claims of sovereignty are guaranteed primarily through the treaties that were signed between the Tribal Nations and the burgeoning US national government. These treaties guaranteed that the U.S. government would recognize certain aspects that Tribal Nations deemed integral to their way of being. For example, the Makah Tribe made sure to include fishing, and whaling in their treaty, because of how important it was to their way of life (Treaty of Neah Bay, 1855).

Today, if a state or federal government, business, or other institution, were to impede upon Tribal Treaty rights, the Tribal Nations have a multitude of legal defenses, at their disposal by way of their Treaty. Affirming Tribal sovereignty requires continued government-to-government negotiations. Treaty rights are the most important legal defining aspect when it comes to Tribal sovereignty. Treaties are the supreme law of the land. Treaty rights and language varies per treaty, but common language that secured access to territories is “usual and

accustomed" for hunting or fishing places. If Tribal Nations secured offshore "Usual and accustomed territories," then those areas are protected from unsanctioned offshore development.

For Washington State specifically, the most recent significant moment in the recognition of treaty protected rights is the unique aspect of protection for Indigenous fishing in "The Boldt Decision" US v. Washington (the "Boldt Decision") in 1974 reaffirmed Tribes as co-managers, along with the State of Washington, of fisheries resources. Co-management means that the Tribes and the State of Washington, through the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW), are jointly responsible for managing fisheries and hatchery programs, and that they collaborate in regional efforts to recover depleted fisheries resources. This is a direct method of control for member Tribal Nations. If there was concern for the effect on fisheries, NWIFC would certainly be a place of power for a Tribal Nation if they had concerns or qualms with a project.

Treaties are cornerstone documents in securing Tribal rights and sovereignty, however they are not the only legal tools available to Tribal Nations if they seek to exercise self-determination over their marine territories. In addition to recognized treaty rights there are additional policy tools which are relevant to Tribal engagements with potential offshore wind development. For example, The Marine Mammal Protection Act (Dunec, 2015), applies because the physical act of construction will absolutely harass whales and other marine mammals via underwater noise. Whales are known to have migratory routes through proposed sites. There is also the Endangered Species Act (Dunec, 2015). This act provides a framework to conserve and protect endangered and threatened species and their habitats both domestically and abroad." Section 9 prohibits take. The definition of take being to "harm". To harm is an act that "kills or

injures", and to specify even more, it can include an action that impairs essential behaviors, including feeding. Section 7 federal agencies "must consult with NOAA Fisheries when any project or action they take might affect an ESA-listed marine species or designated critical habitat." This includes offshore energy activities. Lastly, the Magnuson Stevens Act (Dunec, 2015) has set in place an obligation for state and federal governments to use the best available scientific information when it comes to decision making.

Offshore wind projects will affect fisheries, and this must be accounted for. Understanding the various tools that federally recognized Tribal Nations have at their disposal to affirm their sovereignty and interact with the federal government and States, informs how Tribal Nations may choose to engage in offshore wind proposals.

Energy Policy and Tribal Self-Determination

When considering the relationship between Tribal sovereignty and energy projects, it is important to define two key aspects in energy policy, namely energy independence, energy resilience, and energy sovereignty.

"Energy Independence" refers to the idea that a nation or government provides it's own energy. According to the US Department of Energy: "Energy independence is the state in which a nation does not need to import energy resources to meet its energy demand. (DOE)" Depending on the scale**,** this can be a very expensive and ambitious long-term vision. Notably, Native Nations are far from energy independence: there are 574 federally recognized Tribal Nations in the United States. There are currently 16 Tribally owned electric utilities (Glavin, 2020). That's .02%.

Another consideration within energy planning and policy is the goal of "energy resilience", which is focused on increasing immediate preparedness (King, 2023). This is exemplified by upgrading emergency centers and services; or developing community hubs in strategic village locations that are powered by renewable energy which can support the community in times of uncertainty or disaster. This strategy can be less expensive in the short term, as opposed to achieving energy independence. However, energy resilience may also serve as a building block towards energy independence.

Currently the U.S. DOE identifies energy efficiency policies, increasing energy storage capacity, and the use of renewable power (wind, solar, etc.) as three fundamental components of building future energy independence (DOE, 2024). Renewable energy projects are important to energy independence, because they diversify the primary generation portfolio, as well as potential back ups for the grid. Lastly, renewables increase local resilience to emergency disasters, whether naturally occurring, or climate related. Having renewable energy will help reduce the reliance on foreign fossil fuel imports.

At this moment most Tribal Nations do not fall into the energy independent or energy resilient category. Tribal Nations have varying degrees of agency over their current energy sources and very often have to work through public utilities or legacy fossil fuel infrastructures to achieve their energy goals. How does energy independence and resilience relate to Tribal sovereignty? Indigenous studies scholar, Jean Dennison uses the concept of "entanglement" to complexify the notion of sovereignty under conditions of ongoing colonialism. Today, she writes, Native Nations often have to work through external institutions or entities to achieve their goals:

> Sovereignty has never made sense as exclusive authority. Instead, sovereignty operates as an ongoing process of engagement with other authorities. Speaking of sovereignty as an entanglement allows us to differentiate between sovereignty and autonomy, where the former signals a way of maintaining authority through increased interactions and the latter, freedom from external entangled sovereignties (Dennison, 2018, p. 685).

The concept of entanglement describes the situation of many Tribal Nations today when it comes to their pursuit of energy sovereignty. Most Tribal Nations today are entangled with public utilities and fossil fuels for energy**.** For example, the Makah Tribe is reliant on Clallam County PUD and suffers from frequent black outs. In addition, we have an increasing need for reliable energy sources as extreme weather events and sea level rise threaten our community.

Beyond these entanglements however, as sovereign nations, Tribes have a right not only to determine the forms of energy, but also to determine how external energy decisions impact them. In the PNW, energy policy, sources, and decisions have a long legacy of impacting Tribal Sovereignty. For example, past energy policy in the Pacific Northwest is heavily reliant on the damming of rivers for hydropower and has caused irreparable, and lasting damage to Tribal food security, culture, and economy. A sinister side effect of the dams was their displacement of communities. When the Grand Coulee Dam was installed on the Columbia River, it flooded parts of the Colville and Spokane Reservations which displaced 2,250 Tribal members from their traditional territories (Randell, 2023). Heather Randell emphasizes that "56 of the 326 federal Indian reservations have experienced land loss due to the reservoirs of 139 dams. We estimate that together these dams flooded at least 619,268 acres (967 square miles) of reservation land" (Randell, 2023, p. 4). Some may argue that Tribal Nations received sufficient compensatory benefits from the energy generated by the dams, however this did not account for the detriment in loss of access to culturally significant salmon, ceremonial sites, and homelands. In this

instance of energy development, Tribal Nations did not initiate or request the construction of the dams.

Today, the Pacific Northwest relies heavily on hydropower for 46% of its energy use (EIA, 2023). However, as stated above, this hydropower came at a great cost to Tribal sovereignty. Tribal Nations continue to advocate for the removal of dams along the Snake River (Brown, 2024), and have successfully lobbied for the removal of the Elwha Dams as "both dams were removed simultaneously over three years from 2011 to 2014—re-opening more than 70 miles of pristine salmon habitat" (NOAA, 2024). Hydropower presents a cautious tale of a "clean energy alternative" while forewarning future decision makers of the potential harms that come from energy development without Tribal consultation. Furthermore, Tribal Nations may be wary of engaging with offshore wind projects due to the devastating history of hydropower in the PNW.

"Energy sovereignty" is a critical concept that can incorporate elements of both energy independence and energy resilience. As defined by sociologists, energy sovereignty is "the inherent right of humans and communities to make decisions about the energy systems they use, including decisions about the sources, scales, and forms of ownership that structure energy access" (Chelsea, 2020). Cowlitz legal theorist, Dillon Dobson notes that Tribal Nations are likely becoming more interested in energy sovereignty because it:

> …applies to community control over the myriad environmental, economic and psychosocial externalities associated with energy production and transportation . . . [and] is linked to both the supply of energy for legitimate needs (whatever the community would take those to be) as well as the implications of the associated externalities (2021: 45).

In recent years, among Tribal entities, the idea of energy sovereignty combines aspects of cultural and political sovereignty into something new and has come to be associated with the increasing use of renewables and "as a response to multiple forms of extractivism, energy poverty, corporate oligopoly, patriarchy, privatization and trade agreements." **(** Dobson 2021: 45**)** At a baseline, Tribal energy sovereignty is about self-determination around energy sources and economies; it might also include self-produced energy (energy independence) and renewables.

Indigenous Planning and Renewable Energy

Historically, settler colonial projects intentionally displace Indigenous peoples through development projects (Simpson, 2017). Why then, would Tribal Nations choose to engage with developments such as the proposed offshore wind? Citizen Potawatomi scholar Kyle Whyte, along with two co-authors, conceptualize Indigenous planning by saying:

> In planning, Indigenous peoples imagine themselves strategically in ways that are not reliant on settler and other oppressive desires, discourses, and needs. Planning involves imagining futures in which qualities of relationships, such as trust and redundancy (but others too), flourish (Caldwell et al., 2018, p. 163).

In the chapter "Theorizing Indigenous Planning" from "Reclaiming Indigenous Planning", Hirini Matunga, a Maori scholar and Indigenous planner, discusses key characteristics of Indigenous Planning. He underscores that Indigenous planning is continually evolving, and that Indigenous people have been planning since time immemorial in alignment with our cultural values. Additionally he claims that "the central tenets of Indigenous planning are essentially community/kinship and place-based. It is a form of planning whose roots and traditions are grounded in specific Indigenous peoples' experiences linked to specific places, lands, and resources" (Walker et al., 2013). While Tribal Nations current reality is stacked against them due

to settler-colonialism and institutionalized oppressions, Indigenous planning becomes affirming to inherent sovereignty.

Indigenous planning is distinct from settler colonial planning and project development. Indigenous planning seeks to dream Indigenous peoples into the present, rooted to thousands of years of connection to place, and detach from settler governmental dependence. Tribal Nations may choose to engage or not to engage with proposed offshore wind projects as a means to practice Indigenous Planning. In some cases, Tribal Nations have pursued renewable energy as a form of Indigenous planning.

The Spokane Tribe and Blue Lake Rancheria are two federally recognized Tribes who individually pursued renewable energy projects to meet community energy needs. These case studies are important to reference as successful Tribal projects that exemplify the concepts of Indigenous Planning and Energy Sovereignty. They are both a testament to the practice of entangled sovereignties where they navigated a multitude of relationships with non-Tribal entities such as public utilities, federal government, and the state to support their endeavors.

In Washington State, the Spokane Tribe spearheaded a project which focused on community solar development, nicknamed "COSSI" (the Children of the Sun, Solar Initiative). COSSI was the result of the 2016 Cayuse Mountain Fire, which devastated the local community and incinerated thousands of acres of Tribal land. Due to the extreme heat of the fire, the electrical lines that powered the community melted, which made them useless. In response to this terrible event, the Spokane Tribe installed 650 kW of solar panels on individuals homes in the community to help build resilience in the face of mounting climate change events (Amman, 2019).

Blue Lake Rancheria is a federally recognized Tribe in Northwest California which has established a successful microgrid project. Due to their increasing concerns about Climate Change hazards, Blue Lake Rancheria decided to take steps for energy resilience and strengthen their Tribal sovereignty by exploring Micro-grid technology (BLR's, 2018). Similar to Spokane, Blue Lake had been experiencing the effects of climate change, and decided they needed to act in preparation for the next wildfire. The Blue Lake Rancheria microgrid successfully demonstrated a low carbon microgrid that saved the Tribal Nation money, reduced greenhouse gas emissions, and improved the energy resilience of onsite critical infrastructure and facilities. This project saves the Tribe about $160,000 per year (a 25% cost savings), with savings expected to reach about $200,000 per year with system improvements; new jobs (10% increase in Tribal employment), and CO2e reductions of 195 tons/year (BLR's, 2018). The success of these two case studies hinge upon the way in which the renewable energy projects themselves bolstered the Tribe's ability to meet community needs and combat climate change impacts. These case studies inform my research projections: namely, if offshore wind projects are able to meet community needs and priorities, Tribal Nations may choose to engage with and endorse proposed offshore wind projects.

When considering renewables in fossil fuel dependent nations, however, it is crucial to mobilize a just transition framework. Across Indian Country, renewable energy has a mixed record. For example, Andrew Curley's writing on Navajo coal warns anyone involved in energy projects on Native Land about the risks associated with outside entities manipulating projects for their own gain. In this case, the Navajo Tribal government was pressured by outside buyers to frame coal as a green energy alternative: "clean coal" (Curley, 2023.) In "Carbon Sovereignty," Curley writes about a movement called, "Navajo Green Jobs," which contained problematic

assumptions about the role of decentralization and private entrepreneurship in energy transitions within the Navajo Nation. This attitude worked against the goals of Navajo Green Jobs and alienated Tribal lawmakers and coal workers Although members of Navajo Green Jobs failed to convince the Tribal government to embrace sustainable energy technologies, they did open the rhetoric of "transition" into Navajo political discourse. This allowed companies like NTEC to repackage coal as a future-oriented industry and ignore the spatial limitations of energy production in Tribal communities (Curley, 2023).

Positionality, Research design and methodology

UkŁaamaḥ Reuben, My name is Reuben. ʔuḥuk^{w}aḥ nananiqsu Harry Bowechop, iš Helma Swan. Q^{w}iniščiʔataḥ I am Makah. My grandparents are Harry and Helma. I am a Makah Tribal Member, Quinault Descendent and a current graduate student at University of Washington's School of Marine & Environmental Affairs. In this thesis, I explore an emergent and multifaceted problem as it impacts my traditional territories.

My passion for climate resilience work started while at Northwest Indian College, where I began exploring Tribal strategic energy plans. This led me to a Tribal Liaison position at Renewable Northwest, where I co-authored the Tribal Solar Barriers Report. This was a team effort which required collaboration between Federal agencies, Tribal governments, and non-profits including the National Renewable Energy Laboratories, the Spokane Tribe, and the Midwest Tribal Energy Resource Association. Through this Tribal Solar Barrier project, we were able to raise awareness around the unfair tax laws that prohibited Tribes from participating in solar projects. Afterwards, I worked at Spark Northwest as a Tribal liaison where I managed the Energy Transition Initiative Partnership Project (ETIPP) Pacific Northwest area. In addition, I've

worked as a contractor for both the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians (ATNI) and the Makah Tribe. Here, I supported the development of climate resilience planning and helped to coordinate the (2023) Northwest Clean Energy Summit.

This thesis uses a range of qualitative methods, from interviews and a survey questionnaire, to my own ethnographic experiences while organizing a Tribal clean energy conference and as a Tribal liaison for two renewable energy non profits in the PNW. Building on the relationships I developed through ATNI and my prior non-profit work, I interviewed (3) and surveyed (8) Native professionals who are actively engaged in energy or environmental issues through government, private, or non-profit sectors. Each respondent was given a choice to have their name used or remain anonymous. Those who requested to remain anonymous opted to use their Tribal affiliation instead. The interviews and questionnaire included questions about perspectives on governance, renewable energy, Tribal identity and cultural values regarding the idea of offshore wind.

My interview sampling consisted of individuals attending conferences hosted by the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians (ATNI). The most successful conference for my sampling attempts was at the "Northwest Clean Energy Summit", which I also helped organize. ATNI is a regional group in the Pacific Northwest whose purpose is to promote unity and partnership between over 50 represented Tribal Nations. At the two conferences I attended in 2023 and 2024, the number of attendees was roughly 400 people with diverse representation from various Tribal Nations and a wide range of professional backgrounds. While participating in the conferences, I conversed with various attendees about their communities. Through these conversations, I gauged their interest in renewable energies, their community energy needs, and whether they were open to sharing a follow up interview or completing my survey.

The outcome of the survey allowed me to point towards support or opposition more definitively in regards to offshore wind projects, consultation suggestions/requirements, and potential engagement strategies from Tribal Nations, which all support my primary research question.

Finally, it is important to mention that I do not speak on behalf of all PNW Tribal Nations because, while Native peoples have many common experiences and concerns, we also carry widely diverse knowledges, worldviews, and community priorities. That said, these are deeply personal questions for me as my Tribal community, the Makah Tribe, is one of the many sovereign governments involved in Pacific Northwest offshore wind proposals. The Makah Tribe is the furthest southern relative of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples and Wakashan language tree. As a Makah Tribal member, I strive to base my ontology or worldview in Nuu-chah-nulth (NCN) teachings. Richard Atleo's "Principles of Tsawalk: an Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis" outlines critical concepts that inform my perspective on how PNW Tribal Nations, specifically Makah, may choose to engage with offshore wind. I further outline how these principles relate to my thesis inquiry at the very end of the paper.

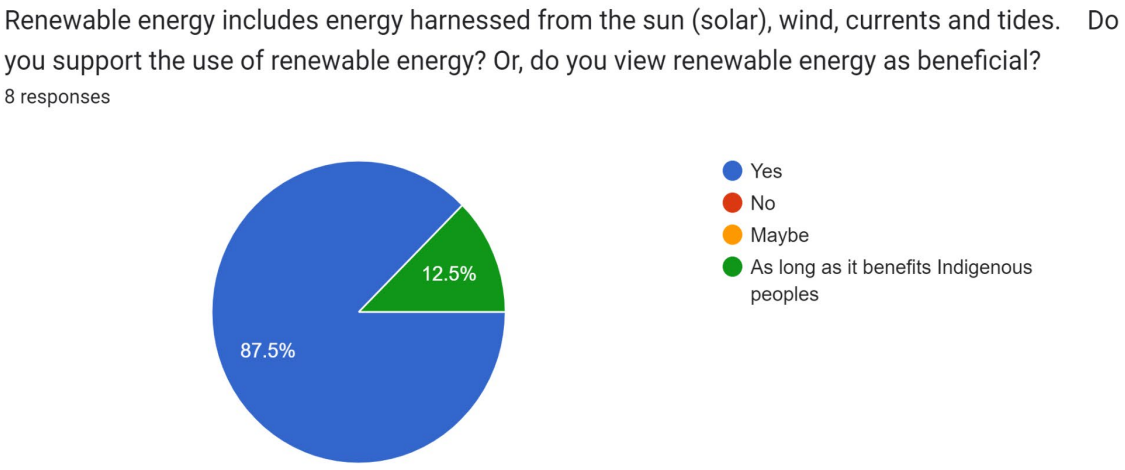
Results

I analyzed data from interviews, participant observation, survey results, and my lived experience to answer if Tribal Nations engage or choose not to engage with offshore wind in the Pacific Northwest, the results of which are the focus of this study. In particular, I highlight diverse Native perspectives on renewable energy and Tribal sovereignty, focusing specifically on Washington coastal Tribal Nations experiences in offshore wind energy proposals in their

ancestral waters. I further analyze proposals and theorize potential outcomes for offshore wind in the PNW while applying my own analysis of current offshore wind policy using Nuu-chah-nulth ontology and epistemology.

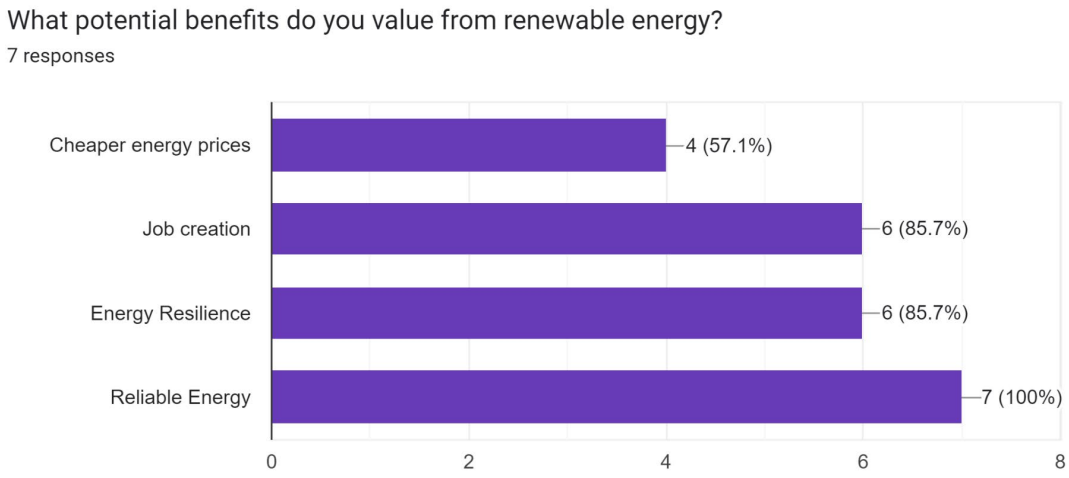
Perspectives on Renewable Energy

When asked whether my survey respondents supported the use of renewable energy, 100% of survey responses affirmed their support of a range of technologies, including solar, wind, and tidal. These three examples were mentioned by respondents because they are the most widely recognized as examples of renewable energy. (It is worth noting that respondents did not mention hydropower or nuclear energy as an example of renewable energy.) As an additional note for this question, one respondent claimed that they supported renewable energy "as long as it benefits Indigenous peoples" [See Figure 1].



[Figure 1]

Regarding potential benefits from renewable energies, my respondents selected between four categories: cheaper energy prices, job creation, energy resilience, and reliable energy [See Figure 1]. Out of the four listed categories, reliable energy was the highest rated benefit listed at 100% from survey results. Tied at 85% each, next respondents selected energy resilience and job creation. Finally, 57% thought renewable energy would help lower energy prices.



[Figure 2]

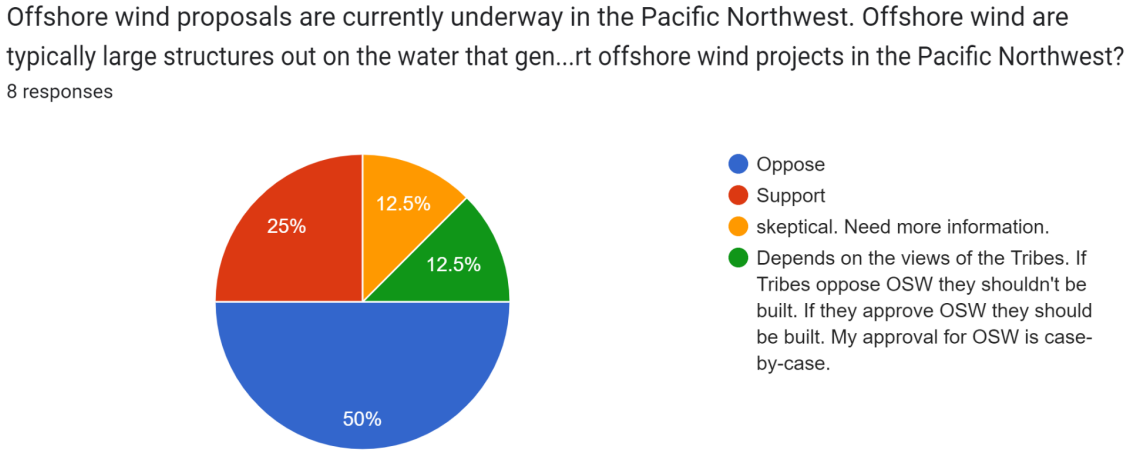
In addition, I posed the question: What might your ancestors think about renewable energies? The purpose for this question was to ascertain whether culture plays a role in supporting, or opposing renewable energies. One Blackfoot citizen said: “Renewable energy is better aligned with our relationship to and responsibility of the land we live on. There are of course more sustainable and less sustainable technologies and we need to look at the entire life cycle of technologies, but ultimately these options are cleaner than many existing energy resources.” A Nooksack Tribal member expressed how their ancestors would “Try to minimize the negative impact on their place,” and how “they would consider its impact on all our relations.They would

be cautious and consider the costs of harnessing that energy." Lastly, a citizen of Navajo Nation said "Our ancestors were resilient and adaptable to their environment which is what renewable energies is in a world that is impacted due to climate change". Tribal Nations are not only looking for what is best for their people, but what is best for all of their relations, and different renewable energy types, like solar or wind tend to offer minimal impacts to traditional homelands.

This section was separated by support for renewable energy technology, or at the least, not opposing renewable energy technology. With the second half asking what, if anything, their ancestors would think about renewable energy. There was a lot of caution and careful thought given to renewable energy being the only answer.

Support for Offshore Wind

When specifically asked whether the respondent supported, or opposed offshore wind projects in the PNW, 50% said outright they opposed offshore wind projects. Surprisingly, 25% supported offshore wind projects, with the last 25% having write-in answers. These write-ins showed skeptical notions toward offshore wind, because of the general distrust towards state and federal initiatives, and asking for additional information before they take a firmer stance on the subject. The second write-in response showed someone wanting to support Tribal Nations no matter, or what manner they decide to engage is [See Figure 3].



[Figure 3]

In conversation with an Indigenous engineer from the PNW about offshore wind technologies, and what they have heard from other Tribal Nations, they observed "Some Tribes are rightfully hesitant about offshore wind and there are still emerging technologies like airborne wind energy that could make it less invasive and impactful."

In another conversation, with an Indigenous educator asking if they saw any benefits with renewable energies, they said "Yes. In situations where power outages occur due to down power lines in tribal communities, it would be beneficial to have a back up power source like offshore wind for those that need their medication refrigerated."

Donald Williams, a Cayuse energy entrepreneur, with long term visions for an Indigenized energy system, said that "If Tribes unify, work in coordinated fashion. They can strategically align their energy resources amongst the Tribes in a shared energy market. This can benefit each participating Tribe in a regional transmission organization (RTO), or some sort of energy market, with financial return that the Tribes can redistribute to each participating Tribe. Then, it can be distributed in the Tribal community." This is of course functioning in tandem with potential

offshore wind projects. This section shows a range of stances on offshore wind. From hesitant about potential impacts from implementation, to budding eagerness for building energy resilience in their communities.

Opposition to Offshore Wind, Community Concerns

A theme that emerged from my survey in response when asked whether Tribal Nations should be consulted in upcoming offshore wind projects, were: harm to the ecosystem, traditional foods, and a responsibility to cultural stewardship. When asked if there are any community benefits that Tribal Nations will receive from offshore wind projects, a Nooksack Tribal member said a strengthening of "Stewardship of marine habitats to ensure marine ecosystems are protected". Responding to the same question, Doug Barrett said that he fears that offshore wind development will **"**damage the ecosystem even more, and we might lose our Salmon, Lamprey and Whales ".

In the survey I also asked if respondents thought there were community benefits to offshore wind for Tribal Nations. Bernard R AfterBuffalo Jr, a councilperson from the Hoh Tribe responded:, "No, it will only further harm our traditional cultural space and resources" He then went on to question what the energy generation would be used for. Fairly certain the benefits of large scale offshore wind would not cycle back to their community, and instead predominantly support the state or industry.

In the survey and in conversations, AfterBuffalo Jr expressed staunch opposition to offshore wind. Bernard is not unjustified in his vigilance towards offshore wind development, as the last major energy project in the PNW solidified colonial status quo:

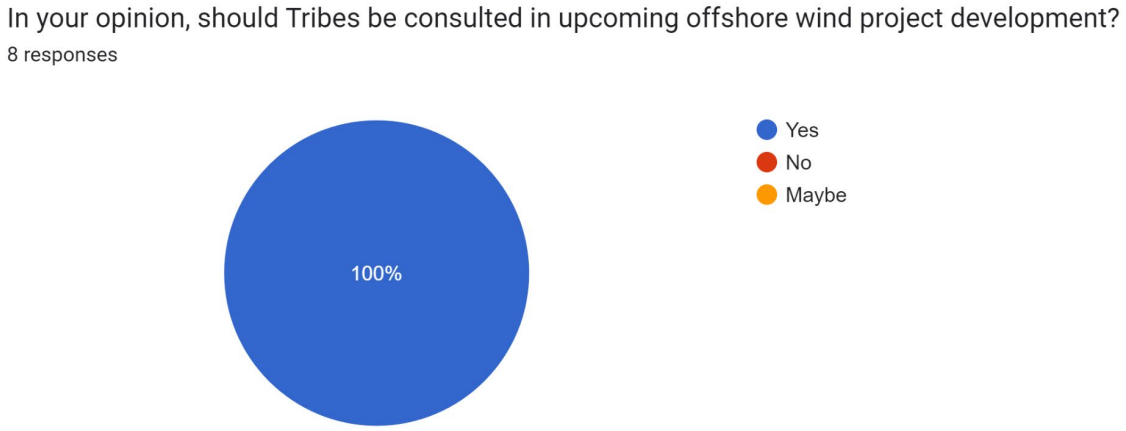
> In opposition because our resources cannot be further jeopardized. We saw what happened with the dams and our fish and we cannot let that happen again. We cannot let our salmon go the way of the buffalo, how they were killed to eradicate the Indigenous

> population. I fear it puts us on the doorsteps of human rights issues. As Tribal communities it's already hard to live a traditional lifestyle. (Bernard R AfterBuffalo Jr).

This statement shows a mounting, acute opposition brewing in coastal Tribal communities. There's a fear of additional salmon loss, environmental devastation, and privatization of areas of the ocean.

Conditions of Engagement

Importantly, the last structured question I asked was whether Tribal Nations should be consulted in the upcoming offshore wind project development. 100% of my respondents agreed that Tribal Nations should be consulted, and is critical for upcoming offshore wind development [see Figure 4]. This is crucial, because lack of consultation is a primary complaint from Tribal Nations, that the federal government is not properly consulting them in these massive projects.



[Figure 4]

In the survey, Chief Doug Barrett from the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua & Siuslaw Indians (CTCLUSI), emphasized the need for consultation when asked what he wanted from engagement in offshore wind projects. Specifically, he said it was important to:

> Have meaningful consultation, and not one way conversations where our concerns are never addressed! We are a sovereign Nation stuck inside of a Nation! We are equal to the United States and above the States, Counties, Cities and all municipalities! Please listen to us as we have been and will continue to be stewards of our Lands, Waters and Oceans! There used to be Abundance of all Foods, Gathering of Materials, Clean and cold waters for our Fish relatives to flourish and thrive! We have been the Aboriginal Scientist and Protectors of all our Microorganisms, Animals, Mammals, Food Gathering, Fresh Cold Water Rivers & Lakes, Our Forests And our Clean Abundant Ocean For Thousands of Years! And Now the Federal Government Agency will not even acknowledge our comments and concerns! I Say This With A Good Heart!

Meaningful consultation is at the top of Doug Barretts concerns. As sovereign Nations, Tribes are equal to the United States, and are owed government to government consultation. Under non-Tribal leadership, many policies impacting Tribal Nations have typically benefited non-Tribal entities. Tribal Nations have proven themselves good stewards over their lands, oceans, and waterways. It is imperative that the federal, and state governments seriously listen to these distinguished communities and incorporate their recommendations in the consultation process.

Another respondent emphasized the importance of continued access to traditional waters, and warns that proposed offshore wind projects run the risks of violating inherent rights and environmental justice:

> I believe that Tribes would like to see renewable energy occur but not in any manners that infringe on our inherent rights. We don't want the creation of an energy project to exclude us from our traditional waters. I think that if these projects occur, it shouldn't be in the waters of those that are typically on the receiving end of environmental injustice. (Quinault Tribal Member).

In addition, education and training emerged as a theme when asked how individuals or Tribal Nations might choose to engage in offshore wind projects. A Blackfoot Tribal member said that it was important to **"**Bring information about alternatives. (and) Ensuring Tribes have the information and resources to make good decisions". Moreover, a Navajo Tribal member said that "Workshops that demonstrate the benefits of renewable energy projects in Tribal communities" would be very valuable.

Meanwhile, respondent Bryce Lewis-Smith, a Citizen Potawatomi Tribal Member, is a consultant with the Better World Group, a climate and environmental focused NGO. Bryce's role is in BWG is to make sure that Indigenous voices are being heard in the development phase of offshore wind:

> "Tribes must be beneficiaries of offshore wind (OSW). I am working in Humboldt (county) to create a community benefit agreement which ensures tribal people receive energy generated by OSW, that local peoples and tribal members are hired to build infrastructure for OSW, and to work in protections against the Murdered and Missing Indigenous Peoples crisis associated with large scale energy development projects such as OSW and oil pipelines"

From the perspective of many Tribal citizens and environmental professionals, it's clear that Tribal Nations must also be beneficiaries of proposed offshore wind projects. These benefits could be employment opportunities for Tribal members, by way of creating a community benefit agreement.

Discussion

Many of the Tribal members who participated in my research felt that renewable energy technology is better aligned with Tribal Nations relationships and their responsibility to the land they live on. Yet even though there is support for renewable energy technology, Tribal Nations are also very skeptical about offshore wind. In particular they have great reluctance to risk harm to the ecosystem, their traditional foods, or shirk their responsibility for their cultural stewardship. In addition, the potential for loss of access to foods critical to Indigenous culture, in what few areas Tribal Nations have left is taken very seriously. Unless it is specified in agreements made prior to development of offshore wind projects, it's very realistic to assume that the neighboring Tribal Nations will lose physical access to these sites, and in return loss of culturally significant foods.

Outlook on offshore wind is quite negative, and while many respondents could see a few of the upsides, such as the potential for building energy resilience, or reliable energy, offshore wind had many more perceived negatives. One of the more interesting insights questioned whether offshore winds proposed energy benefits could just as easily be replaced by another renewable technology to achieve the same goals.

Currently, methods of offshore wind development on the West Coast are incompatible with Tribal Nations needs and desires. There are three primary issues that indicate this incompatibility. Firstly, meaningful consultation between Tribal Nations and the federal government agency responsible for permitting offshore wind projects has been careless at best, and negligent at worst. Secondly, location so far has been a problem: developers continue to site offshore wind project locations on Treaty-reserved and culturally significant usual and

accustomed fishing grounds. Lastly, there is a problem with scale. The sheer size of proposed offshore wind projects are at a scale designed to serve urban centers and advance the United States' energy security goals. However, this scale is largely incompatible with US efforts to serve Tribal communities.

Meaningful Consultation

The federal agency responsible for permitting and conducting consultation processes with Tribes is the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (BOEM). BOEM has jurisdiction over federal waters extending to outer continental shelf areas. These areas are divided into regional areas including: the Pacific, Atlantic, Alaska, and Gulf of Mexico. They are responsible for leasing, and developing areas for oil, gas, and other marine minerals. Tribal sovereignty guarantees a government to government consultation process, and because BOEM is the federal agency in charge of offshore leasing areas, it is their responsibility to live up to this obligation.

BOEM is central to the unfolding offshore wind discussion because they are intermediary that fulfills the federal government's treaty obligation to government to government consultation. BOEM has been a source of frustration from Tribal Nations involved with offshore wind. Not all Native Nations who had a claim to impacted offshore waters were in support of the project.

Makah Nation, a neighboring Tribal Nation to the north of Quinault, for example has raised important concerns around the consultation process, or lack thereof. Specifically, Makah leaders critiqued how the project presented the application to the BOEM in an unsolicited bid. Unsolicited bids are applications to lease particular areas that had not been requested for by the federal government. If a project is approved, these unsolicited bids can be a cunning way to

avoid having any competition on a project. In addition, they can also be used as a way to skip the consultation process that the government is obligated to do with neighboring Tribes.

In an interview with NOAA, Chad Bowechop, a councilmember of the Makah Tribe, says: “that often consultation can feel like a “check the box” exercise that doesn’t effectively integrate tribal concerns into decision-making. From the Makah’s perspective, consultation should occur as early as possible and final decisions about the management of their waters should meaningfully and fully incorporate the tribe’s input. It’s about building the capacity . . . to exercise our sovereign influence over our marine space” (Matsumoto, 2022).

With so much controversy around BOEM’s consultation process I wanted to highlight what their directives actually say. Outlined in Section 504 “Consultation with Indian Tribes” - 2005 Energy Policy Act, states: “In carrying out this title and the amendments made by this title, the Secretary, and the Secretary of the Interior shall, as appropriate and to the maximum extent practicable, involve and consult with Indian Tribes.” Unless there is a private internal document, this one sentence is the only guideline mandating the agency's consultation process with Tribal Nations.

My experience participating in offshore wind discussions at events like the Pacific Ocean Energy Trust (POET’s) Northwest Offshore Wind Conference reinforced my suspicion that Tribal Nations were not being properly consulted. Even at these extensive regional conventions there was extremely limited Indigenous presence, in fact I was one of three Indigenous peoples in a convention of nearly 300. It is hard to imagine Tribal Nations voices being meaningfully heard if they are not even in attendance.

In the process of consultation, however, Tribes can not be considered “stakeholders”. They are not just another group, but rather sovereign Nations, who have the right to government-

to-government consultation (Biden, 2022). If Tribal Nations were consulted in a meaningful way from the beginning, the conversation around offshore wind project planning would have been better received.

Meaningful consultation looks different from Tribal Nation to Tribal Nation, and must be done in accordance with each Tribal Nation's specific Protocol. My research revealed that slowing down is an essential component of meaningful consultation. Slowing down requires federal agencies to take the time to build relationships and trust with Tribal Nations. In addition, effective consultation must bring affected Nations into the process as soon as possible, regardless of whether or not project developers have a non-competitive status. This will allow for developers and agencies to incorporate meaningful input and feedback from Tribal Nations.

Location

Placement of offshore wind projects is paramount to whether Tribal Nations will entertain the idea of an offshore wind project. It's telling that where every proposed offshore wind site has been plotted, the local Tribal Nation has become opposed due to the placement. The Quinault Indian Nation (QIN) is located on the coast of Washington. The reservation is home to approximately 2500 Tribal members. Their reservation is approximately 210k acres, with a coastline of 23 miles. Similar to other coastal Tribal Nations, QIN culture is centered around the ocean. This is important, because offshore wind has exceptional potential to be developed according to those ocean based cultures, but only if done in agreement to those values. Which is why, in 2019, QIN began efforts to work together with Trident Winds on an offshore wind project. This project was located ~25 miles off the coast, near Gray Harbor. In late 2021, Trident Winds submitted a joint unsolicited bid to BOEM entitled "Nagwia'sup".

Photo of T-shirt designed by QIN Tribal Members depicting a hand emerging from the water with a middle finger as a wind turbine and slogan below that says, "offshore wind blows."

The review process for the unsolicited bid had several problems that took place. The first being the effects on the environment around the call area. Being noted as the most productive fishing area on the Washington coast, the project would have substantial impacts on sport and commercial fishing. A preliminary socioeconomic study was provided to QIN by the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL). This report seems to have swayed QIN *away* from the

offshore wind development they originally pursued. Currently the QIN stance is *opposed* to the call site as it originally appeared in the unsolicited bid. The most powerful stance Quinault has to oppose the call sites is to call upon their fishing treaty rights, which states QIN rights to their "usual and accustomed fishing grounds". In Quinault's offshore wind account the proposed location of the project was terrible. Squarely in the most productive usual and accustomed fishing grounds of the Quinault, putting a mega project like this there would have devastated the localized fish population during the construction period.

Reaching out to a Quinault Tribal member to ask how they view renewable energy, and how they want to see offshore wind implemented, they said "I believe that Tribes would like to see renewable energy occur but not in any manners that infringe on our inherent rights. We don't want the creation of an energy project to exclude us from our traditional waters. I think that if these projects occur, it shouldn't be in the waters of those that are typically on the receiving end of environmental injustice.

In another conversation about placement of projects with a West Coast Tribal citizen, they said "I think that it may be time for the typical rich, non-Tribal NIMBYs (not in my back yard) to take one for the team". Placement of projects was a central theme in many of my interviews and conversations, with apprehension towards exclusion in areas previously accessible to Indigenous peoples, "Year after year our culture is being threatened or infringed. We don't have the access we once had to our resources as gates showed up and private land owners try and keep us out of these areas we continue to use but under threat of litigation".

Access is paramount to the acceptance of projects. Access, or loss of access is a great fear among Tribal Nations. Historically, the use of dams was for better or worse, a massive loss of access for

neighboring Tribal Nations and bands. One which has never been rectified, or seriously addressed. This is in part why some descriptions of offshore wind refer to them as “dams 2.0”.

Bernard brings up several important aspects of concern with offshore wind projects. The first being the unknown effect it will have on our dwindling salmon stocks, and how much fear there is around the potential detriment constructing these structures would have. There is also well founded fear around the loss of access. If these utility scale projects are installed, there will be loss of access to these zones. This is partially why zoning is incredibly important, because many Tribal communities rely on access to traditional waters for traditional foods.

Scale

Scale or scaling is dependent on the type of project you are doing and who you are trying to serve. The United States pursuit of net zero carbon emissions requires a push towards large-scale renewable energy projects such as offshore wind development. However, these large scale projects are at odds with Tribal energy sovereignty as utility-scale projects often do not serve remote communities, pose great risks of resource exploitation and displacement from traditional territories. Though there is potential for Native Nations to own and develop projects and become renewable energy exporters.

In the Spring and Summer, when visiting my reservation in Neah Bay, we often experience several blackouts. While inconvenient, these power outages could last anywhere from 3-24 hours; however, these are not nearly as significant as the energy issues in the Winter months. During the Winter, extreme winds can knock out power lines for weeks. In 2022, there were over 20 days without power. As Climate hazards increase, access to reliable energy is critical. Tribal reservations such as the Quinault and Makah reservations are not located near

urban centers, but rather in remote locations far away from the nearest utility or power supplier. For example, Makah is 70 miles away from Clallam County PUD, while QIN is 40 miles away from Grays Harbor PUD.

Smaller scale projects are best-suited to support remote community energy needs. The case studies of Blue Lake Rancheria and Spokane Tribes renewable energy projects, demonstrate a direct response to climate change and natural disasters, but also are an example of scaling. Both Tribal Nations selected a small scale, community sized project that would provide direct benefit to their communities. One survey respondent indicated their preference for offshore wind, but only as a backup energy source to serve immediate community health needs: "In situations where power outages occur due to down power lines in Tribal communities, it would be beneficial to have a backup power source like offshore wind for those that need their medication refrigerated" (Lisa Redsteer).

Historically, massive utility-scale projects pose risks of exploitation to Tribal lands and resources. When speaking to a number of Tribal council members, leaders, and professionals at ATNI conferences and elsewhere, it's not uncommon to hear offshore wind projects described as the new "dams 2.0". Dam construction on the Columbia River had devastating effects on Tribal communities, with the destruction of culturally significant sites such as Celilo Falls, flooded Tribal lands, and dire ongoing impacts to culturally important species, such as salmon and lamprey.

While endorsed as a "clean" energy, dams devastated access to Tribal lands and resources. Bernard AfterBuffalo Jr. (Hoh Tribe) is wary of offshore wind based on the legacy impact of dams: "We saw what happened with the dams and our fish and we cannot let that happen again." Similarly, Violet Walker (Chumash), shares in an interview with The Guardian,

her concern for offshore wind's impact in the marine environment: "the tribe isn't opposed to offshore wind, they just want to see it done in a responsible way, rather than becoming the next oil and wreaking havoc on marine ecosystems" (Sherriff, 2023).

Lastly, large-scale proposed offshore wind projects run the risk of displacing and privatizing large swaths of marine space, where Tribal members may no longer be able to access fishing. A QIN Tribal member shares their concerns of displacement surrounding proposed offshore wind sites: "We don't want the creation of an energy project to exclude us from our traditional waters."

Conclusion

The primary tension between offshore wind and Tribal Nations is that of a difference in values, where the United States pursuit of "clean" energy security is at odds with Tribal energy Sovereignty. Given long histories of Indigenous dispossession, centuries of broken promises, and ongoing failures of consultation or recognition, the federal U.S. government has not shown itself worthy of trust and Tribal governments have likewise often operated with caution. Therefore, meaningful consultation with Tribal Nations is deeply important and rests upon slow, intentional relationship building in adherence to community protocol. In addition, Tribal Nations have developed intimate relationships with the land and waters for thousands of years. As such, our people know these locations better than anyone else, and may share our insight and preferences for offshore wind proposals. If proper consultation was conducted by developers and federal agencies earlier on, issues around location may have been mitigated. Finally, distinct from the United State government, Tribal Nation energy projects are community centered and are conceptualized to meet critical community needs.

For offshore wind development to be successful, meaningful consultation, location, and scale must be thoroughly addressed. In my interview with Glenn Ellis Jr., a community energy champion and Makah Tribal member, Glenn powerfully interprets the concept of energy sovereignty, where "we produce our own energy, we use our own energy, and no matter what outside things are inflicted upon us, we still have the ability to sustain our people" (Glenn Ellis Jr). As stated previously, Tribal Nations are sovereign nations. Energy sovereignty is about choice, where each Tribal Nation has the right to choose how they engage in offshore wind.

Tsawalk Principles for Marine Renewables: Recognition, Consent, and Continuity

Each Tribe has their own set of relationships and worldview that guides how they may choose to dream themselves into the future. For my own perspective on Indigenous planning, I draw upon Nuu-chah-nulth teachings through Richard Atleo's "Principles of Tsawalk: an Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis" which outlines critical concepts that inform my perspective on how PNW Tribes, specifically Makah, may choose to engage with offshore wind. The translation of "Hishook-ish Tsawalk" is "Everything is one", everything is connected, and by effecting one element, you affect all others. In order to practice Tsawalk there are three major principles to uphold: recognition, consent, and continuity.

Richard Atleo defines recognition as mutual respect and understanding. Atleo further applies the concept of recognition for government to government negotiation: "recognition is assumed to convey a complex of meanings that begins with the ability of one party to "see" another as important, to see value of the other, to see this value as important, to consider this

value as important, to accept the other at an equitable basis, and thus be willing to enter into an agreement that can be called a social contract treaty or protocol" (Atleo, 84). Lastly, Atleo applies the concept of recognition between humans and other life forms where "all life forms require the development of protocols" in order to achieve "Tsawalk" (Atleo, 83).

Consent is the second principle in Tsawalk. Atleo defines consent as "a range of behavior that is agreeable and reciprocal within a society (Atleo, 93)." In a wider context, such as the relationship between the Federal government and Tribal Nations, this could be interpreted as freedoms, such as the freedom to thought, movement, to be an individual, and any freedom that did not infringe someone else's rights to be. Parties must consent to developing protocols between them.

Continuity is the last principle in Tsawalk (Atleo, 117) . Continuity is divided into a micro and macro. At the personal level, it can be interpreted by stories that one needs to be oneself. Continuity does not imply that everyone should be the same. An unfortunate example, can be linked to residential schools, and most of the goals that the US government tried to accomplish over First Nation peoples. Taking what you need is a law of sustainability, and an example of the constitutional principle of continuity.

In the context of offshore wind projects on the PNW coast I recognize that in order for my Tribe to meaningfully engage with external entities, these principles must be upheld by the offshore wind developers and the offshore wind projects themselves.

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