

Understanding and Improving Collaborative Management of Fish and Wildlife in Western Alaska



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Executive Summary

The purpose of this research report is to help agencies better understand and improve collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska (the Delta).

Numerous concerns remain regarding the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in state and federal management of fish and wildlife in Alaska. The numbers of applications submitted by people to serve as members of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council) has declined. This decline has been observed in other federal management regions of Alaska.

Our research objectives were to: 1) identify barriers and facilitators to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation, 2) define a meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife, 3) understand why subsistence harvesters' participation on the Council has declined, and 4) understand how cultural differences between agency managers and subsistence harvesters impact meaningful participation in collaborative management in the Delta.

To achieve a more complete and useful understanding of collaborative management in Western Alaska, stakeholders need to look beyond visible outcomes such as the decline in applications to serve on regional advisory councils. A number of cultural drivers influence the challenges and unsatisfactory outcomes of collaborative management. Stakeholders demonstrate a number of social and cultural differences and divergent, often conflicting worldviews on land and animals. Stakeholders' perceptions of their participation and their motivations to participate are strongly linked to unseen and often ignored cultural and epistemological differences. These differences magnify and exacerbate barriers to meaningful participation in collaborative management of fish and wildlife.

Stakeholders lack an understanding of each other's worldviews of land and animals, cultural values, limits and uses of knowledge, and goals of collaborative management. This lack of understanding has proved to be one of the most significant factors affecting meaningful collaborations and public participation. Addressing this substantial barrier to meaningful participation for both subsistence harvesters and agency managers requires more and better communication and interactions between stakeholders. To increase interaction and improve communication and trust, collaboration in the form of meetings must not remain solely focused on business. Meetings and interactions, both formal and informal, must include time for

activities and events not directly related to the business at hand. Stakeholders must begin to discuss and share knowledge about their differences.

How Yup'ik peoples define a real person is directly related to their perceptions of meaningful roles in collaborative management. For Yup'ik peoples, real people are those who are actively engaged in the community. They are selfless givers of their time and resources. Real people are knowledgeable and highly experienced. Yup'ik peoples look to real people for guidance and advice. The characteristics of a real person are closely linked to the roles of elders in communities. The implications of what it means to be a real person are far reaching and affect: 1) interactions between managers and subsistence harvesters, 2) how Yup'ik peoples perceive outsiders and their involvement in Yup'ik communities, 3) levels of trust in and value of stakeholders' knowledge, and 4) Yup'ik perceptions about sharing information and resources. Meaningful and effective collaboration depends on gaining a much improved understanding between stakeholders of one and other's perceptions of a meaningful role and differences between how stakeholders characterize meaningfully involved persons.

Barriers to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation include: 1) infrequent interaction between stakeholders, 2) communication difficulties related to conversation and the sharing and flow of information between stakeholders, and 3) factors related to logistics and operating procedures that direct the timing of stakeholder groups' engagements and where and how participation and collaboration occur. Other factors related to why some subsistence harvesters' are not participating include: 1) lack of exposure to the federal and state subsistence management programs due to infrequent meetings in rural communities, 2) high costs of travel for subsistence harvesters to attend meetings in Bethel or Anchorage, and 3) perceptions held by subsistence harvesters that their participation in collaborative management is limited at best.

The complexities and politics involved with federal and state dual management and the economics of commercial fishing on the high seas, for examples, have created confusion and frustration on the part of subsistence harvesters. Some of the more visible outcomes include: 1) lack of trust, 2) lack of legitimacy afforded to each other's knowledge, and 3) poor working relationships between stakeholders. A first step toward building trust and improving relationships between stakeholders is implementing agency practices that require more frequent engagements and interactions between stakeholders in remote communities. A better

understanding of each other's interests, concerns, goals, and approaches would result in stakeholders' increased satisfaction with their participation in collaborative management.

Subsistence harvesters equated a meaningful role with: 1) working directly with managers, 2) sharing decision making authority, and 3) having their knowledge and input valued by managers and decision makers. The actual roles given to subsistence harvesters by agencies should more closely match their desired roles. As long as this is not the case, agency managers can expect that participation from subsistence harvesters in collaborative management will likely remain low in Western Alaska.

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INTRODUCTION

Background and Justification

Since the passage of the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), Congress has expressly guaranteed that rural residents (subsistence harvesters) of Alaska will have a meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife. Section 801(5) of the ANILCA reads:

The Congress finds and declares that the national interest in the proper regulation, protection and conservation of fish and wildlife on the public lands in Alaska and the continuation of the opportunity for a subsistence way of life by residents of rural Alaska require that an administrative structure be established for the purpose of enabling rural residents who have personal knowledge of local conditions and *requirements* to have a *meaningful role* in the management of fish and wildlife *and* of subsistence uses on the public lands in Alaska (U.S.C. 1980, emphasis added).

Several questions remain in regard to this particular passage of ANILCA. First, what is meant by the word *requirements* as used in Section 801(5)? Second, since *meaningful role* was never defined by Congress in the ANILCA, what has been the United States Government's vision for the role of Alaska's subsistence harvesters in the management of fish and wildlife during the past 34 years? Third, Section 801(5) expressed that subsistence harvesters would have a meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife *and* subsistence uses, not subsistence uses alone. Thinking of the regional advisory councils for the Federal Subsistence Board as solely having a role in the management of subsistence uses may be interpreted by some as limiting collaboration at regional advisory council meetings to only subsistence related issues at the exclusion of other important matters related to fish and wildlife management that most certainly can affect the lives of residents of rural Alaska.

Although the U.S. Congress has expressed its commitment to implementing Title VIII of the ANILCA and involving subsistence harvesters living in rural Alaska in the management of fish and wildlife, several scholars including Gallagher (1988), Case (1989), and Jacobs and Brooks (2011) have demonstrated that numerous concerns remain regarding the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in state and federal management of fish and wildlife in Alaska. Gallagher (1988) found that Alaska Native peoples were heavily burdened by the overload of work involved with participation in the planning and management processes used by the state and federal governments; he observed communication challenges between Alaska Native peoples

and land managers. It has also been observed that Alaska Native worldviews do not mesh well with agency managers' conceptions of natural resources management and conservation planning (Gallagher 1988; Kawagley 1995; Easton 2008; Jacobs and Brooks 2011; Bartley 2014). The public meeting process used by the state and federal agencies was found to be logistically inadequate and culturally inappropriate for optimal participation by Alaska Native peoples in conservation planning and land management (Gallagher 1988; Jacobs and Brooks 2011).

David Case (1989) examined the ability of both the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Eskimo Whaling Commission to recognize the subsistence needs of Alaska Native peoples while providing opportunities for co-management. The Marine Mammal Protection Act granted Alaska Native peoples exclusive rights to hunt sea mammals, but opportunities for co-management were not provided in the original legislation. Referring to the 1975 Indian Self Determination Act, which declares that Native Americans have the right to an "effective voice," Case recognized that of the two marine mammal management plans, only the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission represented a framework indicative of a truly participatory approach¹ (Case 1989). Since Case (1989), an amendment to the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1994 made key changes. Most importantly, the 1994 amendment provided the National Marine Fisheries Service and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (Fish and Wildlife) authority to directly enter into cooperative agreements with Alaska Native organizations (Buck 1994).

Jacobs and Brooks (2011) identified barriers to a meaningful role for Alaska Native peoples in agency conservation programs and projects. They interviewed subsistence managers from the National Parks Service, Fish and Wildlife, and scholars from the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Some of the factors they identified as detrimental to meaningful participation included: 1) reliance on formal public meetings by regulatory agencies to identify concerns of Alaska Native peoples, which often can reduce participation due to excessive formality, 2) continued lack of trust among Alaska Native peoples with law enforcement agents due to past mistakes and grievances further complicated by communication issues, and 3) failure of agencies to reform employment policies which currently make it difficult to place Alaska Natives in professional management positions.

¹ See Arnstein (1969) and Bartley (2014) for detailed descriptions of the various levels and types of public participation. See Hořelli (2002) and Selin and Chavez (1995) for overviews of participatory and collaborative planning, respectively.

On September 19, 2013, a Congressional hearing was held to examine wildlife management authority within the State of Alaska under the ANILCA and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. United States Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska questioned the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in fish and wildlife management in the past 33 years as provided for under the ANILCA:

Currently, the regional advisory councils provide recommendations and information to the Federal Subsistence Board, but beyond that there is not that much authority if you will. I don't think our regional advisory councils have any power or authority beyond ... providing recommendations or information, and it may or may not be regarded or taken into account. What can we do to empower the regional advisory councils to be more than just somebody that presents some ideas ... make sure that it's the local people who are providing not only more than just information, but helping to advance some of the decisions based on that local input? The system is pretty top heavy. I am fearful that often ... we are able to check the box with a level of consultation ... because we have in place these entities that if you look at the name and the home town you say, okay we have Native participation and representation. And, it really ends up being very little at the end of the day. How do you make the regional advisory councils more meaningful (Public Record, U.S.C. 2013)?

As the Senator alluded, subsistence harvesters of Alaska who participate in the federal regional advisory councils seem to possess little decision-making authority in the management of fish and wildlife.

What are the consequences of not providing and facilitating a meaningful role? Subsistence harvesters may lose interest in the process. The number of applications submitted by rural Alaskans for membership on federal regional advisory councils has been in decline since 2005 (Figure 1). Between 1996 and 2004, an average of 14.9 people applied annually for membership on the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council). Between 2005 and 2012, the average number of applications annually submitted declined to 10.6. The number of applications submitted during these two periods declined statewide in all ten federal management regions in Alaska. For the period 1996 to 2004, 104.2 applications, on average, were annually received by the Office of Subsistence Management. That average declined to 70.9 applications annually submitted from the ten federal management regions of Alaska between 2005 and 2012 (Figure 1).

There is a need to further investigate how state and federal agencies can improve public participation and collaborative management of fish and wildlife in rural Alaska. Social science research that explores subsistence harvesters' involvement in collaborative management and their interactions with agency managers is vital for understanding what factors affect

participation, how subsistence harvesters define a meaningful role, and why participation has declined.

		<i>SE</i>	<i>SC</i>	<i>KA</i>	<i>BB</i>	<i>YK</i>	<i>WI</i>	<i>SP</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>EI</i>	<i>NS</i>	TOTAL
	1996	13	18	11	10	19	11	20	11	10	5	128
	1997	18	11	11	7	8	7	7	4	11	4	88
Average 14.9	1998	13	10	15	8	18	11	9	9	7	8	108
	1999	17	15	7	12	16	7	7	5	7	6	99
Average 104.0	2000	17	13	13	9	15	9	8	3	20	8	114
	2001	20	11	9	5	16	14	3	4	11	5	98
	2002	19	16	8	8	13	8	7	5	14	9	107
	2003	17	17	4	10	13	9	5	7	7	5	96
	2004	14	16	10	7	16	8	7	8	6	8	100
	2005	7	7	5	3	7	4	9	5	6	5	58
Average 10.6	2006	10	8	1	5	9	3	5	9	7	3	60
	2007	17	16	8	9	17	6	5	2	12	3	95
	2008	9	8	5	8	12	7	7	4	3	4	67
	2009	12	12	4	3	11	5	2	6	7	2	64*
Average 70.9	2010	15	14	6	7	6	6	2	8	8	3	75*
	2011	15	9	7	7	12	6	8	4	7	5	81
	2012	11	10	7	7	11	5	4	5	4	3	67

Figure 1. Regional advisory council applications received, 1996 - 2012 (OSM 2014:60). *Too few applications were initially received in the application period, so a second call for applications was published (i.e., total of both application periods open that cycle).

Purpose

The purpose of this research report² is to help agencies better understand and improve collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska (the Delta).

Research Objectives

1. Identify barriers to and facilitators of subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation and roles in collaborative management of fish and wildlife.
2. Define a meaningful role as it is perceived by both subsistence harvesters and state and federal natural resource managers.
3. Identify factors that are contributing to an observed decline in participation by subsistence harvesters in the management of fish and wildlife.
4. Understand what and, to some practical extent, how cultural differences between agency managers and subsistence harvesters impact meaningful participation in collaborative management in the Delta.

METHODS

The full and detailed description of methodology for this study is beyond the scope and purpose of this report. We have summarized many details and much context in Appendix A. There is an academic thesis available upon request from the University of Alaska, Anchorage to accompany this report and explain the methods in full (Bartley 2014).

In this section, we summarized data collection and participant observation.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a tool utilized by anthropologists and other social scientists to collect information (Bernard 1994). Bartley (2014) recorded over 200 pages of notes based on observations; these were transcribed and saved as digital copies. These observations helped direct how we designed this research study.

² This final report is based on the first author's masters of art thesis in applied cultural anthropology approved by the Graduate School at the University of Alaska, Anchorage August 5, 2014.

Prior to visiting communities and interviewing residents in the Delta, Bartley observed meetings of the Council, Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group (Kuskokwim working group), and Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association (Yukon association) during summer and fall 2012. Bartley observed Council meetings in Bethel October 2012, February 2013, and March 2014. During January through March 2013, Bartley engaged in many different activities with residents of the Delta, and attended and participated in collaborative meetings between subsistence harvesters and agency managers, hunted, trapped, collected wood, took steam in the *maqivik*, and visited schools. He spent hours travelling by snow machine on the land and airplane over the land. In the Yup'ik world, one is always preparing for some activity in which he or she is either moving or preparing to move (Barker 1993).

While Bartley and colleagues listened via teleconference to the meeting of the Kuskokwim working group on June 20, 2012, he became aware of several cultural, political, and procedural factors that may substantially affect the outcomes of public participation in collaborative management. From the moment that meeting began, there was an air of frustration. One man from the lower Kuskokwim River stated:

We are missing the tribal government. Desperation is here. Greed sets in, and it hits the fishing hard ... Its time to give some of those closures a lift immediately! We are trying very hard to live with the four inch mesh ... People are frustrated (Journal Notes, June 20, 2012).

Although some tempers flared during the first two hours, a plea for cooperation and compromise was continuously repeated by subsistence harvesters living in various communities along the Kuskokwim River. A woman from Bethel stated:

My heart bleeds. People don't say a lot, but they feel a lot. People are saying they need fish. Pollock is impacting the Kuskokwim. [I] hope there is some management plan for the people (Journal Notes, June 20, 2012).

But nothing was as shocking during those first two hours as hearing the command, "Okay, time to wrap it up" spoken by an agency manager in response to what he perceived to be a long-winded tirade from a Yup'ik man.

During the next three months, Bartley attended meetings of the Council, Kuskokwim working group, and Yukon association. He observed a number of things affecting the work of these collaborative bodies that impacted the participatory process. Bartley observed substantial challenges to meaningful participation related to communication styles, language differences, levels of comprehension, and flow of information between stakeholders. He noticed how

stakeholder groups talked about issues related to fish and wildlife, and how they differed in this regard (Bartley 2014). He observed problems related to how information was shared; when, where, and how often meetings were held; and timing of stakeholder involvement. For example, a man from the Upper Kuskokwim River said:

People have stopped fishing. The process is the problem. The information is not getting to us. I get the feeling that this is being jammed down our throats (Journal Notes, September 27, 2012).

Confounded with substantial communication problems, Bartley (2014) observed larger political, economic, and social factors affecting the meaningful participation of subsistence harvesters in the Delta. For example, on the Yukon River where Chinook salmon (king salmon) escapement has been of particular concern, subsistence harvesters have become increasingly distraught with the ways in which king salmon are managed. At meetings of the Yukon association, Bartley observed peoples' perceptions of detrimental impacts of the commercial Pollock fishery on king salmon runs bound for the watersheds of Western Alaska. One man from the lower Yukon River said:

There is no one wasting fish on the river. All the waste is happening out on the sea. No matter what you do on the river the fish are not gonna come back. You can restrict everybody on the river and ... get no results until you put your foot down on those trawlers [high seas Pollock fishing vessels] (Journal Notes, August 14, 2012).

In response, the Yukon association coordinator asked for the discussion to remain focused on in-river management issues only. In reply, he stated:

That's a problem during this meeting. We are always cut off. We don't matter. Out there [on the high seas] there's no control. Maybe you can wait till they go extinct till you do something (Journal Notes, August 14, 2012).

The last thing that fisheries managers and agency scientists want to happen is the extinction of an important and iconic species. However, subsistence harvesters cannot understand agency managers' reluctance to talk about off-shore commercial fisheries. For subsistence harvesters, king salmon recognize no boundaries such as those ascribed and placed on king salmon by agency managers and scientists. In the eyes of subsistence harvesters, caring for salmon would most likely include discussing and acting on issues that affect salmon while they are in the ocean as well as the rivers.

During these meetings, Bartley observed many people express the importance of being able to practice their way of life and continue to engage in what they had been taught to do by

their elders. Being able to continue one's way of life requires that there be opportunities to practice elements of one's culture and spirituality. King salmon declines in recent years have called into question whether or not those opportunities will continue to exist. In Eagle, Alaska near the Canadian border, a woman argued:

We want to fish in the future, not forget how to fish. We rely on Chum. We can see commercial fishing heading in that direction. We want to keep our lifestyle for the future. We have strong reason why we will decline Kwikpak fish (Journal Notes, July 10, 2012).

This participant referenced a commercial fishery on the Yukon River that has offered to fly king salmon (i.e., commercial bycatch) to villages on the Yukon River to provide relief to those unable to fish for king salmon due to restrictions. For subsistence harvesters in the Delta and other parts of the Yukon River drainage, what is at stake is the ability to continue to teach their children to hunt and fish, and to do so, opportunities for practicing their way of life must continue to exist. This is the purpose of ANILCA Title VIII and should be the focus of public participation and collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Alaska.

Sampling Technique and Goals

A nonprobability, purposive sample was used to target key respondents who were either knowledgeable leaders or elders in communities of the Delta and/or subsistence harvesters who are actively engaged with agencies in collaborative management of fish and wildlife. A purposive and targeted sample was appropriate because the goal was to understand and improve collaborative management of fish and wildlife. A probability sample would have been needed for research that sought to predict generalized behaviors across the region or State of Alaska, but this was not part of our research objectives.

Bartley targeted members of the Council, subsistence harvesters who had participated in agency meetings via telephone, rural residents who had participated in the Kuskokwim working group, members of state local advisory committees, knowledgeable community leaders and elders, and natural resources managers and fisheries scientists formally trained in biology. Additionally, he interviewed two young subsistence harvesters to capture any observable differences between generations regarding the reasons why subsistence harvesters were

participating less in fish and wildlife management. Appendix A provides details about the study area, human population, and characteristics of key respondents.

Interviews and Public Transcripts

Interviews were conducted in the region of the Yukon Kuskokwim River Delta (Appendix A). People who call this vast place home often refer to it as “the Delta.” Bartley travelled to and interviewed residents in Hooper Bay, Marshall, Russian Mission, Tuntutuliak, Bethel, Kwethluk, and Tuluksak. Respondents living in Aniak and Napaimute were interviewed in Bethel. In January through March 2013, he conducted 19 in-depth interviews with 20 people, identified by pseudonyms. The interviews were open-ended conversation that Bartley guided using occasional probes and questions depending on context. Prior to conducting each interview, respondents signed a consent form (Appendix B) and were offered a small incentive.

The total audio runtime collected was 31 hours and 15 minutes. Interview length ranged from 19 minutes to 3.5 hours. Average interview time was roughly one hour and 40 minutes. Interview transcripts were constructed from the audio files with the help of two professional transcribers. Total length of transcripts was 636 pages. Interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Many Yup’ik elders have the ability to speak in both English and Yup’ik. However, when complex or technical issues are being discussed in English, some Yup’ik elders have a difficult time speaking about these using English terminology even though they may possess a great deal of knowledge regarding the subject being discussed. For funding reasons, Bartley was only able to acquire a translator for three interviews where it was absolutely critical due to substantial language barriers. Because of this limitation, we were unable to transcribe some parts of text that were spoken in Yup’ik. After reviewing the transcripts multiple times (Bartley 2014), we are confident there are few if any instances where substantial information was lost due to language barriers.

Initially, Bartley asked key respondents to describe what things affect subsistence harvesters’ meaningful participation in collaborative management. He guided the conversations based on what he had learned from observing meetings of the Council, Kuskokwim working group, and Yukon association. As Bartley learned more about peoples’ perceptions of their involvement in the management process, he often asked different questions to capture new

meanings that arose. Rather than restricting interviews to a standard list of questions, it was critical that conversations be allowed to evolve freely to capture many meanings, ideas, and issues surrounding collaborative management in the Delta. The interviews that provided the most and concise information about participation in collaborative management came when Bartley asked very few questions, sat silently, and listened carefully. In contrast, during two interviews where he asked several complex questions and talked too much, he received less information.

Public record transcripts of the October 2012 and February 2013 Council meetings were analyzed as primary documents (OSM 2012; 2013). Because Council transcripts are public records, speakers' names were associated with their comments. These texts provided two recorded events which documented interactions between rural residents and agency managers engaged in a collaborative process. The public record transcripts provided substantial information about highly visible participatory outcomes and were used to triangulate observations.

ANALYSIS

The full and detailed analytic process applied in this study is beyond the scope and purpose of this report. We have summarized many of the details in Appendix C. Bartley (2014) fully explained the assumptions and procedures of this analysis.

In this section, we summarized a multi-phased process used to derive results and implications from these data. We adapted and applied a qualitative interpretive approach to data analysis designed to understand meanings of complex human experiences and other phenomena such as collaborative management of fish and wildlife (Gadamer 1975; Patterson and Williams 2002; Brooks 2003). The final result of the analysis is called an organizing system that helps one to more completely understand collaborative management in the Delta (Figure 3; Bartley 2014).

Within-Cases

Bartley began the analysis by reading through each of the transcripts multiple times. In each interview transcript, he identified *meaning units*. A meaning unit is the smallest unit of an interview narrative (i.e., group of sentences) that is meaningful and comprehensible on its own

(Altman and Rogoff 1987; Tesch 1990; Patterson and Williams 2002). Bartley summarized the meaning units into shorter, concise, and descriptive statements that indicated what had transpired inside larger passages within each transcript and public record (n=21). He recorded these concise descriptions in the margins of each transcript as comments in track changes in Microsoft Word. To begin interpreting observations for each case, Bartley wrote in the comment bubbles, inside brackets, analytical notes and memos about the significance of each raw meaning unit in relation to the research objectives. The purpose of this step was to create an understanding of what was contained in each of the interviews.

Using several iterations, he wrote synopses for each interview transcript (Patterson and Williams 2002; Bartley 2014). For the initial synopses, Bartley listed meaning units in sequence of occurrence. Once the initial compiling of meaning units in each original synopsis had occurred, he began reading each of the synopses iterations in sequence. His understandings of the meaning units contained in each of the transcript synopses influenced how he reorganized the meaning units during subsequent iterations.

Across-Cases

At the start of the second iteration, Bartley shifted from a within-case analysis to an across-case analysis. After the original iteration, he reorganized and rewrote each synopsis six times. Each of these iterations represented an analytic cycling or transformation of the meaning units into higher order themes (Appendix C; Bartley 2014). In other words, themes emerged during this iterative process as compilations of interrelated meaning units, representing single parts of each transcript.

During the second iteration of synopsis writing, Bartley reorganized meaning units by emergent themes that he observed to be related to the first three research objectives: 1) identifying barriers and facilitators to meaningful participation, 2) defining a meaningful role, and 3) identifying factors contributing to declining participation in collaborative management. Bartley instantly understood how some of the meaning units were relevant to these objectives, but it was not yet clear how all the meaning units related to these objectives. He began to understand that research objectives one through three could be understood as indicators of outcomes and behaviors that he had seen and heard during meetings of the Council, the Kuskokwim working group, and the Yukon association.

Organizing Emergent Themes

Figure 2 shows the visible participatory outcomes of collaborative management that we can observe during real time collaborations, negotiations, and meetings between stakeholders. It also corresponds to research objectives one through three. Beginning from the bottom of Figure 2, the three levels of the triangle are: 1) perceptions of a meaningful role, 2) barriers and facilitators, and 3) why participation is in decline. At the base of the triangle, Level One contains information both about how subsistence harvesters define a meaningful role and managers perceive subsistence harvesters' roles. Level Two illustrates three subparts of barriers and facilitators, including: 1) process, 2) communication, and 3) interaction. At the top, Level Three represents evidence which is directly related to why some subsistence harvesters are not participating in collaborative management in the Delta. The evidence linked to the parts of these three levels corresponds with and helps us meet the first three research objectives. This triangle is critical to understanding the more observable outcomes of collaboration between stakeholders, but it only represents the tip of the iceberg (Hall 1976). The iceberg is the entirety of collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska, much of which lies below the waterline of visibility (Appendix C; Bartley 2014).

The meaning units that did not clearly relate to the first three research objectives were later reorganized in subsequent synopsis iterations into emergent themes showing evidence of less observable cultural differences between subsistence harvesters and agency managers. These themes would prove useful for achieving the fourth research objective. When Bartley began to better understand the cultural features that diverged between these two groups of stakeholders, he started to get a clearer picture of public participation and collaborative management in the Delta.

During the next three iterations, he observed additional emergent themes and placed them under sectional titles in each synopsis related to all four research objectives (Bartley 2014). After the fourth revision of the interview synopses, Bartley observed that three of the emergent themes were dominant focal points of many of the interviews. These included: 1) dimensions of Yup'ik and agency culture, 2) worldviews on land and animals, and 3) approaches to management. He began to understand how these themes differed between stakeholders. Bartley interpreted these differences as unseen cultural drivers (Hall 1976) linked to barriers and facilitators of meaningful participation. These deep features of Yup'ik and agency culture can substantially influence observed outcomes of public participation and collaboration in the Delta

(Bartley 2014). Figure 3 represents the early organizing system for the analysis at the point of the fourth iteration and the observation of divergent cultural features across interviews.

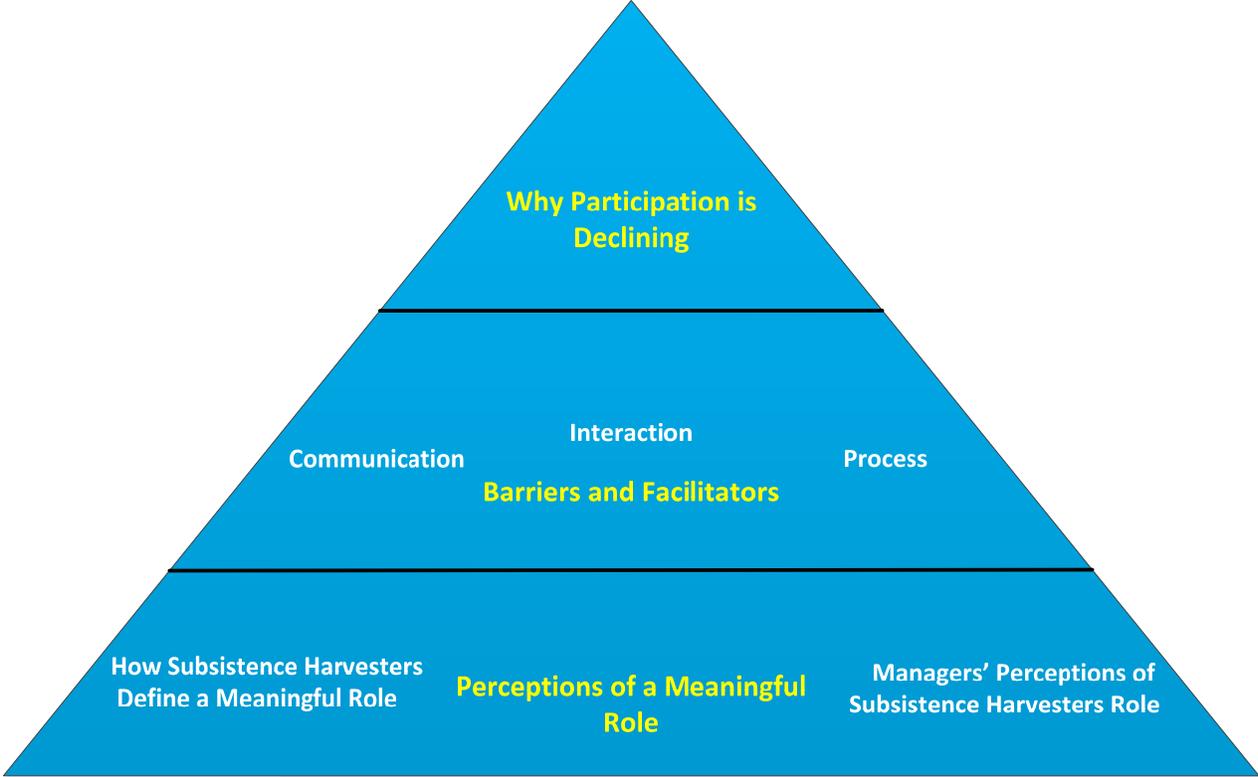


Figure 2. Participatory outcomes of collaborative management.

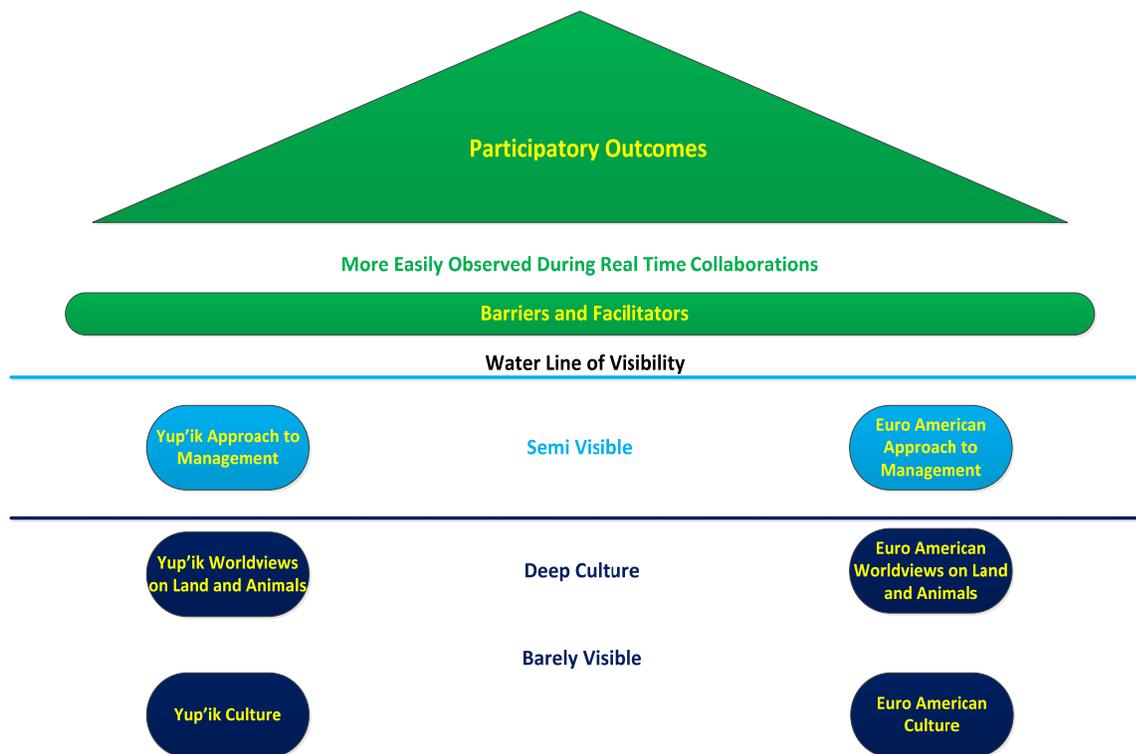


Figure 3. Organizing system for the analysis: An iceberg model of collaborative management, Adapted from Hall (1976) and Bartley (2014).

Coding Themes

Bartley began to observe patterns developing between emergent themes across transcripts. Then, he developed a coding framework using the qualitative software program Atlas Ti version 7.1.3. He developed 72 thematic codes to represent emergent themes across the interview synopses (Appendix D). Using the seventh and final iteration of each transcript synopsis, Bartley painstakingly located and applied thematic codes in Atlas Ti to each of the 1776 meaning units I identified in the 21 transcripts. Then, he generated an output file using Atlas Ti to identify all co-occurrences between individual codes; citing a reference number for each of the quotations that contained co-occurrences. This empirical tool allowed him to verify the existence of relationships between thematic codes and discuss the results at a deeper level beyond simply identifying and describing themes (Patterson and Williams 2002; Brooks 2003; Bartley 2014).

RESULTS

In this section, we summarized the key results that have clear implications for meaningful participation and collaborative management of fish, wildlife, and other natural resources important for subsistence. Bartley (2014) provided a thorough discussion of the research findings.

To address research objectives one through three, we outlined the discussion of results using the main features of Figure 2, ending with a summary of results about cultural features and differences between stakeholders shown in Figure 3 to address research objective four. It is important to note that, similar to Jacobs and Brooks (2011), aspects of culture and issues of cultural awareness and appropriateness are present at some level in nearly all the findings. We have somewhat separated them in this section for ease of presentation.

We present findings in the words of the key respondents, using some illustrative excerpts from data. To support the discussion of results, we also cited additional empirical evidence provided in data tables in Appendix E.

Communication

It was observed that Yup'ik peoples commonly speak using definitive statements (Table E3-4). Yup'ik subsistence harvesters observed that biologists and managers often use “guess words” when speaking to account for uncertainties or gaps in data (Table E3-2; 3-3). Differences between stakeholders regarding cultural guidelines for speaking can lead to confusion between stakeholders.

Yup'ik peoples rarely make negative comments, because they believe that words and even thoughts are powerful (Table E3-1; 3-5; Journal Notes, March 2, 2013). Language differences and differences in worldviews regarding land and animals make communication between stakeholders exceedingly difficult; especially for stakeholder groups who must participate in the collaborative process using a second language (Table E6; 7; 12; 13; 19-4). Those subsistence harvesters who speak Yup'ik as their primary language observed that comprehending technical jargon used by scientists at meetings is a challenge (Table E13).

Audio difficulties with the teleconferencing system used at meetings of the Yukon association, Kuskokwim working group, and Council have limited meaningful participation of

some subsistence harvesters (Table E14-5; 14-6). Furthermore, some subsistence harvesters find it difficult to say what they would like to on teleconferences because there are too many people on the line waiting to speak (Table E19-1).

Council members often do not receive meeting materials from the Office of Subsistence Management in time to review them before meetings occur (Table E14-4; 22-4).

There is some evidence that subsistence harvesters do not receive information about regulatory closures resulting in some subsistence harvesters unknowingly breaking the law (Table E14-1; 14-2; 16-7).

Many subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska believe that agency managers often disregard their local knowledge or challenge its value (Table E15-1; 15-4; 15-5; 15-6; 15-7; 15-8; 15-9; 15-11; E23-2). This has led some subsistence harvesters to feel frustrated with their participation:

It's always *scary* to do presentations, especially if you come from the villages and present your traditional environmental knowledge to the Board and Staff [agency managers]. Too often *a dismissal says our testimony being folklore or rhetoric*. It's a frustration, because we're the people that live all our lives over here. We know our own conditions out there. And, people that come in from the outside to manage it, too often they say, *you don't have no college degree. You don't have a science background*. Yet we live with it, know naturally, it's all our lives ... We know the area well, and our fish and game too. That's the message I'd like for you to deliver to your counterparts over there (Public Record, Table E15-11, emphasis added).

Interaction

Managers' direct engagements in subsistence activities and first-hand experience with Alaska Native cultures would enhance the meaningful participation of both stakeholder groups in collaborative management. Learning about others and their relations is extremely important to Alaska Native peoples. When Alaska Native peoples do not know managers, it presents serious challenges to building trusting relationships and managing fish and wildlife resources in a collaborative fashion.

Yup'ik subsistence harvesters define a meaningful person (i.e., a *real* person) as someone who shares and engages with the community (Table E5). During interviews with subsistence harvesters across Western Alaska it was observed that managers and biologists were either rarely or never seen by subsistence harvesters (Table E16). Infrequent interactions between agency

managers and subsistence harvesters has contributed to poor cultural awareness and understanding between stakeholders engaged in collaborative management (Table E18):

Their [agency managers] experts don't live here, they're elsewhere, and if you look at Board of Fish their chair is out of Anchorage. I don't think he ever set a foot anywhere on the Kuskokwim River, or to fish camp, or to a village. *They don't know how we live* (Table E9-14, emphasis added).

Some subsistence harvesters feel that local managers who live in and understand Western Alaska are more effective at managing fish and wildlife (Table E11-4). Sharing more information more frequently would increase mutual learning and improve relations and cultural understanding between stakeholders (Table E2; 18-3). It was suggested that supporting and attending more science and culture camps would provide managers and subsistence harvesters with an opportunity to learn more about each other's way of life and worldviews about land and animals (Table E16-4; 18-1; 18-2; 18-6; 18-8; 18-9).

One theme often repeated by subsistence harvesters was the need for agency managers to work together with subsistence harvesters, especially during collaborative management meetings (Table E17). Yup'ik subsistence harvesters place strong cultural significance on maintaining strong familial and communal bonds. Individualism is not a strong cultural characteristic of many Western Alaskan subsistence harvesters. The importance of togetherness and reliance upon each other is strong in nearly every facet of Yup'ik life and culture. Working together is essential in Western Alaska, and subsistence harvesters expect to work closely with agency managers during the collaborative process. Yup'ik perceptions related to optimal interaction and collaboration with agency managers at meetings are constructed according to Yup'ik cultural guidelines: one should work with their family and community to care for the land, fish, and wildlife.

Some key respondents said that managers should bring Refuge Information Technicians with them to rural communities to serve as cultural advisors and liaisons. This would improve the outcomes of discussions between managers and subsistence harvesters (Table E13-2). Finally, some stakeholders said that it is frustrating when other stakeholder groups do not understand their culture (Table E20-4; 20-10; 20-11). When stakeholders lack a cultural understanding for each other, challenges arise that prevent meaningful participation of all stakeholders engaged in collaborative management.

Process

Several Yup'ik subsistence harvesters said that formally testifying in front of people, using microphones, is something that they are not used to or comfortable doing (Table E11-7; 12-1; 19-3; 19-8). Traditionally, meetings were held in men's houses or *qasgi*, and all participants were permitted to share and speak without use of microphones or foreign rules of order (Table E19-3).

Differences between subsistence harvesters and managers' approaches to problem solving and management contribute to confusion and uncomfortable feelings (Table E8; 9; 22-3). For many subsistence harvesters, becoming a knowledgeable person on a subject requires a great deal of listening, observing, and experiential knowledge accumulated over one's lifetime (Table E1). When decisions which affect fish and wildlife are made by individuals who may have never been to Western Alaska, some subsistence harvesters become frustrated and skeptical about outcomes of such decisions (Table E20-4). It was expressed that being qualified to serve on the Federal Subsistence Board and make decisions on fish and wildlife would require a person to know and understand subsistence ways of life (Table E19-9).

Some subsistence harvesters expressed the desire that the Federal Subsistence Board become a citizen appointed board answerable to rural constituents and not necessarily to the Secretaries in Washington, D.C. (Table E19-11; 19-12). At least one subsistence harvester desired tribal consultation and involvement in the selection process of Federal Subsistence Board and Council members (Table E22-3).

Some subsistence harvesters were frustrated when changes in management or decisions were perceived to be rushed forward in the absence of substantial evidence (Table E19-5).

Finally, one member of the Kuskokwim working group expressed that he would like to see the coordinator position for the working group be filled by a third party consultant or contractor, not by a federal or state agency employee (Table E19-6).

Meaningful Role

Most subsistence harvesters engaged in collaborative management desire to be meaningfully involved in management and planning (Table E14-7; 16-5). However, many

subsistence harvesters engaged in collaboration with managers feel that their participation is meaningless (Table E20-8; 20-9; 20-11; 20-14).

Subsistence harvesters define a real or meaningful person as one who openly and consistently shares resources and information with others (Table E5). Both subsistence harvesters and managers expressed that they did not like being excluded from discussions with other stakeholder groups (Table E11-1; 17-1; 19-10). One manager explained that close-door discussions held exclusively among managers has resulted in a decrease in the level of trust subsistence harvesters have for managers (Table E8-3). Subsistence harvesters frequently defined a meaningful role as possessing an equal stake in decision making and working closely with managers (Table E11; 19-2). One fisheries scientist described the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters as the ability to “advise, sway, and convince” managers (Table E10). Failure to make decisions based upon a consensus agreement of engaged stakeholders has resulted in frustration on the part of subsistence harvesters (Table E15-8; 20-12; 15; 22-1). Some subsistence harvesters expressed that they would like consultation to occur directly between the tribes and the federal agencies as prescribed in the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (Table E6-11; 11-3; 22-3). One subsistence harvester mentioned that consultation has not, but should include subsistence harvesters’ involvement in the development of operating procedures for the regional advisory councils (Table E22-3). It was often said by subsistence harvesters that past negotiations and planning for migratory birds were successful because federal managers worked directly and closely with tribes and communities (Table E14-7; 17-2; 19-7).

Why Subsistence Harvesters’ Participation is in Decline

Interactions between managers and subsistence harvesters in rural communities in Western Alaska currently are too infrequent to be effective (Table E16-1; 16-6; 16-7; 16-9; 16-10; 16-12; 16-14). Subsistence harvesters have suggested that their participation is low because they are not familiar with and well informed about the federal subsistence management process (Table E16-4; 22-5; 23-1; 23-2). This indicates infrequent interactions and too few opportunities for subsistence harvesters of Western Alaska to play a meaningful role in fish and wildlife management. Some subsistence harvesters recalled: When meetings were held in remote communities of Western Alaska, participation from the people was greater (Table E16-4; 23-5).

Many subsistence harvesters shared that they do not feel that managers value their knowledge (Table E15). One manager demonstrated some hesitancy accepting subsistence harvesters' knowledge as valuable or legitimate (Table E23-3). Some subsistence harvesters said, when they feel they are not being listened to by managers they cease to participate (Table E20-6; 22-1). Many subsistence harvesters stated they felt that their participation was frustrated, meaningless, and patronized; some felt they had been told that managers manage and subsistence harvesters cooperate (Table E20; 22-1; 22-2).

Some elders engaged in collaborative management expressed that they become frustrated when they have to explain to community members, especially the youth, that there is nothing they can do because managers are not listening to them (Table E22-1; 23-4).

Finally, one subsistence harvester shared that meetings held by both the federal and state agencies are too long, causing some to either indirectly disengage from collaborations or leave the meetings entirely (Table E22-6; 22-7).

Additional Factors Affecting Subsistence Harvesters' Participation

Because becoming a knowledgeable person in Western Alaska requires a great deal of listening, observing, and doing, elders are held in high esteem by other community members, especially the youth (Table E1; 4; 11-7). Many people in Western Alaska equate being knowledgeable with knowing the land through engaging the land. Some subsistence harvesters expressed that managers who do not engage with the land do not know the land (Table E1; 18-4; 18-5; 18-6). While it was observed that interactions between managers and subsistence harvesters in communities in Western Alaska rarely occur, there is some evidence that interactions between managers and elders in communities are rarer still (Table E14-3; 16). In Western Alaska, a common practice of problem solving is to discuss a problem with many elders (Table E1-3; 1-4; 19-3). There is some evidence which suggests that when elders work closely with managers the success level of regulations to reduce harvests increases (Table E4-4; 16-5).

There is some evidence that some managers and biologists have things they would like to say at meetings but remain quiet because either they are fearful of being reprimanded or removed from their position, or they consider it unprofessional to share some things without first talking with their superiors (Table E8-3; 21-1; Journal Notes, February 27, 2013).

Cultural Differences and Divergent Worldviews

For most Yup'ik subsistence harvesters, it is considered culturally appropriate to speak in a positive manner and only about what one knows to be true (i.e., what one has seen, heard, and experienced) (Table E3). Rather than using “guess words,” most subsistence harvesters said that it is important to speak clearly using definitive statements and avoid speaking in uncertain terms (Table E3-2; 3-3). Many biologists and other scientists who work in natural resources management normally apply rational, positivistic paradigms of science and generally believe that truth exists. Natural resource scientists strive to obtain the one true answer or solution through replicable hypothesis testing based in statistical probability. However, because this approach to science and scientific knowledge involves sampling errors, biases, data gaps, and other uncertainties, scientists and scientifically-trained managers often use what Yup'ik people call “guess words” to express research results. This may often be the case at collaborative management meetings when biologists talk about population estimates, predictions, forecasts, and other trends or statistics. Sometimes they speak in uncertain terms. This may often be interpreted by their Yup'ik partners as a problem because it appears as though scientists and managers do not know the true answers. Therefore, the perception is that the scientists should not be speaking about what they do not know for certain. These differences in communication styles and beliefs about knowledge lead to misconceptions, confusion, and decreased satisfaction with the participatory process for all stakeholders. This problem is rooted in two different worldviews of knowledge and cultural norms that guide how people speak (Bartley 2014).

Speaking negatively about (Table E17-3) or interacting inappropriately with the land, animals, or other natural resources (Table E6-6) has the power to create negative and unintended consequences for the resources, other beings, and the land. From the Yup'ik perspective, they believe that they are connected to the land and other living beings in a reciprocal relationship (Table E6). Although highly knowledgeable, Yup'ik people tend not to perceive themselves to have the ability and authority to manage and control other living beings in their world; it would be disrespectful to think or act as if they did. The land has the capacity to punish actions of disrespect (Table E6-5; 6-6):

The land is—that's the law. You either follow it, follow what you're supposed to do, or you're going to get in trouble, life and death trouble. There's no badge ... The land don't need a badge (Table E6-6).

This perspective is not limited to the Yup'ik people. Many indigenous cultures in arctic circumpolar regions share the belief that animals are not to be controlled or played with (Nadasdy 2003; Wolfe 2006; Easton 2008). A Native elder from Little Scottie Creek west of Northway in the Upper Tanana region explained:

That wolf kill? Those guys, they call that management, game management, predator control. Me, what do I think about that? I been thinking about that. Let me ask you, Norman: How can you manage something you don't know, don't understand? You know moose? You know wolf? Wolf just trying to make a living, like all of us. A guy's got to eat. They got kids to feed ... The way I look at it, the way I see it, well I'm an old man, lived a long time, maybe a long time yet, I don't know. But the way I see it, I've had a hard enough time controlling myself; it's ridiculous to think you can control animals ... They gift to you or they don't. That's their decision (Easton 2008:23).

On the other hand, many biologists and agency managers understand their roles as managing animals for the purposes of conservation, natural diversity, optimal escapement, and/or maximum sustained yield (Table E8). In this role, managers possess the ability and authority to regulate, manipulate, and control resources and outcomes. Agency managers' approaches to fish and wildlife management are based in their agency's culture and their worldview on land and animals. In North America, agency culture and tradition for most land management agencies has been substantially influenced by the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation in which agency managers tend to adhere to two basic tenets: 1) "harvest of wildlife is reserved for the noncommercial use of individual hunters" and 2) harvest "is to be managed in such a way that wildlife populations will be sustained at optimal levels forever" (Mahoney et al. 2008:9).

Land management agencies manage fish and wildlife according to laws, policies, and regulations. In the Alaskan context, much policy guidance and regulatory direction come from the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) and memoranda of understanding between the federal and state governments (Table E8-6; Journal Notes, January 30, 2013). Democratic rule of law is an important guiding principle for agency managers (Mahoney et al. 2008:9). Land management agencies in the United States are to allocate fish and wildlife for harvest and other uses through laws and regulations, and all citizens can participate in developing systems for using and conserving fish and wildlife. An agency manager stated, "It's simple; the law (i.e., ANILCA) says, we must protect the resource and provide opportunities for subsistence uses" (Journal Notes, January 30, 2013).

For the Yup'ik, there are appropriate ways to collaborate and work together. Subsistence harvesters expressed that knowledge and information are to be shared with everyone, not

withheld or sold (Table E2-5; 2-6; 2-7; 2-9): a Yup'ik respondent explained that the elders have said it was the same as being a "thief" to not share one's knowledge with others ... "we must share our knowledge" (Journal Notes, January 14, 2013). Conversely, managers explained that it is considered professional in agency culture to withhold some information during public meetings because speaking freely and openly about the issues may have unexpected consequences or negative repercussions. An agency manager explained why close-door meetings and private discussions among managers necessarily occur:

The reason that that happens is because no one wants to see a free association of decision making between the managers going on in front of them. No one really wants to see my boss arguing with her boss or my boss arguing with the federal government or the federal government arguing with their boss. I mean, that's ... all stuff that's unprofessional and should be done at some other level ... At some point you ... have to be allowed to make a decision and ... not every case are they gonna want to talk about it all in public ... because somebody might want to be candid and that candor might not be something that the ... [agency] really ... that's not their position ... What if I stood up in a meeting and said, well I think that's perfectly reasonable idea, and I think that we should go ahead and do that and the ... [agency] is thinking well, we can't do that because law prohibits us from doing that, and it would really have been better for me to bring that concern up in private ... and then we ... don't look like a bunch of buffoons. They're all out there, we can't decide on anything ... Some of the people in the working group appreciate that and some of them don't (Table E8-3).

Agency culture dictates that communications occur through proper channels (i.e., chain of command, supervisory approvals, etc.). Information often is distributed on a need to know basis in agency settings. This atmosphere serves well to protect the interests of the agency but limits sharing information and knowledge with agency employees and partners.

In Yup'ik culture, one is expected to share and work together (Table E2). Although some agency managers may in fact be excellent collaborators and relationship builders, there are substantial differences between Yup'ik (i.e., collectivistic) and Euro-American (i.e., individualistic) peoples regarding their approaches to problem solving, collaboration, and managing natural resources and what success looks like for these endeavors (Table E8; 9). Nearly every activity Yup'ik people conduct from birth to passing is approached with the help and guidance of others. The activities connected to hunting, collecting wood, berry picking, fishing, cutting fish, taking steam baths, and even drying foods are collective activities. Because life's tasks are collectively, not individually, conducted in the Yup'ik world, effective negotiations and collaborations with Yup'ik people require culturally appropriate approaches to promote togetherness, consensus, and sharing of information.

Yup'ik people understand and refer to meaningful people as *real* people. The term *real* is not only used to identify a Yup'ik person. It is also used as a defining term to describe a set of characteristics someone or something possesses which makes that person or nonhuman being ideal and true in the context of Yup'ik culture (e.g., a real person or the real land). For example, the *nunapik*, or the real land, refers to the tundra, the Delta, and the Yup'ik people's home. Subsistence harvesters often said that Anchorage is not Alaska. Pointing towards the tundra and the rivers during snow machine rides, Yup'ik people told Bartley, "This is real Alaska." A real person is defined as a person who engages with the real land and other real people to work towards betterment of their communities (Table E5). Through their acts of involvement and positive contributions in their communities, they are afforded great respect from others. How the Yup'ik people interpret a real person has direct implications for how they perceive a meaningful role and their meaningful involvement in collaborative management.

For the Yup'ik, knowledge is acquired through listening, observing, and most importantly doing (Table E1). When agency managers are perceived to lack experiential knowledge on the subject matter which they are discussing, subsistence harvesters question their capacity to be effective decision makers (Table E9-10; 19-11; 20-4):

Decisions ... made from DC handed down to these management heads ... [is] a dangerous system for me. I mean with the stroke of a pen they'd easily wipe out my cultural, my traditional ... spiritual ties to the resource (Table E19-11).

Subsistence harvesters often shared that agency managers and decision makers do not know and understand life in the Delta (Table E9-14; 18). Conversely, one agency manager said that subsistence harvesters "need to do their homework ... and understand some of the [technical] concepts that we're talking about" if they are to be effective managers (Table E13-2). The challenges surrounding the value and utility of stakeholders' knowledge are intensified by stakeholders' lack of understanding for each other's cultures and worldviews.

MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section, we presented management implications and recommendations designed to improve public participation and collaborative management in the Delta. A management implication is a decision aid that provides evidence from completed research about how to achieve a management objective in the future (Guthery 2011). We recommend changes in

current collaborative processes to create positive steps towards more effective public participation and a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in the management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska.

We outlined management implications and recommendations in relation to the three levels of Figure 2 to achieve the first three research objectives. We organized the presentation in six sections: 1) communication, 2) interaction, 3) process, 4) meaningful role, 5) why subsistence harvesters' participation is in decline, and 6) additional factors affecting subsistence harvesters' participation.

Communication

Implications

1. When guess words rather than definitive statements are used by managers at meetings, Yup'ik peoples interpret this as managers' lack of knowledge pertaining to the subject about which they are speaking.
2. If managers are unaware that Yup'ik peoples do not commonly make negative statements, they may assume that Yup'ik subsistence harvesters agree with them when they remain silent; when in fact, they may have very different thoughts altogether on a particular subject.
3. If meetings are held in English and no translator is present, some Yup'ik subsistence harvesters will have great difficulties in participating, and for many, participation will be limited because of the increased difficulty most Yup'ik peoples have with comprehending and expressing highly complex technical terms in English, especially those individuals serving on the Council who are over age sixty-five.
4. If information pertaining to either regulatory closures or management meetings does not get to subsistence harvesters in communities well before the meetings, subsistence harvesters' ability to comprehend and participate will be limited.
5. If audio difficulties exist with the teleconference systems used at meetings, subsistence harvesters' participation will be limited, especially for those

subsistence harvesters who are participating on teleconferences from remote communities.

6. If meetings are held on teleconferences, subsistence harvesters in remote communities will find it difficult to talk and meaningfully engage because there are many people waiting to speak, and it is difficult to hear what is being said.

Recommendations

1. Managers should frequently remind subsistence harvesters that scientists and managers do not intentionally use guess words but often refrain from discussing information and outcomes as absolutes because they have been trained to consider the potential for error and uncertainty.
2. Managers should consider creating and making cultural education classes a requirement for scientists and managers who will be working frequently with Alaska Native peoples and other rural residents. Although formal classroom-based instruction will remain beneficial to scientists and managers, it is even more critical that they meet and engage with subsistence harvesters in both community events and subsistence activities in Western Alaska. Such engagement will provide both groups with opportunities to learn about each other's cultures, goals, and concerns.
3. Managers should consider contracting the services of professional Yup'ik translators at all meetings between subsistence harvesters and managers. Ignoring the importance of the Yup'ik language for communicating in Western Alaska, especially for elders, has led to meaningless participation for many stakeholders.
4. Managers should avoid presenting materials at meetings using highly complex terminology and technical jargon.
5. The Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge should hire two or three outreach specialists, with experience in rural Alaska, to frequently talk with elders and other community leaders about their concerns regarding subsistence and fish and wildlife management. Local hires should be prioritized.

6. While it may seem difficult to travel to communities and interact with subsistence harvesters, there is some evidence that meetings like the Kuskokwim working group have resulted in increased understanding of each other's goals and practices, which can produce increased trust and cultural understanding between stakeholders.
7. In addition to formal business meetings, informal meetings between stakeholders should occur more often in communities to provide stakeholders with opportunities to increase their cultural understanding of one and other and to learn more about their differences and similarities.
8. To enhance the participation of stakeholders by telephone, managers should upgrade and update the current teleconferencing system to be more functional and efficient. Also, more time should be allotted for subsistence harvesters participating by telephone to share their input and concerns.
9. Managers should send meeting materials and information related to regulatory closures as early as possible to allow subsistence harvesters ample time to process the information. This should include contacting and sending information to local tribal government offices. If agencies share information more frequently and in a timely manner, they would improve communication between stakeholders.

Interaction

Implications

1. If interaction and involvement between stakeholders becomes more frequent, working relationships, trust, cultural understanding, and the value placed on the knowledge shared between stakeholders will improve.
2. If managers were willing to engage in subsistence activities with subsistence harvesters, it would lead to increased levels of trust, legitimacy, and cultural understanding between stakeholders.

3. If managers bring community liaisons or other local partners with them to villages to translate and serve as cultural advisors, managers will be better received by subsistence harvesters.
4. If stakeholders do not possess a cultural understanding for other stakeholders involved in collaboration, some stakeholders will be frustrated due to their belief that the other stakeholder groups do not understand their way of life.
5. If subsistence harvesters define a meaningful or real person as a person who is actively sharing, collaborating, and engaging with the community, managers who are not involved or engaged in the communities of the Delta will not be perceived by most subsistence harvesters as trustworthy or real people.
6. If cultural and epistemological differences exist between stakeholder groups, negotiation and collaborations will be difficult, especially if stakeholders lack a cultural awareness for one and other.
7. If dimensions of culture, worldviews on land and animals, approaches to management, and perceptions of a meaningful role are largely divergent between stakeholder groups and opportunities for interaction and sharing of information are infrequent, collaborations between stakeholder groups will likely result in confusion, disagreement, and dissatisfaction.

Recommendations

1. It is critical that managers and subsistence harvesters continually learn about each other's interests, goals, and concerns. To facilitate two-way cultural learning between stakeholders and improve working relationships, managers should increase the number and duration of their visits to rural communities.
2. Managers should bring Refuge Information Technicians, translators, or other cultural advisors with them when they visit rural communities, especially if they are unfamiliar with Yup'ik culture and customs and new to the region.
3. Trust and relationships are built in Western Alaska by engaging with and being seen as a productive member of the community. Visits and discussions between stakeholders should not only be about business. It is often important for managers to meet with community leaders for more than one day without

rigid agendas (Jacobs and Brooks 2011; Dorantes and Brooks 2012). This would allow more time for personal interactions and after-hours activities such as attending school events. Examples include attending/judging science fairs and going to evening sports events.

4. Agency leaders should consider implementing the guidelines in the new tribal consultation policy, which urges Federal Subsistence Board members and other managers to meet with subsistence harvesters in rural communities and go hunting and fishing with them.
5. Improving trust and relationships will require stakeholders to get to know one another much better than they do now. Understanding each other's goals, interests, and objectives will only occur when interactions are diverse and frequent and information is openly shared between stakeholders.
6. Managers should create and staff positions for outreach specialists with skills in cross-cultural communication to work at refuges, forests, preserves, and other federal public lands.
7. Outreach staff should be responsible for communicating with community leaders, tribes, and Alaska Native liaisons in the federal agencies on a regular basis.
8. All agency staff with assignments that require them to interact with Alaska Native peoples should receive mandatory training in cross-cultural communication and rural public relations specific to the places and cultures in which they work.

Process

Implications

1. If meetings are held in formal settings where everyone has to speak into microphones, most Yup'ik peoples will be uncomfortable and many Yup'ik peoples will likely avoid participating.

2. If changes to management plans and regulations are perceived to be rushed and formulated without enough evidence or time for stakeholders to consider and discuss, subsistence harvesters will become frustrated with their lack of meaningful participation in management and planning.
3. If the Federal Subsistence Board and State Boards of Fish and Game consist primarily of members from outside Western Alaska, subsistence harvesters will perceive such management boards as ineffective at managing the natural resources in Western Alaska.
4. If Federal Subsistence Board members were appointed by citizens, subsistence harvesters would consider their participation more meaningful because board members would be perceived as answerable to their local constituents rather than agency directors and departmental secretaries in Washington D.C.
5. If tribes were directly involved in the selection process for appointing members to regional advisory councils and the Federal Subsistence Board, subsistence harvesters would be more satisfied with their participation in the collaborative process.
6. If the coordinator for the working group was a third party consultant unaffiliated with either the federal or state agencies, members of the Kuskokwim working group would be more satisfied with summary reports of their meetings and general administration of the process.

Recommendations

1. Managers should consider holding meetings with subsistence harvesters around one table promoting a comfortable and collaborative atmosphere of equal involvement.
2. During the regulatory cycles of the State Boards of Fish and Game and Federal Subsistence Board, agencies should conduct early consultations with tribes before the public process begins. During the public process, agency managers should frequently discuss proposed changes to regulations with members of rural communities.

3. State and federal agencies should consider providing for the equal representation of stakeholder groups on regulatory boards.
4. Federal agencies should consider involving tribes in the selection of Federal Subsistence Board and regional advisory council members. This would increase the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in collaborative management as directed by ANILCA section 801(5).
5. The Office of Subsistence Management should consider proposals from the private sector to fund the coordinator position for the Kuskokwim working group. This position should not be filled by a local, state, or national government employee. An alternative would be to have three co-chairs, representing state, federal, and local stakeholders to facilitate and coordinate meetings.

Meaningful Role

Implications

1. If most subsistence harvesters desire to work together and make decisions based on consensus of everyone's information, decisions made which do not achieve consensus will lead to frustration on the part of subsistence harvesters.
2. If interactions with subsistence harvesters more closely adhered to the Indian Reorganization Act, which called for direct negotiations between tribes and federal agencies, subsistence harvesters would be more satisfied with their participation in fish and wildlife management.
3. If managers work directly with subsistence harvesters in rural communities outside of hub cities and urban centers, subsistence harvesters would become more familiar with the Federal Subsistence Management Program and more satisfied with their participation.
4. If subsistence harvesters define meaningful involvement as working together with managers as equal stakeholders possessing an equal vote in decision

making, it is expected that participation from subsistence harvesters will remain low until they are given equal decision-making authority.

5. If managers are perceived as people who do not freely share their information with others, Yup'ik subsistence harvesters will not consider them to be real people.

Recommendations

1. Managers should work to make decisions based on consensus agreement between all engaged stakeholders.
2. Federal and state managers should involve subsistence harvesters in discussions on how the process of collaborative management should occur to increase meaningful roles of subsistence harvesters in fish and wildlife management.
3. The federal agencies should consider implementing the consultation guidelines expressed in the Indian Reorganization Act and directly engage federally-recognized tribes on all management issues related to fish and wildlife.
4. All stakeholders should refrain from engaging in discussions which exclude other stakeholders, especially when in public and visible to other stakeholders. Side-bar and private conversations and visible closed-door meetings that exclude some stakeholders lead to rapid deterioration of trust between stakeholders and should be avoided.
5. Federal and state agencies should consider defining what they perceive as a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in collaborative management. Then, formally consult with federally-recognized tribes to revise their ideas and reach an agreed upon definition of meaningful role.
6. The Federal Subsistence Board and State Boards of Fish and Game should work to create regulations and a defensible process in which all stakeholder groups are given equal decision making authority if they want to afford subsistence harvesters a meaningful role in fish and wildlife management.

Why Subsistence Harvesters' Participation is in Decline

Implications

1. When stakeholders possess two very different worldviews on land and animals, the legitimacy and utility of their knowledge will be questioned. This is further exacerbated by a lack of cultural understanding due to a lack of frequent and meaningful interactions between stakeholders.
2. If subsistence harvesters do not perceive their participation as meaningful, their participation will likely continue to decline.
3. If subsistence harvesters are not frequently exposed to elements of the Federal Subsistence Management Program due to a lack of meetings held in rural communities, fewer applications for the Council will be submitted and fewer subsistence harvesters will participate.
4. If elders are asked to serve in roles they perceive as lacking the ability to meaningfully influence regulatory decision-making, fewer applications will be submitted to serve on the regional advisory council because elders are frustrated with having to explain to their constituents that they are unable to do anything about the concerns and needs of their people.
5. If meetings are long, lasting in excess of eight hours, subsistence harvesters, especially elders, will become tired and frustrated, indirectly resulting in suboptimal and incomplete participation. At times, this may directly cause them to withdraw from participating in the process.

Recommendations

1. Learning about each other's worldviews on land and animals will be critical towards creating effective working relationships and increasing levels of trust and understanding between stakeholders.
2. More frequent and shorter meetings, both formal and informal, would decrease the frustrations of subsistence harvesters and provide stakeholder groups with more opportunities to increase cultural awareness.

3. Meetings between stakeholders should be held in rural communities to familiarize subsistence harvesters with the Federal Subsistence Management Program. More subsistence harvesters would likely apply to the regional advisory councils if they knew more about the Federal Subsistence Management Program.
4. One of the largest and often ignored issues is the value of stakeholders' knowledge. Although rarely discussed, both stakeholder groups do possess some apprehension for the knowledge held by other stakeholder groups. To address this challenge in a meaningful way, both stakeholder groups should engage one and other more frequently and discuss not only their thoughts on proposed management actions but more importantly, why they perceive certain management actions to be necessary or not.

Additional Factors Affecting Subsistence Harvesters' Participation

Implications

1. If managers have something they would like to discuss in reference to fish and wildlife management, they should speak with community elders because elders are persons who are considered to be qualified and knowledgeable on the subject of fish and wildlife. When managers fail to talk with several elders in several communities about management problems or issues, Yup'ik peoples will not perceive managers as knowledgeable.
2. If regulations are to be successful, it will be critical for managers to improve working relationships with community elders.
3. If managers make decisions from outside Western Alaska that affect people of the Delta, subsistence harvesters will perceive managers to be unknowledgeable about the land and its people.
4. If there are things that managers would like to say at meetings but feel that they cannot because of their belief that upper level managers would not

approve, complete information and a broader diversity of perceptions and insights will not be shared with meeting participants and other stakeholders.

Recommendations

1. Managers should meet and work more frequently with community elders on management, planning, changing subsistence harvest regulations, and implementing rules.
2. Managers should visit the Delta more often to learn about the land and its people if they wish to be perceived by Western Alaskans as knowledgeable.
3. Federal and state managers should work on promoting an atmosphere of openness and freedom of speech at the workplace, so employees are not afraid to express their concerns related to discussions about planning, management, regulatory decision making, and implementation of regulations.

IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Driving the more observable challenges to stakeholders' meaningful involvement are cultural differences and divergent worldviews between stakeholders. Discussing these differences is an important first step if the goals are effective collaboration, consensus agreements, and ownership among subsistence harvesters in the management process and resulting regulations. Unfortunately, formal and informal discussions rarely take place between stakeholders to identify and understand each other's differences in a way that would have a meaningful impact on collaboration.

During the September 19, 2013 congressional hearing, an elder and subsistence harvester stated:

If I could be so bold to mention some observations that I have had in terms of my participation in the fish and game management. In my view, there's never been any meaningful cooperation. The meeting halls and the conference tables have always been gathered about with an *attitude of withholding*. Not being ... forthcoming ... The rural advisory councils could be composed in such a way that it is more fairly comprised. You know dialogue. Simple things like dialogue. Let's sit down and *talk about the differences*. That has never been had, and if it has been then the dialogue has been approached with a very biased opinion, unyielding opinion. Now we're gonna have to quit that if we're going to solve the issue of fish and game management ... on the basis of sustained yield. We all have to give, and we all have to take. The other thing is the

divisiveness. You are very aware of it. I'm aware of it. I mean there is such *divisiveness about the very subject matter about fish and game management in Alaska*, and yet we all claim that we are concerned about the stocks of the fish and game populations. Now, if we are so moved about the concern, why not we go step forward and meaningfully engage? The other thing that I see as lacking is *respect*. People would rather dislike or hate each other rather than to sit down and try to understand each other. Like, I have never met Senator Manchin. I am impressed with the character of the man because he stepped forward to say that he's interested in hearing more about this discussion here. *I really respect a man for having stepped forward to listen to the differences I may have* (Public Record, U.S.C. 2013, emphasis added).

Aside from his equally important observation that “there has never been any meaningful cooperation” between stakeholders, the emphasized words above demonstrate linkages to some often unseen but important cultural drivers affecting and exacerbating the outcomes of stakeholder collaborations. There are cultural differences between stakeholders regarding appropriate ways to communicate and collaborate. There are cultural differences in how a person becomes knowledgeable. There are cultural differences in the characteristics of a person who is considered to be a meaningful contributor to society. These differences exacerbate the more visible challenges for stakeholders such as flow of information; outcomes of collaborations at meetings; value and legitimacy of stakeholders' knowledge; and when, where, and how meetings operate. Furthermore, divergent worldviews between stakeholders regarding land and animals and lack of understanding for each other's epistemologies present substantial challenges for effective collaborations between stakeholders.

Addressing cultural differences in worldviews on land and animals requires both training and, more importantly, increased interactions between stakeholders (Bartley 2014). It is not enough for subsistence harvesters to travel to Anchorage or managers to Bethel for a day or two. Agency managers and especially decision makers must be willing to travel to and engage with subsistence harvesters in their communities outside of hub cities if they wish to be accepted as knowledgeable and meaningful people. Interactions must not be limited to formal business but include informal socialization and conversations to increase cultural awareness and familiarity between stakeholders as real people and not merely agency managers and subsistence harvesters (Jacobs and Brooks 2011; Bartley 2014).

The divergence between stakeholders' worldviews is linked to culture and drives breakdowns in communication between stakeholders during collaborative management meetings (Bartley 2014). Addressing this issue requires several steps including: 1) education, 2) more and

frequent informal interactions, and 3) interdisciplinary research that is more frequently co-designed and co-conducted by subsistence harvesters and agency scientists and managers. For example, continuing to fund and increasing opportunities for collaborative research is important and may serve as a helpful practice to bridge some of the cultural gaps in understanding among stakeholders. Research objectives designed and guided by paradigms and approaches only familiar to biologists and agency managers tend to overlook alternative paradigms and ways of knowing applied by predominantly Native communities in rural Alaska. Limiting research in this way limits the scope of what is knowable, and it creates frustration on the part of stakeholders whose knowledge is excluded:

One of the problems is that ... [federal agencies] ... put contracts together with federal funds, and allows the State of Alaska to do [much of] the research for them. Yet when we, as a Native organization want to do some research under 809 of ANILCA ... where they're allowed to be able to build capacity. They [agency managers] don't want to do that. And if we put that information together, we're not allowed to use that information that we've compiled to bring it up as issues of concern during the Board of, State of Alaska Board of Fish or Board of Game meetings (Table E20-8).

Some subsistence harvesters, especially those with more experience collaborating with agency managers, are aware that their goals, objectives, and concerns will not be taken seriously until they are meaningfully engaged in the research that guides fish and wildlife management in Alaska. Research reports and written management policies are powerful. Some people in the Delta have come to believe that “The pen that writes on paper is mightier than the way of life of the people who live here” (Table E23-4). Discussing these differences between stakeholders will provide important opportunities for learning more about their shared world and how to manage resources in it. Although difficult, if stakeholders worked together more often to design and conduct research on natural resources important for subsistence, they would create a deeper understanding of one another’s differences.

FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

External forces often affect the features shown in Figure 2 (Bartley 2014). Stakeholders’ perceptions of their participation regarding its meaningfulness can be impacted by larger social, political, or economic pressures that are outside the iceberg. For example, directives from Washington D.C. or Juneau or economic markets for commercially caught fish in the northern Pacific Ocean can toss the iceberg about in the sea, exacerbating barriers to meaningful

participation. Some subsistence harvesters may become frustrated due to a sense of helplessness and stop participating all together. Further research is needed to identify the types and origins of external forces acting on the collaborative process used to manage fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Better understandings of what external forces impact public participation and collaborative management, and to what extent, would provide stakeholders with knowledge needed to mitigate the challenges these external forces present to meaningful participation.

Further research is needed which explores how and to what degree the observed atmosphere of fear among managers is impacting collaborative management in Western Alaska. Evidence demonstrated that at least some managers and scientists are hesitant to speak freely at meetings, which presents a barrier to stakeholders' meaningful participation and effective communication (Bartley 2014). Similarly, if rural residents are hesitant to share their knowledge and perspectives out of fear of ridicule or being disregarded as folklore, communication will remain suboptimal and incomplete.

It would be useful to conduct similar studies elsewhere in Alaska to see if declines in applications for the regional advisory councils in other federal management regions are linked to a similar or different set of cultural drivers and features. We now assume that many of the challenges faced by subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska are shared by subsistence harvesters in other parts of Alaska. Participation in the process as measured by applications to serve on regional advisory councils began declining in all ten federal management regions in 2007. This pattern warrants further research and may be linked to socioeconomic factors and the barriers described in this research. It is likely that subsistence harvesters' perceptions of a meaningful role in other regions of Alaska do not match the actual roles they are afforded by the current process of collaborative management used by the agencies. Cultural differences and divergent worldviews are most likely linked to why participation is declining in other places in Alaska.

CONCLUSIONS

To achieve a more holistic and practical understanding of collaborative management in Western Alaska, stakeholders need to look beyond the visible outcomes of public participation. The decline in applications to serve on regional advisory councils is merely the tip of the iceberg.

Deep below the waterline, a number of cultural drivers have been shown to influence the more observable challenges and unsatisfactory outcomes of collaborative management located above the waterline (Bartley 2014). Because stakeholders demonstrate a large number of social and cultural differences and divergent, often conflicting worldviews on land and animals, barriers to stakeholders' meaningful participation are magnified. How we perceive our world and our relationship to our world greatly influence our approaches to problem solving and management. The visible participatory outcomes above the waterline such as stakeholders' perceptions of their participation and their motivations to participate are strongly linked to largely unseen and often ignored cultural and epistemological differences between stakeholders (Bartley 2014).

At present, many stakeholders lack an understanding of each other's worldviews of land and animals, cultural values, beliefs about the limits and uses of both scientific and traditional knowledge, and goals of collaborative management. This lack of understanding has proved to be one of the most significant factors affecting meaningful participatory engagements between stakeholders. Addressing this substantial barrier to meaningful participation for both subsistence harvesters and managers will require more and better communication and interactions between stakeholders. To increase interaction and improve communication and trust, collaboration in the form of meetings must not remain solely focused on business. Meetings and interactions, both formal and informal, must include time for activities and events not directly related to the business at hand. Stakeholders must begin to discuss and share knowledge about their differences.

How Yup'ik peoples define a real person is directly related to their perceptions of meaningful roles in collaborative management of fish and wildlife (Bartley 2014). For Yup'ik peoples, real people are those who are actively engaged in the community. They are selfless givers of their time and resources. Furthermore, they are knowledgeable people to whom other Yup'ik peoples look for guidance and advice. The characteristics of a real person are closely linked to the roles of elders in communities. For many Yup'ik people, becoming a real person is a status that one should aspire to achieve. The status of a real person is not understood as holding power and decision-making authority. Rather, it is a status of honor and respect that is granted to a person who behaves appropriately and has demonstrated that he or she possesses a great deal of knowledge, experience, selflessness, and humility. The implications behind the meaning of a real person are far reaching and affect: 1) interactions between managers and

subsistence harvesters, 2) how Yup'ik peoples perceive outsiders and their involvement in Yup'ik communities, 3) levels of trust in and value of stakeholders' knowledge, and 4) Yup'ik perceptions about sharing information and resources. Meaningful and effective collaboration depends on gaining a much improved understanding between stakeholders of one and other's perceptions of a meaningful role and differences between how stakeholders characterize a meaningfully involved person.

We observed an atmosphere of hesitancy to speak up among some managers and biologists employed by agencies working in Western Alaska. This has likely led to a number of impacts reaching far beyond collaborative management and calls into question whether or not the outcomes of natural resource management might be limited and incomplete due to particular ideas and insights being withheld by agency managers and scientists who choose not to speak up. Some agency employees were concerned about sharing some information at meetings because of anticipated repercussions or the belief that it would be unprofessional to do so. Missing information from discussions on natural resources management issues could result in potentially negative outcomes.

Some of the key factors that influence why subsistence harvesters' participation is in decline are interconnected with barriers to what they consider to be meaningful roles and interactions. Barriers to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation include: 1) infrequent interaction between stakeholders, 2) communication difficulties related to conversation and the sharing and/or flow of information between stakeholders, and 3) factors related to logistics and operating procedures that direct the timing of stakeholder groups' engagements and where and how participation and collaboration occur. Other factors related to why some subsistence harvesters' are not participating include: 1) lack of exposure to the federal and state subsistence management programs due to infrequent meetings in rural communities, 2) high costs of travel for subsistence harvesters to attend meetings in Bethel or Anchorage, and 3) perceptions held by subsistence harvesters that their participation in collaborative management is meaningless or limited at best.

Although this research did not focus on external forces affecting subsistence harvesters' participation, there was some evidence that the complexities and politics involved with federal and state dual management and the economics of commercial fishing on the high seas, for examples, have created confusion and frustration on the part of subsistence harvesters. Some of

the more visible outcomes include: 1) lack of trust, 2) lack of legitimacy afforded to each other's values and knowledge, and 3) poor working relationships between stakeholders. A first step towards building trust and improving relationships between stakeholders is implementing agency practices that require more frequent engagements and interactions between stakeholders in remote communities. A better understanding of each other's interests, concerns, goals, worldviews, and approaches to management would likely result in stakeholders' increased satisfaction with their participation in collaborative management.

Subsistence harvesters equated a meaningful role with: 1) working directly with managers, 2) sharing decision making authority, and 3) having their knowledge and input valued by managers and decision makers. The actual roles given to subsistence harvesters by agencies should more closely match their desired roles. As long as this is not the case, agency managers can expect that participation from subsistence harvesters in collaborative management will most likely remain low in Western Alaska and other regions of the state.

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FIRST AUTHOR'S PERSONAL NOTE

Since relationships are not entirely about the business at hand, first author, Kevin Bartley took the time to write a personal note. I extend a special thank you to Jeff Brooks. You have been my teacher, colleague, and trusted mentor. Your knowledge and understanding of social science philosophy, paradigms, theories, and methods and your organizational skills, patience, and understanding have served this project well. Thank you for your work as project officer and technical advisor on the research grant that made this report possible. Thank you for coauthoring, reviewing, and editing this report.

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I never would have imagined that research could change my life. During this long process, my eyes were opened to new and fascinating things, and my soul began to ponder many philosophical questions. Following a fishing trip in 2013, I entered the door of my Yup'ik family's house to see the women swarming the fish we had caught with faces aglow and smiles all around. The richness of life that is obtained through a communal act of harvesting and sharing fish brings unimaginable joy that cannot be replaced. When I returned from the Delta, I felt re-born inside. My childhood memories of helping my aunts can green beans collected from our family's farm were reawakened. The happiness I felt harvesting salmon with my Yup'ik family brought a moment of *déjà vu* I have longed to revisit for many years. Somehow going to the grocery store for a frozen pizza is not only bad for your body, but I believe it also limits the potential for the mind, body, and soul to be happy, joyful, and at rest.

A Yup'ik woman warned me, "You needed to be careful what you write because Yup'ik people have an unwritten copyright, and they are aware of this. It is important to write only what the elder tells you because the younger generations will read your book, and we want them to have the knowledge that our elders passed on to us and not something else." Knowledge, I later learned is passed on exactly as it was told to Yup'ik people by their elders to ensure customs and knowledge are retained by future generations. These words heaped a tremendous duty upon my shoulders, and it is a duty that I have done my best to uphold. During this research, I pursued a holistic understanding of stakeholders' participation in collaborative management. I went beyond the meetings and into the homes and lives of respondents. They entrusted me with their knowledge, and I have labored tirelessly to relay the information provided to me as meaningfully as possible.

Quyana. Thank you.

APPENDIX A. RESEARCH CONTEXT

Study Area

Bethel, the regional hub of Western Alaska, lies roughly 400 miles west of Anchorage, the largest city in Alaska. There are no roads connecting Bethel to any of the 56 villages in Western Alaska or beyond. For this reason, communities in Western Alaska are accessible only by boat, airplane, or snow machine, and are usually reached by airplane or boat, if one has hired someone who is knowledgeable of the many braided waterways throughout the Delta.

The Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers are two major rivers within the Delta and provide habitat for five species of Pacific salmon including Chinook (i.e., king salmon), Coho, Sockeye, Pink, and Chum salmon. Moose are scattered throughout the Delta, but are most heavily populated in the lower Yukon River and north of Aniak and Russian Mission along the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers. The Mulchatna and Killbuck caribou herds migrate throughout Western Alaska during the fall and winter. A number of fur bearing animals including beaver, muskrat, river otters, wolverine, marten, lynx, wolves, and foxes rely upon this ecosystem.

Timber is not abundant in the lower sections of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers or near the coast of Western Alaska, so people living in these areas must collect wood from the rivers as it floats down from the upper reaches during the ice breakup period. At the coast of Western Alaska, a number of migratory bird species return each year to breed. Sea mammals including beluga whales, seals, sea lions, and walrus travel the coast, providing coastal communities with a variety of nutritional foods both high in fats and proteins. Seal oil is often rendered and used for dipping various foods as a condiment. Seal oil is also ingested by hunters to keep warm on long hunting or fishing trips during winter.

Although the Delta is home to a large number and variety of fish (e.g., salmon, pike, blackfish, tomcod, eels, and white fish), land and sea mammals, and birds, these are not equally dispersed throughout the Delta, thus it requires a great deal of knowledge and experience to locate the desired fish, animals, or birds at the proper times. Because areas of the Delta often allow access to some fish and wildlife in abundance while lacking access to other important resources, sharing and trading foods between communities and families is a longstanding, customary practice among Yup'ik people and other residents of the Delta. When Yup'ik peoples travel, they almost always bring Yup'ik foods with them to share with others.

Weather patterns can be extremely variable in parts of the Delta. Temperatures fluctuate substantially. Spring begins in May, and it is marked by the migration of ptarmigan into the Delta. Shortly after, the ice breaks up in the rivers and is followed by high water and flooding. Some coastal communities experience floods that maroon community residents, and houses often appear to be floating along the coast during the spring breakup period. Migratory birds are hunted in spring, and wood is collected from the rivers. Summer temperatures can be hot, but usually average between 65 and 75 degrees Fahrenheit. Some summers in Western Alaska can include large amounts of rain, which can thwart peoples' efforts to dry fish, especially if closures on subsistence salmon fishing are extended as was the case during the summer of 2012. Fall usually brings substantial amounts of wind and rain to the Delta. Many Yup'ik people and other rural residents hunt moose and pick berries during fall. Winters can be extremely cold with temperatures occasionally plummeting to below minus 40 degrees Fahrenheit. On average, temperatures usually stay below zero throughout the winter except when warm air masses move up from the Pacific Ocean, which can cause substantial overflow on the rivers (i.e., several feet of water from melted ice). These warm air events can make travel by snow machine extremely treacherous. The winter is a time of celebration and sharing with family and friends. Carnivals and dancing are held in many communities. Dog mushing races are held in many places throughout the Delta.

Study Population

The study population was rural residents of Western Alaska of which there are an estimated 24,467 people according to the 2010 Census (State of Alaska 2010). Of these, an estimated 21,194

people are of Alaska Native or American Indian descent (State of Alaska 2010). Table A1 shows total population, number of Alaska Native peoples living in target communities, and local government organizations.

Table A1. Population and governance for target communities in the Delta (U.S. Census 2010).

Communities	Population	Alaska Native population	Governance
Hooper Bay	1,093	1,070	Hooper Bay Traditional Council
Marshall	414	402	Marshall Traditional Council
Russian Mission	312	302	Russian Mission Traditional Council
Tuntutuliak	382	370	Tuntutuliak Traditional Council
Bethel	6,080	4,334	<i>Orutsararmiut</i> Native Council
Kwethluk	721	703	Kwethluk IRA Council
Tuluksak	373	357	Tuluksak IRA Council
Aniak	501	397	Aniak Traditional Council
Napaimute	2	1	Napaimute Traditional Council

Map A1 shows where each of the target communities is located and illustrates the vast area of the Delta. The yellow arrows indicate villages that Bartley visited while interviewing. According to Krauss et al. (2011) there are approximately 10,400 Yup'ik peoples who speak Central Yup'ik. While English may be the primary language spoken in Western Alaska, it is apparent upon visiting communities there that Yup'ik is widely spoken, although more so among the elder generations over age 65.

One of the largest employers in Western Alaska is the Alaska Native Health Consortium. In 2010, it employed between 1,500 and 1,749 employees on average per month (State of Alaska 2010). Commercial fishing in years past has been one of the primary occupations of males in Western Alaska (Langdon 1987) although these opportunities have substantially waned in recent years due to declining numbers of Chinook salmon (ADF&G 2012) and increased fishing restrictions due to conservation concerns. Other major sources of employment include the Lower Kuskokwim and Lower Yukon school districts, federal and state governments, Alaska Native regional and tribal corporations, and the Coastal Villages Region Fund (i.e. community development quota organization established by the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act in 1976).

The annual subsistence harvest of food for each person in Western Alaska is 490 pounds of subsistence caught wild foods (ADF&G 2010:3). In these communities, there is minimal reliance on store bought foods. Aside from the high cost of store bought food throughout Western Alaska, subsistence harvesters primarily favor their traditional foods for taste, health, and affirmation of their cultural identities and ways of life.

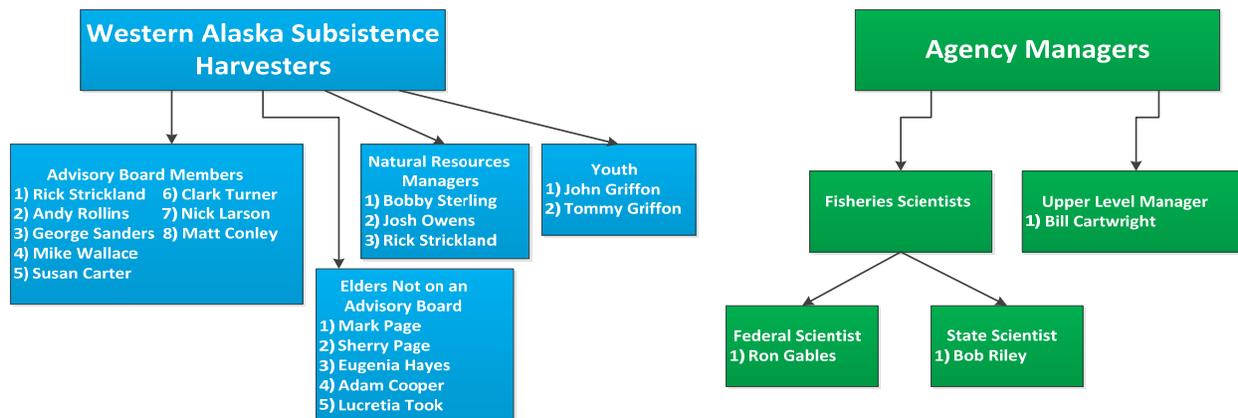


Figure A1. Study groups.

Study groups were defined according to roles and professional affiliations. For example, Bartley (2014) split state (Fish and Game) and federal (Fish and Wildlife) fisheries scientists into sub groups (Figure A1). This decision was made after observing that the information contained in the interviews for federal and state fisheries scientists often represented differing perceptions on similar issues. This was due in part to the differing agency affiliations between these fisheries scientists and likely the result of culturally learned attitudes from years serving as professionals in government agencies that often have different missions and goals. A second study group was created for one of the federal managers because he was an upper-level agency manager. His role and relation to subsistence management was distinct from the role and responsibilities of the other fisheries scientists in the sample. Similarly, subsistence harvesters who were employed as natural resources managers represented a distinct group due to their agency affiliations and/or roles as managers. Elders who were leaders in their communities, but who were not on advisory groups were defined as a separate subgroup from elders who were advisory group members. As part of the research design, it was assumed that perceptions of participatory processes varied between those directly involved and those indirectly involved in collaborative management.

Bartley purposely traveled in several areas throughout the Delta to gather views and concerns of subsistence harvesters, representing multiple places. The intent was to capture a range of perceptions on public participatory processes used in management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska.

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Exploring Collaborative Management in Western Alaska

University of Alaska, Anchorage
Department of Anthropology

Interview Consent Form

Researcher

Kevin A. Bartley
907-764-0095
kabartley@uaa.alaska.edu

Description:

You are being asked to participate in a master's thesis research project that is being funded through the Office of Subsistence Management at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife. This research will be aimed at identifying the factors affecting advisory group members' involvement in the collaborative management of subsistence resources. The thesis will focus on my observations of the YR DFA, KRSMWG, and the YK RAC and the voluntary interviews that I will be conducting with advisory group members. If you wish to participate, I would like to interview you on your knowledge and experiences gained from participating as a member of one or more of these three advisory groups. Your perspective is of great importance, and would greatly help to identify ways in which to improve collaborative management between rural subsistence users and resource managers. I will be recording this discussion, and taking hand written notes during the interview. This should take about an hour to complete.

Voluntary Nature of Participation:

Your participation in this research is voluntary. At any time prior to the publication of my thesis you may contact me and withdraw your consent.

Confidentiality:

The protection of your identity is my primary concern. Under no circumstances will your identity or participation in this study be compromised. The thesis publication will use fake names for all participants to protect your and others identity.

Potential Benefits and Risks:

By participating in this interview neither you nor any groups you are affiliated with are at risk. Likewise, you will experience no immediate benefits as a result of your participation. However, long term benefits for the collaborative management process involved in subsistence resource management may be possible as a result of the analysis of this research.

Contact People

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Dr. Steve Langdon, Thesis Committee Chair, at 786-6848. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant please do not hesitate to contact Dr. Robert White, UAA Interim Vice Provost for Research and Graduate Studies, at (907) 786-1099.

Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX C. DETAILS OF ANALYSIS

Analytical Guide: The Iceberg Model of Culture

Following extensive reading and observations of collaborative management meetings, Bartley (2014) adapted an *a priori* model to guide this analysis. The model is commonly referred to as the iceberg model of culture (Hall 1976). Brooks (2003:40) defined an *a priori* model as a predetermined model based on previous research and experience used to represent, in part, a researcher's pre-understandings of a phenomenon or an issue prior to beginning new research. While *a priori* models are often utilized in the natural sciences to test cause and effect relationships, these can also be used to guide qualitative interpretive research in which the goal is to develop a deep understanding of the complex meanings that surround human phenomena (Brooks 2003:40).

Hall (1976) demonstrated that only a small portion of culture is visible to others who are outside of that particular culture and who may be interested in learning more about it. To understand another culture, Hall (1976) argues that one must actively participate in or engage with that culture. Bartley (2014) assumed that to understand why subsistence harvesters' participation is in decline, he would need to first identify most of the parts (i.e., individual units of meaning) of collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Then, he would need to learn if and how these parts are connected to each other and to collaborative management as a whole.

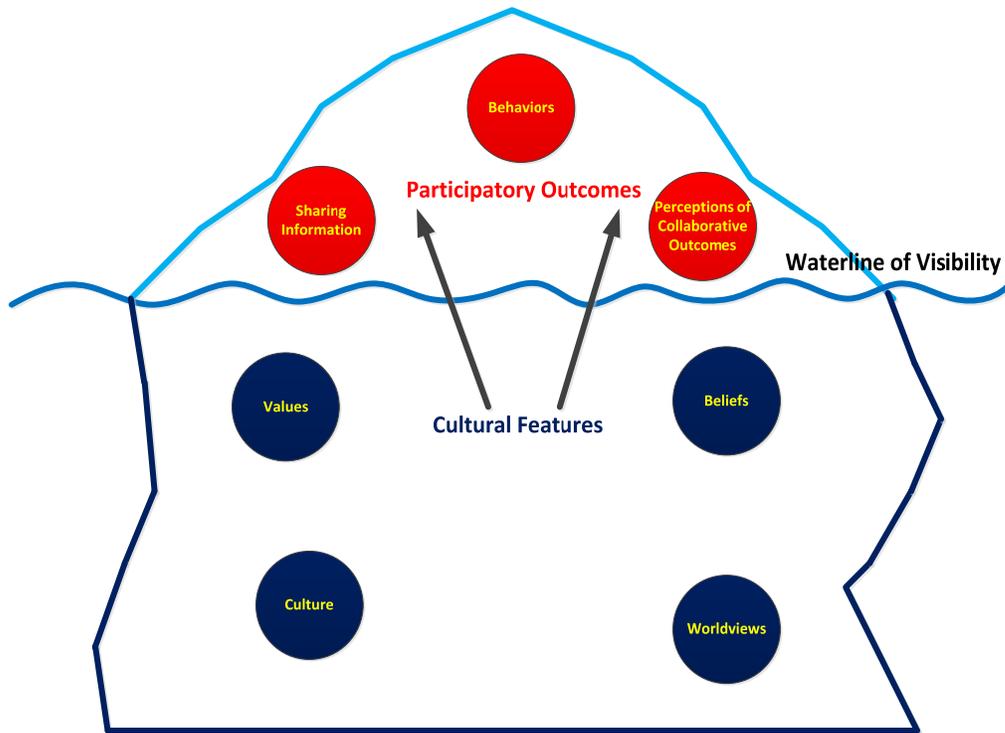


Figure C1. Iceberg Model of Culture adapted from Hall (1976).

Figure C1 is a visualization of Bartley's pre-understandings of collaborative management in Western Alaska. His understanding of collaborative management of fish and wildlife before analyzing the data was influenced by his experiences observing fisheries management meetings for the Yukon and Kuskokwim river drainages during the summer of 2012. This understanding also was influenced by his

formal training in anthropology and political ecology. Hall's (1976) model of culture in conjunction with these pre-understandings led to a series of propositions: 1) Often unseen features of Yup'ik culture in Western Alaska are located below the cultural waterline of visibility (Figure C1). 2) These unseen features are closely related to a people's system of values and beliefs and their collective worldviews and epistemologies. 3) The unseen features in Figure C1 are quite fluid and connected to one and other, and these are linked to and affect the visible outcomes of collaborative management. 4) Unseen cultural features below the waterline essentially drive the more visible outcomes at the tip of the iceberg.

Understanding Interrelationships between Emergent Themes

Using the list of 72 thematic codes represented by emergent themes (Appendix D) and the co-occurrence chart, Bartley drew a schematic diagram to illustrate parts of the collaborative management processes he observed in Western Alaska (Bartley 2014). At this point, he understood that some thematic codes represented often unseen cultural features linked to collaborative management and placed them below the waterline of the iceberg model. Bartley located other thematic codes above the waterline. After comparing his first attempt to illustrate the iceberg model with data in the co-occurrence chart, he removed some thematic codes and combined others into what became the features of the final organizing system (Bartley 2014). He defined features as key parts of collaborative management in Western Alaska. Features were created by lumping similarly related emergent themes identified after the completion of the across transcript analysis. In instances of substantial complexity, he created dimensions to illustrate the various subcomponents of larger features (Bartley 2014), defining dimensions as sub parts of features.

Figure C2 illustrates the relationship between meaning units, thematic codes, and features (with dimensions where necessary). Figure C2 illustrates the analytical process used in the across-transcript phase of analysis. While working on the synopsis iterations, Bartley conducted six interpretive cycles in total for each of the transcripts resulting in seven synopsis iterations. The seventh iteration marked the final re-organization of meaning units into emergent themes within each transcript. The list of 72 emergent themes that resulted from the six interpretive cycles was then used to create 72 thematic codes in Atlas Ti, corresponding with the labels used for each emergent theme.

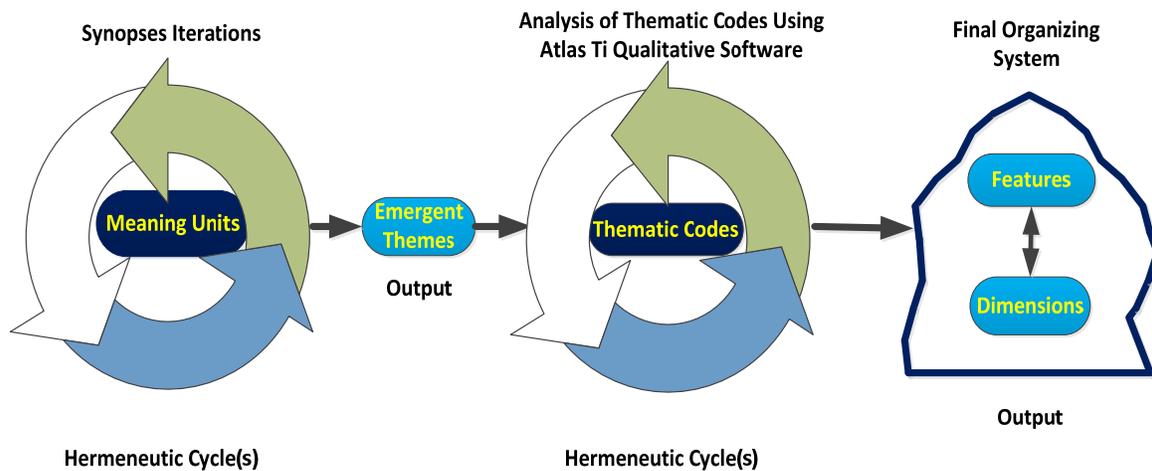


Figure C2. A Process for Studying Meaning.

Once the coding process was complete, Bartley used Atlas Ti to generate output files that contained all meaning units from all transcripts associated with each thematic code. This allowed me to quickly understand the totalities of each emergent theme. The totality of an emergent theme is understood as its limits specified by the meaning units observed in the data. A second output file, the co-occurrence chart, allowed Bartley to compare what he had learned through participant observation and the

synopses iterations with a printout of all linkages, or interrelationships, between thematic codes. Together, these tools led to the final organizing system developed to illustrate the results of the interpretive analysis across transcripts (Bartley 2014).

Understanding Interrelationships between Features

To effectively understand collaborative management, managers are required to consider how multiple features of collaborative management affect each other. Bartley observed a number of important interrelationships, or linkages, between features and dimensions of features (Bartley 2014). He found special meaning units in the data that indicated and illustrated these important interrelationships. Bartley coded and labelled these meaning units *penetrators*. These codes penetrated through multiple levels of visibility in the iceberg model to link unseen features at lower levels to more visible participatory outcomes observed near the tip of the iceberg (Bartley 2014).

APPENDIX D. LIST OF THEMATIC CODES

Dimensions of Yup'ik Culture

- 1) Sharing
- 2) Learning and Becoming an Expert by Doing and Observing
- 3) The Importance of Doing
- 4) The Importance of Community and Familial Bonds
- 5) Respect for Elders Knowledge
- 6) The Importance of Doing One's Best
- 7) Injunction against Negative Acts or Thoughts
- 8) Moving
- 9) Communication
- 10) The Importance of Showing Care and Respect towards Animals
- 11) The Importance of Observing
- 12) Injunction against Waste
- 13) The Importance of Telling Ourselves
- 14) Injunction against Profiting from Knowledge you receive from Others
- 15) How Knowledge is connected to Identity in the Yup'ik World

Stakeholders' Worldviews

- 16) Yup'ik Epistemology on Land and Animals
- 17) Managers Epistemology on Ecospheres and Animals

Perceptual Differences on Management between Stakeholders

- 18) Yup'ik Approach to Management
- 19) Managers' Perceptions of and Approaches to Natural Resource Management
- 20) Managers' Perceptions of and Approaches to Pollock Fisheries Management and the Impact of Pollock Fisheries on Chinook salmon

Stakeholders' Perceptions of the Other and their Approaches to Management

- 21) Subsistence Harvesters' Perception of Agency Management and Managers
- 22) Subsistence Harvesters' Perception of Agencies' Approach to Management and the Differences between Them
- 23) Teachers as Leaders and Models of What Subsistence Harvesters Would Like to See Managers Be More Like
- 24) Managers' Perceptions of Subsistence Harvesters and Subsistence
- 25) Managers' Perceptions of Agencies Approach to Natural Resource Management and the Differences between Them

Cultural Differences between Stakeholders on Ways of Life

- 26) What Subsistence Means to Yup'ik People
- 27) Perceived Differences between Rural and Urban Areas
- 28) Yup'ik Way of Life
- 29) Yup'ik Perceptions of Wealth and Differences in how Urban Peoples Perceive Wealth
- 30) Perception that Alaska Native Culture is Similar to Other Rural Cultures Elsewhere in America
- 31) Differences between Yup'ik and European Peoples

Barriers and Facilitators to Stakeholders Meaningful Participation

- 32) Communication and Language
- 33) Interaction and Involvement
- 34) Managers Belief that Subsistence Users need Education, not Managers

- 35) Legitimacy of Subsistence Harvesters Knowledge
- 36) Working Relations
- 37) Belief that Either Subsistence Harvesters or Managers are the Most Qualified to Manage the Natural Resources of Western Alaska
- 38) Sharing Information
- 39) Political Factors Affecting Participation
- 40) Evidence that there is a Lack of Understanding for the Goals, Interests, and Objectives Between Subsistence Harvesters and Managers
- 41) Working Together
- 42) Importance of Possessing a Cultural Understanding for All Stakeholders Involved in the Participatory Process
- 43) Process
- 44) Underrepresentation of User Groups in Participatory Process
- 45) Belief that too Many Managers Makes Things More Difficult
- 46) Observations that much of the Research Conducted in Western Alaska is Biological Research and the Desire for More Social Science Research
- 47) Belief that Managers Blame Subsistence Users and Would Like to See Managers Engage Subsistence Harvesters so they can be Part of the Solution

Factors Contributing to Declining Participation and Council Membership Applications

- 48) Why Fewer Council Applications are Being Submitted
- 49) Why Council Members Participate
- 50) Why Subsistence Harvesters Do Not Participate
- 51) Historical Information on When Council Participation was higher and why
- 52) Political Factors Affecting Council Participation
- 53) Suggestions for and Perceptions of the Council Application Process and the Council Process
- 54) Managers Perception of Why Subsistence Harvesters Participate
- 55) Managers Belief that the Perception of the Quality Level of Participation from Subsistence Harvesters is linked to their Frequency of Participation
- 56) Managers Perception of Why Subsistence Harvesters Do Not Participate

Meaningful Involvement

- 57) Managers' Perception of How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Role in the Shared Management of Natural Resources and on Specific Advisory Groups
- 58) Managers' Perception of Factors Which Inhibit or Limit the Meaningful Participation of Subsistence Harvesters and Examples When the Regulatory Process was perceived as a Failure
- 59) Observation that Roles and Perceptions of Participatory Management of Natural Resources are Perceived Differently among Stakeholders
- 60) Managers' Perception of Factors Necessary for Subsistence Harvesters Participation of their Role to be perceived as Meaningful
- 61) Managers' Perception of How Participatory Outcomes Impact Advisory Group Members
- 62) How Managers Perceive their Role in Natural Resources and their Participation on Specific Advisory Groups
- 63) Managers' Perception of the Role of Subsistence Users in Participatory Management and on Specific Advisory Groups
- 64) Perception of Co-Management of Natural Resources and the Power Afforded to Advisory Group Members to Participate in Participatory Management
- 65) How Managers Define Subsistence Harvesters Meaningful Involvement
- 66) Perception of Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association and Comparison with the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group

- 67) Who Subsistence Users Perceive as Having More Decision Making Power in the Management of Natural Resources in Western Alaska and How this Makes Them Feel
- 68) Factors Which Inhibit or Limit the Meaningful Participation of Subsistence Users and Examples when the Regulatory Process was perceived as a Failure
- 69) How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Role in the Shared Management of Natural Resources and their Participation on Specific Advisory Groups
- 70) Factors Necessary for Subsistence Harvesters Participation or their Role to be perceived as Meaningful and Historical examples of What Subsistence Harvesters perceived as a More Optimal Participatory Process
- 71) How Meaningful Participation is defined by Subsistence Harvesters
- 72) Subsistence Harvesters' Perception of How Participatory Outcomes Impact Advisory Group Members

APPENDIX E. DATA TABLES

Table E1. Becoming a Knowledgeable Person.

1-1	<p>Andy Rollins: Every day from the time you open your eyes, to the time you close them, it has a new challenge. Although it is the same subject, the same, it's going to have something different, you can learn from it. Example, I am now over sixty-five, and I am still learning. Every day you don't consider yourself ah, I know everything. Or, I know enough now I'm not going to [learn] it. Those two are the worst ah, not good for you, they're not helping you out. Listen to it, even if it's the same subject, and somebody is talking to you, even from the different person using the same subject, listen. The old men used to tell me, "Watch the lips. Once you turn your eye away from that lip, you're going to miss a word. And that word you miss, might have been the core of that conversation. 4:8</p>
1-2	<p>Clark Turner: In winter time, we hunt more. And then ah, like I said I survived eating fish. Um, there was no stores close by, no store in Tuntutuliak. No school, no church—or there was a small, small church, anyway, we went to. But the services are not like church services. They're not like today. Sunday's were the only time we go to church. Now we go have church, three times on Sunday. Morning service, morning worship, Sunday school service, and evening service. And when I was a kid, coming in from, after we come back from fall camp, we stay short time again in the village, and then go to spring camp, like I told you. So we move around here um, mostly by dog teams when we travel in the winter time, because there [were] ... no snow machines [in] those days. No four-wheelers, nothing. Things were pretty quiet. You can hear that refrigerator now, but things were very quiet those years, no electrical, or nothing. 8:71</p>
1-3	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: I think the importance of what he was telling you this time is, you're research is going to lead to one goal. By not only him, but other people you interview, you'll put all of those words together, and at the end you will see the meaning of the concerns. Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Translator: What he said is that um, your question is answered in different way. Um, he did not answer the, the resource managers visiting. But he went back to part of the answers that he gave you. He said, the way the language is, is that there will be many comments, when you try to find out something. And you won't understand immediately what the concern is, for an example, concern. But you will hear different comments along the same line as you visit other places, other homes. But at the end, at the end when you compile everything together, that's when you'll say in Western terms, Ahh, so this is what the concern is. Everything will funnel down to one, one—just like having a meeting, trying to compile all of the comments together. One concern, the people have will be compiled to just one, it'll funnel down to one. Exactly what he said earlier, like funneling down to one, one meaning or one purpose, for an example. 14:5 and 14:23</p>
1-4	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: What he said, also was that sometime today, as we go with our, as we go with your interview, you will hear the same story. Even though it's portrayed in different manner, it will be same story. People are concerned about some of these things. [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: What he saying is that um, before we leave the village, as you go, as you go continue your interview here, before we depart from the village, it will reach the goal that you are trying to reach, on record. And you will begin to understand what the problem is, or what concerns are in the village. 14:18</p>
1-5	<p>Matt Conley: When we first started bring Napaimute back to life and it was an abandoned Village you know? And we built a cabin there and start bringing my children there when they were young. We didn't have electricity, we didn't have TV, we didn't. . . it gave us a chance to go back in time and teach them. And at night you know, we didn't have a TV so I'd tell them stories. I've spent countless hours just sitting like this listening to Elders tell stories in my life and I'm able to pass that stuff on to my kids. And then we brought a TV in and it all went downhill, you know? And we got satellite and internet and cell service now you know, and we don't do that anymore. So that's what we re-experienced what had already happened in all the full blown Villages, you know. People used to talk. There was nothing else distracting them. And I learned not just the stories, a lot of stuff, some skills that nobody probably knows how to do anymore you know, like making rawhide or splitting spruce shoots for tying you know, stuff like that. 15:2</p>
1-6	<p>Matt Conley: Two things I've told people, new people up, many times some of the smartest people I knew didn't read or write English. They were highly intelligent. Second thing, you want to know the people, know the land, you know. Know the land, you can't separate them you know. Maybe—maybe the younger generation you can, I don't know, but the older people they—they lived, born and died out there, you know. Most—most of the older people weren't born in hospitals, they were born in camps, you know. And their graves are everywhere out there where they travelled, you know. And there were people out there camping, spring camp, fall camp, somebody died they buried them, you know. And that whole time they're out there they're observing everything, you know. 15:7</p>
1-7	<p>Interviewer: You know my friends, he shows me, he says you can look at the clouds and tell a lot. Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. Interviewer: He says when the clouds are stretched out, like this, it's going to be windy. Nick Larson: It's windy out there, it's stretchy. If it's quiet and pale, it's cold up there, even though it's warm over here. But if they start to turn dark, it'll be storm coming and warming up. Interviewer: Uh-huh, and you don't need the weather man to tell you that. Nick Larson: Up in the hills, that's what my dad used to teach me a lot. Just by observing the surrounding, the sky, the water, how the animals are behaving. He said if you are watchful, if you can watch, what's going on in your environment, you got a pretty, a good idea of how the weather will be for the day or even up to a few days. He said even the animals will tell you. Even in the water, if you look at the water in the clear, fast water creeks, if there's low pressure right above you, the water starts to turn, change color, murky and silky, low pressure on top and the water level start to move up, the</p>

	<p>water level goes a little bit further up. Just when it change real fast, the water start to come out. That's our barometers [laughter]. Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. There is no shortage of bits of knowledge, you know. Nick Larson: Yeah, if you watch those ptarmigan, if they go on a feeding frenzy, it will tell me that the storms coming, they're getting ready for the storm. They'll fill up the clouds, feed real heavy, because it'll be buried in the snow while the storm is on. It's the same thing with fish, they'll be biting like crazy right before the storms. Interviewer: Huh. You know, I fished while I was younger, all my life, and you're right, I could always tell when it was getting ready to rain like crazy, because right before the rain, they would be biting like mad, you know. Nick Larson: Yeah, same story in this area. 17:5</p>
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in the software program Atlas.ti.

Table E2. Sharing.

2-1	<p>Clark Turner: Let me get some lunch for you here, I canned some, some fish. I don't know how these things are, but these are mine canned fish. It's lunchtime. I've been giving these away so ah, help yourself. Anyway, ah, when I was a kid, when I grow up ah . . . I went to cannery to earn money there. And ah, when I was eighteen—when we were small, those years, we were ah, we were told whatever money we earn, and we can't keep it. Ah, but ah, ah, by help our parents buy fish—I mean buy food. Ah, so first year, I went cannery and earned money, I was seventeen. And earn money that time, earn seven hundred dollars. That was a lot of money. So I help ah, my step father buy a motor, and the rest of them, I give it to him to buy flour and sugar and all the food from the store. You want to try, there's a little can of that. [Respondent offers interviewer food] Interviewer: Oh that's good, <i>quyana</i>. Clark Turner: Anyway, I start earning money that time, when I was ah, seventeen, because I went to cannery that time. These are smoked little bit and dried.</p> <p>Interviewer: Umm, umm. [Interviewer enjoys eating fish] Clark Turner: Anyway, I went to work at the cannery that time and earn money, and came home, give the rest of my money to my mom and step-father. 8:1</p>
2-2	<p>Clark Turner: . . . and I was one of the speakers and I mentioned how I survived, eating fish. We've ah, been given blackfish in winter time, that's our fresh fish. And ah, we were given ah, tomcods from Kwigillingok, frozen tomcods. Interviewer: Ooh, wow. Clark Turner: And ah, stickleback's from Kipnuk. Those, you can survive off of those. I, because I survive off of those, fish, when I was young. Or when I was a kid. 'Cause those days, people die from tuberculosis. 8:2</p>
2-3	<p>Interviewer: When I was talking to George Sanders, he said, "I sure hope you get down there, and you see Mr. Clark Turner." And ah, and I said, "Well I plan on it." And ah, but ah, you know, it inspires me. It makes me happy to see that there are people on the upriver, and there are people on the lower river that come together in these teleconferences because they all care about this. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And they care about each other. And I read this thing that was written a long time ago. Ah, not all that long ago, maybe ten years ago. It was written by this woman named Syma Ebbin. And she did this study of the Kuskokwim Management Group. Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: She said she noticed that there were hostilities between the lower river and upper river peoples as a result of the working group being teleconferenced. And I listened to the teleconferences for three months. And every once in a while you'll hear things like that. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: But the vast majority of the things that I heard, were people in the lower river saying, "We want the people in the upper river to get these opportunities too." And the people in the upper river saying, down there, you know, that people want opportunities . . . Clark Turner: Yeah, like I said, working together like that helps, even resource like that, like the fish. When you're sharing something that, you get it back to you. Or that's our old rule that we used to use years ago. Sharing something that, you, you get it back to you. If you use the resource, it's good feeling, you have the good feeling. And the person you give is good to you too, and do good stuff to you. And ah, and the wish helps too. If you do something good to the person, they wish you get more later on. It's a rule that people used to use the term, they used to use years ago. Interviewer: Ooh, like so your intentions are power, too. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yeah. Interviewer: I read this thing about a year ago, that I really, really liked. Because this man was working with the Kluwan of Canada, Athabaskan people. And he was trying to understand what the, the differences were between Europeans understanding of respect for animals, versus the Kluwan's understanding of respect for animals. And he found some really important differences I think. And one, one time he said, "I couldn't understand how your intentions, your intentions were powerful. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And he said, he said, "One time ah, one of my friends, she explained it to me like this, she said, look it's like at a potlatch. She said if you give something to somebody, when you never refuse a gift. You never refuse a gift, because when you refuse a gift, is to show an insult to the person, or to their intentions. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And so when an animal, same thing, gives their self to you, you never turn that down, because that is a gift. And animals have intentions, too. Clark Turner: Yep, uh-huh. Interviewer: And . . . then it dawned on me, sometime later, one of the disconnects that biologists, I think have, with the Native indigenous understanding of this, of animals is, they cannot ask the question why animals do certain things. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: Because for them, animals have no intentions. And that is a big difference. Clark Turner: Yep, that's right. Interviewer: You know, and animals, and I have learned this, you know, over the years. I believe animals have intentions . . . I've seen animals approach us, on the trap line. I've seen animals walk to us. You know, and in my years of fishing, I know that fish are sensitive, extremely sensitive . . . Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: But you don't have to sit there, because fish are aware of you. And if you stand down</p>

	there next to them, they'll be scared and they will run from you. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep. 8:6
2-4	<p>Interviewer: People are busy. They are busy, busy. And I don't think these managers understand that, either, just how busy the leaders are, in these communities. Unbelievable. You know, when, when elders in urban areas go to retire, they might, they might go play golf. People don't retire out here, they continue to work. As a matter of fact, they work harder. Clark Turner: Yeah, yeah, that's right. Seems like I'm working harder, after I retire from work. I'm on my own time, but I'm ... [busier] I'm busy with that little boy. Our adopted boy going to school every morning. I take him out to school every morning at eight o'clock. And ah, I have work to do here, shovel, and ah, chop wood, make <i>maqi</i>, or other stuff, pump fuel on the stove, and work at the airport. I do a lot of work, but I have ah, there's an old saying, even you're busy, you will have time for other things like, just this interview. Same thing, I have work to do, but I offer myself to help you. And if I do that, I will have time to do this work when we're done. That's what I learned from my mom, too, if you ah, help the people with what they need, you will be a, ah, you won't have bad feeling later on. And even somebody ask me to help them do their work. Ah, if I don't do it, I won't feel good later on. But if I help them, I would feel good. That's the way with anything. I mean, it don't bother me. So whoever needs help, I'm always available.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, that's a prescription for living. You know, because, if there's anything that I'll take away from this whole experience, personally, it'll be what I've learned, when it comes to giving. Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, and I'm not talking about arriving with bunches of gifts. I'm talking about giving of your hard work and other things. And those boys taught me that too, a lot. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And that's missing in certain places in the world. But when you do those things, you feel good inside, and the gifts come back. Clark Turner: Yeah, that's right. That's what my mom used to tell me a lot. Interviewer: And that sharing too, goes a long way. I wouldn't trust those boys, the way I do now, had we not had that basis of sharing. Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: Because I don't, ah, I don't, ah, that's just the way it is. When you share with one another, you trust each other completely. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: It's not a 'I keep score' thing, you know. It's ah, it's, you need a tooth brush, you know, I've got an extra one, take it; do you need ah, it's a, 'Hey Kevin, don't worry you know, eat this.' Or I'm gonna do this today. You know, and it's just done. And it's to the point where we don't even ask each other. You need this, you go get it. And ah, I didn't grow up that way, but it is a better way of life. Clark Turner: Yeah, it is.</p> <p>Interviewer: It's a better way of life. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. And ah, another thing my mom used to tell me was ah, I didn't have a father growing up, so I, my mom talked to me a lot. And ah, what she ah, used to tell me was what I just mentioned was if somebody ask for me to help, do it and you will have time later on, just like I told you while ago, you will have time later on. Time to do your own work later on. That's okay. And ah, she's ah, she used to be ah, she used to trust everything [laughter]. I mean like, if somebody tell 'em something, some story, she believe everything [laughter]. And that's the way she used to be, but ah, I, like I told you, I didn't have a man to talk to me. I had step-father, but he never tell me anything, or to behave, or stuff like that. Or ah, like I tell my kids to behave, or be good friends, or do their work. So most of my, or all of my kids are working. One lives in Sitka, that Rosemary, she works at Sitka Native Hospital, and ah, I have a son working at a contractors at [inaudible] and ah, my other boy works for ah, he's a contractor. And that boy, right there, Fritz, he's my adopted by. He's been away, he's with the working group, too. He's with the VFW there. I got that from the paper, newspaper. Anyway, ah, I tell my kids to behave, and be good. Like my mom used to tell me, ah, and I tell that little boy to behave and work at school. And he won't feel bad when he comes home. That's what I tell him. And we do the same thing, even I'm a grownup, umm, I don't feel bad, feel bad about what I did, ah, like helping other people. I never say, "I shouldn't do this, I shouldn't be doing this," and stuff like that, because my mom used to tell me, help anybody that needs help with, with ah, fiscal stuff, like ah, doing work, if they need help, just help them. Or even just talking, speaking, that's no problem. But as I get older, I can't do heavy lifting anymore, like I used to do. And ah, I've helped a lot of people, and still have time to do the work myself. And people offer to help me when I need help. And that's really, when I really appreciate that. 8:7</p>
2-5	<p>Clark Turner: And me, I'm not shy anymore like I used to be, when I was a kid, you know how it is. And as, when you become Elder, like me, you won't be shy to say anything like that, [respondent says word in Yup'ik]. All: [Laughter]</p> <p>Clark Turner: When I was younger, I would never say that. And as you get older, you, ah, it's not just knowledge, it's ah, what you want to do is ah, to want to help everybody, not just one person. It's not, this information is not just for you, it's for everybody. So when everybody knows, it works better. Ah, it's not just you and I. Interviewer: That's an excellent point, you know and that's an excellent point. And it just hit me, as you were saying, even five minutes ago too, I noticed when the Kuskokwim working group was meeting, you know, when they went behind closed doors. A working group member said, "We want to hear that, because we want everybody to hear these things, because we are a part of this. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yeah. Interviewer: And later, when I was in Marshall, on the Yukon, the same woman that told me, "We have unwritten contracts," she said to me, she said, "When we were young, our ah, our Elders told us," she said, "information and knowledge area meant to be shared, and if you kept it, you are a thief." And no one wanted to be a thief. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, if you don't say it, yeah, tell people, yeah. Interviewer: And so everything was meant to be shared. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And I wonder sometimes, when the Fish and Game or the Fish and Wildlife is not sharing everything they know, Clark Turner: Uh-huh ... That becomes a problem later on.</p> <p>Interviewer: That's a problem ... Clark Turner: Uh-huh, sharing is the best thing. Like a piece of candy, you would like it. And if I didn't share it with you, you wouldn't like it. And if I don't share it with you, you wouldn't be happy with me. That's the way it is with the information, if you share it to people, and make people understand, like I told you, ah, protection people have their own work, Fish and Game have their own work, Fish and Wildlife have their own work. But if they, if they share it with other people and let people understand, that's the best thing, and there would be</p>

	nothing against you and I, or those other people too. Interviewer: Hmm, hmm. Sharing of information? Clark Turner: Uh-huh, sharing information. Interviewer: And I'm thinking, you know, when you share, you increase the trust between two people. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep, that's true. You trust me, and I trust you. 8:8
2-6	Matt Conley: One thing, real quick, all the times that Elders were telling me stuff and teaching me stuff almost every one of them would say the same thing. They'd say, don't try to make money off this, just pass it on. It's okay, yeah. You know, if you're gonna write a book I don't want to see it in the store for sale. Interviewer: Right, yeah. Matt Conley: An educational tool. I try to pass on this stuff as much as I can. I get invited to the schools in Bethel all the time to come and tell stories or teach winter survival. Yeah. Interviewer: I'm saying this for the record you know, and I said this, is that very same thing was asked of me in Hooper Bay you know, they said ah. . .you know don't—these—these things aren't to be sold. And ah. . .you know, I'm—as a I continue to hear it from different people I begin to understand, I heard it in Marshall, I heard it in Hooper Bay and I'm hearing it from you again now. Matt Conley: Because we see millions of guys come through, live the life for a year, go write a book, you know. Interviewer: And I believe it you know, but one thing that—that—you know, it—it started to come to me, but it came to me again just now when you said that and that is that information, what you know, your knowledge, Elders instructed that to be shared. It is to be shared. Matt Conley: It's like food. Interviewer: You don't own it. It—in fact one woman told me, the one that died just recently, just passed away, her daughter said to me that if you keep knowledge it's the same as being a thief. Matt Conley: Huh. Interviewer: And it is and—and it's like if you sell knowledge, it is not to be sold, it is meant to be shared. . . Matt Conley: To make somebody else's life better. 15:4
2-7	Interviewer: Let me . . . before I forget . . . this is kind of important that's why I asked if you had a pen is ah . . . This right here Matt is—it's a consent to use . . . this information in this project and it's saying that—that your participation is voluntary and that all the people that participate in this ah . . . will be given a pseudonym . . . so this is a confidential. Which is kind of funny because there's a lot of people that told me, I want my name on there you know, but for the protection of everybody . . . this is gonna be confidential . . . this is my contact information right here and I'm gonna give you a copy of this too so you can contact me at any time, my cell phone number's always working. . . Matt Conley: Yeah, yeah I wouldn't mind my name being used. I've been quiet too many times. I'm getting old. Matt Conley: You ain't paying me. Interviewer: . . . I actually, please take this you know and— Matt Conley: Nope. No way. . . Matt Conley: No way. Interviewer: I worked really hard you know, to get— Matt Conley: Give it to somebody else. I ain't taking no money. Interviewer: Well you know, the truth of it is, if the—if the—whatever doesn't get used goes back into this project and . . . it pays for—for the airfare to take me out to these places you know . . . Matt Conley: Put that away, I don't . . . Interviewer: But I—I you know, I—I would appreciate— Matt Conley: That's that thing about not making money off of knowledge. 15:29
2-8	Mike Wallace: Well the, the issue—the largest issue that we have right now is ah, inability to get some of our people in the area to, to share like we used to. You know, we don't have a problem with that on the coast it's mainly on the main stem, where ah, you know, we grew up with the ah. . .teaching that we gotta share. We share everything that we have. All the resources that we get in our area, we. . .we grew up being taught to share those resources and, and when it comes to reality there, even though some of our people are taught the same thing growing up. . .not necessarily our ethnic group of people but different ethnic groups don't seem to have—they lost that sense. The share—the sense of sharing, I think. It's being lost ah, everyday with ah, with different programs coming in and things getting tighter. It's not like it used to be. Interviewer: You mean that the sharing— Mike Wallace: The good ol' days are gone, let's put it this way. Interviewer: Like the sharing of information and— Mike Wallace: The sharing of information, you know, that still goes on. It's ah. . .but as far as the agencies go. . .I've seen where [inaudible] everything has to be redone. Everybody has to have their own program. And that is a lot of money spent that could be used doing other type of things instead of doing research over and over again. Seem like research should be done at the point where everybody can rely on that information and not have to go out and acquire more funds to be able to go out and do more research on the research that was done. 16:7
2-9	Interviewer: Right, you know. The boys went out to harvest caribou one day. And I don't know the whole story, but I think [subsistence harvester] shot one, and [subsistence harvester] shot two. But he wasn't allowed to shoot two in one day, or something. Even though I think you get what, five tags, four or five. Nick Larson: For the whole region you get five tags. But for this small area, you're allowed two. Never two in one day, but on two separate incidents. Interviewer: Right, so I mean they're probably thinking about this from the standpoint of fuel, time, and he shot two of them. Then, ah, they had them gutted and cleaned up, and it was a cold day that day, and the snow machine wouldn't start. So first they peed on it, then they poured coffee on the battery. And then they put the blood of the animal onto the battery, and thank god it started. And right after they got it started, the enforcement showed up. You know, and ah, you know that upset them pretty bad, and they had to go spend the rest of the day down at the station, and ah, but the reality of it was, they brought those animals back, they gave it to Cindy's mom and dad, they gave it to John's girlfriends mother, Nick Larson: And the grandparents. . . Interviewer: Yeah, and they, maybe they kept a few pieces, you know. Nick Larson: That's how most of us hunt over here. Interviewer: Yeah, and you know I don't think these managers quite understand that when the young men are out hunting, or just men in period are out hunting, they're not just hunting for their family. They're hunting for Elders, they're hunting people who can't do this. And it's not a waste thing. You know, people are not out wasting this meat. You know, I learned with my own eyes, when I've watched these young men eat, you know, we live together, so we share dinner together every night. And you know when they cook up that caribou, they told me one night, they said, "Kevin, a lot can be understood by this one word <i>pukuk</i> ." And I don't know if

	<p>I'm saying that right, but he says he translates it to me as 'clean the bone', 'clean the bone', and he said—and I began to understand too, that that respect for that animal goes all the way from your awareness out in the land, to the dinner table and beyond, you know. Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. When a Native person hunts, he hunts for everyone in the community and tries to use the animal as much as possible. Even take home the head if you have to, even the guts, you save them for your dogs. Or if you can't do that, and with the inners that are not edible, you use them for bait. Interviewer: Yeah it goes on the trap line. Nick Larson: Uh-huh. Because back in December I shot one seven miles out of here, I was ptarmigan hunting, but I was only using a twenty-two mag. I never adjusted that twenty-two mag in a long time. I was trying to shoot a younger bull, but there was an older bull about twenty, thirty feet on this side. I missed somehow, I missed it. I hit the big bull, but I was pretty happy with it. I dragged it all the way across airport, there is a little puddle over hear, swimming pond. I went down and asked one of my nephews, come on and help me skin it out. And one of the, I think [subsistence harvester] saw me, he probably told him 'cause his dad came over when I was done skinning. "Oh can I have your guts?" I know what he was going to use them for. I said, "Oh go ahead and take it." I gave that whole caribou away; I just kept enough for dinner. And my partner said, "How come you gave it away?" I said, "'Cause we don't need it, the other people need it." Interviewer: You know, that's another thing I, it's just a very simple thing, Nick Larson: Uh-huh. Interviewer: ... but it takes experiencing it, for a white person who is unfamiliar with it to understand it. Nick Larson: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And that was, you know when I was brought up, it was: be independent, work hard, doing everything for yourself. You know, sharing was not a big thing, you know. And ah, and "Look at me when I'm talking to you son," you know, not the understanding—many of these things are very different from Yup'ik culture. I'm learning now ... Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, they should be. Interviewer: They're like brothers, and ah, and I tell them that all the time. And you know what, then it occurred to me that, I told them one day I said, "Not everybody in this world is trustworthy." You know, I said, "But you guys, I trust you like my brothers." And then I said, you know, well, why is that? Because I've got close friends that I don't trust the way I trust John and Tommy. You know, but when I—and then it dawned on me, we share everything. And when we share with one and other, the trust between people goes way up. Nick Larson: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And that just doesn't mean about sharing your food. It means sharing your information, sharing your knowledge, it means sharing with one and other across the board. When you're in a meeting with managers, and managers say, "Well we've got to talk to our, to our staff behind closed doors, essentially, before we make decisions on this." Nick Larson: That's how they've been managing it. Interviewer: It's like stealing. One woman in Marshall told me, she said, "We were told we had to share our knowledge, and if we didn't share it, we were stealing it." Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. Interviewer: And I don't think, and that's just a small thing, but when the Fish and Wildlife wants to know why there are trust issues between people and the agency, they have to understand what kind of messages it sends to people when they close down, and don't share. You know, and I think that has a lot to do with—like I asked this manager at Fish and Wildlife yesterday, I said, "How many times do you go out to villages? How many would you say that you see every year?" He goes, "Well you know there's fifty-six of them" And I said, "Yeah I know." And I said ah, and he said, "Well you know, maybe we see twenty percent." He said, "Some communities don't want us there. And so we don't go there." Nick Larson: Probably this and that. They won't even come to you unless you invite them. Or half of the time, you call them and [they say] "No we're too busy. We have to do an aerial survey, and we have a meeting over in Anchorage. Interviewer: Yeah, that's what he said. He said, but he said, "If you, if they ask us to come, I always try to come." That's what he said, you know. Nick Larson: But better than half the time, they'll give you some excuse. Interviewer: Right, and you know I believe that. But what I wanted to know is—and that's why I started asking that, because I firmly believe that we can be doing a better job at the Fish and Wildlife, at the Fish and Game, both. We can be doing a better job from the state and federal side at coming out and meeting with the communities. Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. Interviewer: And not just to come and enforce, but to come and to talk to people, break bread, and drink coffee and talk about what's going on. Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, and pilot bread and coffee, we can do that, take a break. Interviewer: Sure, yeah, okay. 17:3</p>
2-10	<p>Nick Larson: 'Cause ah, one time, I got to the point I was almost cussing them out. It was something about not giving us enough time for subsistence open window. And they were listening to me, and the next time, when I sat before them, [someone] said, "Don't cuss them out this time." Okay, okay, I'll try to be subtle. All: [Laughter] Nick Larson: It's really frustrating, you want to fight for your people, and you've got nine other people looking down on you, "You're not in our world." [Laughter] Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. You know um, you know I would ask you this too, because this is something that I just started to want to ask different communities, so that I could get an understanding, compare this to what the managers—Nick Larson: Like this summer, last summer I was over at the Board of Fish, no, no on the Federal Subsistence Board, nobody was talking about the Kuskokwim salmon disaster, fishery disaster, I brought it up, and opened it up for a few other people. Because this past summer, there was not enough opening for our subsistence fishermen on the river, on this river, on this area. Some of the people over there did not meet their subsistence needs. People that have no boats, their own boats and nets, they have to rely on other people that can go out, and they don't meet their subsistence needs. Even if they did go out, they did not get not even enough for their own families. Like back in June, we were only given three possible days, I went out two days. I went out two days, only one drift, the first drift, ah, the first opening I went out few drifts, because there were too many boats in one spot, twenty-something people riding in our fishing hole. We were all fighting for the same fish. And that day I didn't get enough. I think I had like about thirty-something for that day, and I gave ten to my older sister, she's in her seventies, almost eighty. Another ten to my other sister, she's got her own family and grandchildren to feed. Of the ten I took back, by the time I got to over here I only had two fish left, out of thirty—and it hurts. Interviewer: Yeah, that's not enough. Nick Larson: But the next</p>

	time I went out, I told nobody I was go out, I went out and brought sixteen one drift, before daybreak, and I took it to my fish camp, those are the ones we smoked, cold-smoked them. But we got caught on the rainy season. Some of the people were complaining their fish were spoiling; because the fishing opening was a little too late. I've had some of my relatives tell me they're out of dry fish already by December.17:56
2-11	John Griffon: A lot of times there's like, there's certain ways you do things around here, because that's the way you have to do it. Tommy Griffon: It's the right way. That's the way we were taught. We cut up a caribou, that's the way you got to do it. You see somebody else do it, then that's the way you got to do it. Same thing with fish, you know, summer time, the women, they cut the fish one way. There's no, "Oh, I'll do it this way," or "Maybe I should do it this way." There is only one way to do it. And it's been handed down from generation to generation. The way to tie down a sled, you know, that's the best way it's going to hold down, you know. People with the um, our ancestors, those old <i>ikamraq</i> 's, you know, those old sleds. You know, they've been tying; they need to tie their stuff down with something. And they've learned that that's the best way to tie it down. And we still do that today with modern ropes, modern sleds. We may know a few Western knots, but that's about it. I think I only know two knots, but I go just fine, or three I guess. Square knot, shoelace knot, and bowline. I use those all the time. They work just fine. I don't think this guy learned a bowline yet. John Griffon: You were always there to tie it. All: [Laughter] John Griffon: I don't need to learn it; you were there to tie it. But I do need to learn it sometime. Tommy Griffon: You know one thing I kind of want to say is we are young. And there's lots of older people out there, <i>Yup'ik</i> people who know lot's more than us, you know. We're young, and we're supposed to learn some more, we're supposed to learn. But they have to teach us. You know, we may know how to do things, you know, we probably have a basic good understanding of how to do everything, almost everything in this region. And we're open minded too...I was getting water, the way I get water with one tab, there is three of them. I'd get cold water every time. I saw one person come here, she put ah, two of her fingers on the thing so it can fill up faster, and that's the way I've been doing it ever since. And we're open-minded. If we see somebody do something that works well, than we're going to do that. Only have to see it once. Yep, we're still learning. 10:49
2-12	Matt Conley: Remote, I hear that all the time. We're only remote from the outside world, we're not remote from ourselves you know, our people are the most social, mobile people you'll ever see you know? Always travelling back and forth at the drop of a hat for funerals and whatever and I always tell new—new people, you want to learn about our age, listen to birthday line and listen to Yuk-to-Yuk even if you don't understand Yupik. If you listen real carefully, birthday line will usually show you how inter-connected people are. Up and down the river. Yuk-to-Yuk will show you how respectful they are. The Friday talk line you know, and the difference between English communication and Yupik communication. When a person on Yuk-to-Yuk calls in, they let 'em talk. They don't interrupt 'em, you know. They let them talk. 15:1

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E3. How We Talk.

3-1	Andy Rollins: The words that come out of the person is who he is, what he believes. And you don't catch a person by other factor. 4:1
3-2	Andy Rollins: There are two in you. Your good part, your bad part. You probably heard about two angles, so I'd rather you don't say, "I'm going to try to do the best I can." You're not positive. Be positive to you and people listening. Interviewer: Hmm, ooh. Thank you for that. Andy Rollins: Maybe you can use the beginning terms as "Our," ah, "with my, my, with my research," because they'll know right away you're speaking about something. Or, "With the facts I learned," you know you're going to speak about the facts you learned, from your starting point is going to be listened to by everybody. And your starting point can hit everybody's ear drum and have them decide on what they gonna do. If you hear it positive, you're going to listen. If they hear the negative, during the presence of your speech, they're going to start walking around, going coffee, this and that. And there are some people, too, in the audience that won't even listen, they'll do that too. Interviewer: That's a big point, you know because I don't understand this yet, but I'm trying to, and I'm working on it. But it is that I've noticed that when you, when <i>Yup'ik</i> peoples are talking to me about information, they always start by saying something like, "This is what I have seen." Or, "I have heard these things." Or, "I have seen these things." But they never, it's different ... I have witnessed this what you're talking about in meetings, happen. People shut down and stop listening, or go and get coffee. Because they know that what they're hearing may not be the truth. It's, if you hear a <i>Yup'ik</i> person, especially Elder, their starting point is going to be covered in their entire presentation. You ever notice that? ... Andy Rollins: That positiveness shows on the first, or the [inaudible] if you want to put it that way, shows on the first three minutes of the person speaking. Interviewer: Ahh, that's very helpful, that's very helpful because I have witnessed that a number of times, but I still try and understand it. And I know that it has an effect on people. Andy Rollins: This is how I, when I'm speaking to them, and I noticed people starting to, they missed my starting point too, they get by and I'm saying something, and time to get them together and listen, so I use something humorous, or something that they will notice right away. "Oh he say that," and they get back into the attention. When I want to get across somebody, or right away I will say to them, then after [they say] "Ah, this is gonna be good. ... put the starting point in the brain. Light it up, put your lighter and light that, that whatever. 4:2
3-3	Andy Rollins: [Inaudible] you write down this information, even it's not ah ... Interviewer: I'm glad you told me that,

	<p>because you know I ah, you know I never thought about it like that, you know that's a good point. ... Andy Rollins: Every time I think like this, I remember an old man who used to tell me if I some reason, somehow, if I speak in a situation like I am now, "Don't lie, don't give any information that's not true." He was pretty old when he died. I used to have a lot of old people wanting to surround me. In nineteen sixty-eight, he end up as our traditional chief for this village. Few months ago, they got me as first tribal judge here in the village. The people who know you, they will not choose somebody they don't trust, or somebody they think would be wrong to pick for the community. They select to them the best one that might be able to carry that through. Like your mother, I have been [selected], thank God. I ask him to guide me if I speak, give me words to use, give me something to think about that will only glorify God. Whatever we talk about, whatever we're doing, glorifying God is priority. But we don't need to just base on that, it's not true. Each one of us got spirit we're living off of. Interviewer: You know somebody told me, when I was in Marshall, once, that if you, if you don't share—she said that the Elders told her when she was younger—that if you didn't share your knowledge, it was the same as stealing ... I think about what happens when Yup'ik peoples are at management meetings, and Western scientists say, like on the Kuskokwim working group, "We've got to talk to each other before we can make decision." And they don't want to do it in front of the people, and they go behind closed doors ... not talking in front of the other subsistence users ... when I was talking with my friend. These two young men I live with from Kwethluk, we share everything. When we cook, we share it, everything. When they want to go use my snow machine, they use it. And we always do things for one another. And I treat them like they're my brothers. And I told them one day, I said, "You know, not everybody in this world is trustworthy." I said, "But you guy's, I trust like my brothers." And I meant that. And then it dawned on me, that when you share with one another, it builds trust with one another. Andy Rollins: It also gives you more strength to provide strongly, to give out the information. It will give it out in the best possible manner, the truth. The truth reveals; the truth brings out the facts. Two things that I want to make a point of, two things that I want to—I give you four things, and two things. The truth reveals the true fact. The truth reveals the way to work the problem. It gives you, well, how should I put it, it gives you; well it tells you how to work it out, anyway. Even when you speak with somebody, even when you speak with somebody, even when you use the same words you know already, it's going to give you a better understanding of the subject, and the true fact of the subject, as you speak. That's what truth it, that's what truth is. It's going to reveal, it's going to bring out the fact, and it's going to make you able to find avenue in which to work on a task. ... Andy Rollins: The truth works out itself. If you give out the wrong information, the opposite way, you're going to hit something and not be able to finish it, or not be able to put the finishing touch into it. Interviewer: Hmm, huh, that makes sense. Andy Rollins: The facts normally come out strong at the end. If you or someone talks to you, and keep saying, "I don't know", "maybe ah," and those are guessing [words]; "I think ah, maybe ah this is,"—that's how they do it over there. That's guessing, not giving you the right information. Now if they say, "Now if you cut the fish over here it might be bung(?) [inaudible word], or something, not giving you the facts. 4:3</p>
3-4	<p>John Griffon: That's the way it is. Just like my grandma said, that's the way it is. Interviewer: You know, I think there is something to this, this answer, this response that I hear a lot, "That's the way it is." It's not just about knots, it's how you do things. It's the way it is, but it's not "That's the way it is sometimes." It's a definite statement ... It's "That's the way it is." Tommy Griffon: You either get 'em or you don't, that's the way it is. Interviewer: And it's also, I think it parallels to, "You don't try, and you do your best. It's the way it is. You do this. You act." You know, it's deep inside of the cultural practices of this land. It's the way it is, it's the way you do things, and you do it to the best of your ability, always. Not sometimes, not most of the time, always. Tommy Griffon: I couldn't have said it better myself. Interviewer: You know, that's something that I have learned just listening to, you know, from multiple people.10:9</p>
3-5	<p>Tommy Griffon: We live here, it's a different world we live in, versus any other part of the United States, I think—except the other villages in Alaska, besides those. But um, here it's um, things aren't important to us, well to our generation. You know, we don't, a lot of things, like, for an example, like our generation, we don't really care who is president, or not. I mean, they do affect us out here, but out there on the land, we don't think about those kinds of things. It's like that time we went caribou hunting, when you bring negative thoughts out into the tundra, out into the <i>nunapak</i>, the 'real land', if you're not prepared, you're asking for trouble. You're going to walk right into something that's, and you're going to say, "Shit. I should have been ready for this." And then later on you're going to think, you know, "Shit, if I wasn't thinking like this, nothing would have happened." So, a lot of people out in the cities, they go to the grocery store. And you know, they're talking on the phone, they're talking about their job, and all their stuff they're trying to figure out, and stuff. I mean, some people do that here, I mean, you know, go check their net, but they're thinking about other stuff. But doing that, and taking care of all the fish, all the animals you need to get, you've got to have a clear mind. I guess basically, the word 'subsistence', you know, to me that's just a word describing what we've already been doing, living off the land, practicing our culture, doing what our ancestors have done for thousands of years. It's kind of a hard thing to describe for me personally. And I may do it all the time, but it's not something that I really think about. It's my life, it's hard to picture what other people, how they can do that, it's hard to picture what they do, and how they can do it. 10:32</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E4. Respect for Elders.

4-1	<p>Translator [Translating for Eugenia Hayes]: Yeah, she's saying that um, if what she said does not become part of the rule, um; she only brings it up, because she's been wondering about that. And including, um, advice she's received from the Elders in the past. Eugenia Hayes: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Translator: Do you have anything else for her? Interviewer: Ah, no. I just want to thank her for the information because it helps me to better understand these things, and what's going on here, in the communities. And thank you. Translator: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Eugenia Hayes: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Translator [Translating for Eugenia Hayes]: Yeah she said that um, the advice and warnings that the grandparents, um, passed on to them are true. All of the things that um, part of what she mentioned to you. 9:2</p>
4-2	<p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. And well, because I got a lot of experience on, 'cause all my life has been fish and game, subsistence, right from the time I was a little boy. A lot of the village people always ask me for information. Even if I'm not out in that area, they ask me, "Where is the game?" And from my memory, my experience, I usually just tell them, "Right about this time I know," I'll describe them on the map, to look for them where. They'll come back, and they'll tell me, "Oh I found where you told me they would be." But here I would never be out there. But I used to be out there year after year, I usually know their behavior, or their pattern of their behavior or where they would be, that timing of the year. Even our Elders that used to be reindeer herders, they used to tell us exactly where they'll be a certain time of the year. From their own observations over the years. Even the caribou we get, the moose we get, they'll tell them where they come from just by tasting it. Nick Larson: They'll ask you, How come you let the caribou run? Because it tastes different from the adrenaline that's pumped into their system. All: [Laughter] Nick Larson: A lot of little tricks, if you live long enough out in the bush, you'll learn a lot of little tricks. Interviewer: Oh I bet. Nick Larson: Early in the morning, my dad used to go out, when I was a little boy, and he used to say, I'm going to check the weather. And he'll come back and tell me how the weather will be all day long. Weather forecast. Sometimes we don't go out, because the weather will deteriorate. Some days he might say, "If you want to go out and check your trap line, go out early before daybreak, he'll look at the sun, by the way the sunset look in the fall time, the evening time. But if he looks at it in the morning, and he looks at it and has a prediction how the day will be all day long. They're fairly accurate for their forecasts. Don't listen to the radio, half of the time they're wrong. 17:4</p>
4-3	<p>Mr. Aloysius: Needless to say I was overwhelmed by this young man. How many times have we heard compliments of our people, for our people? How many times have we heard acknowledgements of our people? How many times have we heard encouragement to continue? This young man really touched me. That's why I couldn't help it; I had to applaud when he was done, because I felt so connected to him. You know, our education system is not the Western way. Sit down, be quiet, listen, observe, absorb. Learn from what you hear, and especially what you see. And most of all by what you do. And it's just heartwarming for me to have a young man from a different part of the United States come up here and acknowledge the people in this area. And I keep hearing the word elders, and it makes my heart really warm to see a young man acknowledge the true teachers of this area with the mind, heart, and especially the spirit of the Yup'ik people, and their generosity to help this young man. How many times have we heard that from other people? Not many. Even from our own people. And a lot of times when he was talking, I felt ashamed. Why didn't I acknowledge my people? Why didn't I appreciate what they're giving me publicly? And this young man has really touched me, and I really applaud you, and the people who are helping you. Those are the ones that are the most important to me. They're not 11 stingy of their knowledge and their wisdom, their education and their experiences, so that you can help us, the rest of the lay people understand exactly what it's all about. And I thank you from the bottom of my heart. It's way down here, but I just point to here. Quyana. Mr. Bartley: (In Yup'ik) Chairman Roczicka: Any other. Chairman Roczicka: Obviously I look forward to seeing your report. You're going to – you obviously have taken it to a much deeper level of insight than many I have seen over the years, and I've seen a lot. So I look forward to seeing what you come out with. 20:2</p>
4-4	<p>Mr. H. Wilde: Yeah. You know, talking about a lot of moose in the Yukon area. They are. When I was mayor in Mountain Village, we put out and helping our grandchildren and our children to expand and let them work. Try to be -- work with us and try to expand the moose hunting season. We give them five years. After five years, if the fish -- moose are increased, they're going to go out and hunt with them. That's why they expand still today, because of their elders in school helping them in the villages. As long as they keep away the moose and let them expand for five years or six years, you will go out hunting. Now today there are a lot of moose down in west side, east side. We give our opportunity our children to go out and hunt. We hunt with them. And make sure that follow the law and hunting license and all that. So they're doing today still there are a lot of moose down there. Last year right on my fish camp down there, we saw seven young moose. Expand. The children listen to us and today now we're even talking about we should invite the Bethel elders so they could come over and hunt. Ms. Gregory: Good. Mr. H. Wilde: Yeah. There are a lot of moose down there. And people down there, they like to see the people have something to eat. That's the time that Fish and Game come over; you cannot kill no king salmon or nothing. We'll see you come over and hunt. What you think? 20:39</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E5. Who is a Real Person?

5-1	<p>Clark Turner: Nowadays teachers are totally different than our teachers when we were young, when we were kids. Ah, they [teachers nowadays] only teach and not involved in the village. But they want us to listen to them, or bring our kids on time, and teacher help do homework for the kids. And me, us, if they are involved in that, in the village, that would help too. The kids would work with them better, if they know that ah, the teacher's involved in the village. Interviewer: So you're saying today it's not, the teachers are not as involved as they used to be? Clark Turner: Right, right. They want our participation to be working both ways, because they want us to come to their meeting, and they wouldn't come to our meetings. Or the church, or it don't have to be the church, too, but I, ah, I mentioned that because my teachers were real teachers, they teaches us in school in daytime, and on Sunday they, the ah, my teacher is the Sunday school teacher, and her husband is the pastor in the church, because they know more about the Bible reading and stuff like that because ah. . . They were Yup'ik people, too, both of them. But the involvement like that helps. Interviewer: You know, you know [Upriver Kuskokwim Caucasian elder who has been living in Western Alaska for over 40 years—Name Removed]? Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: He said something to me one time that I think was ah, right along those lines. He said, "When I came to Aniak in nineteen sixty-seven," he said, "Father Lewians, in University of Fairbanks told me that if you want to have success in the community, you have to go to their functions, you have to participate at church. You have to bring cupcakes, you know, or whatever, and serve them at the functions. And ah, when there's a cultural event, you go and you participate. And if you do those things, your time will be much, much better. Clark Turner: Yep, you feel better too. Interviewer: And he became, you know it's like [Upriver Kuskokwim Caucasian elder who has been living in Western Alaska for over 40 years—Name Removed], he, he lived, he's got a home out there since nineteen sixty-seven, you know. And that guy is very much a part of that community, you know, and ah, and I, it's like my friend's father in Kwethluk, he's from Michigan, he came out to the region some twenty, twenty-five thirty years ago, and met his, met his wife now, who's Yup'ik and ah, and he's been there ever since. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And ah, when ah, many of the Elders in that community, they know him, you know, they talk to him all the time. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And they are best friends. And when they want to know how the trap lines doing, they call, they call that man [laughter], you know. And it's funny. It's ah, it's ah, but it starts with the involvement in the community. Clark Turner: Yeah, that's what I, that's what I mean. That's why I mentioned involvement helps. Both for the managers. If they involve and not, not their own, not doing their own stuff all the time. The, they may have time to go to a village and have meeting, public meeting, and let them know that ah, why they are there to manage ah, fish and game. Why they have to carry the law. Those law enforcement are the people who, who do their work, and he's doing these other work that, if people are under—if people understand that, they would feel better, I think. Like you mentioned about that person, ah, involved in village, ah, and you learn from them, like learning Yup'ik. That's ah, it's always the start, ah, learning Yup'ik, and learning how, how we function, or how we operate, of how we do the work, or how we hunt and fish, how we live in the village. Same thing, that same ways. If they are, if they learn, ah, that would help. How we learn, how we trap. and how we do the work, do that stuff. Travel, camp, hunt, fish, or hunt and fish. Like us, we travel by dog teams years ago, and took the <i>qayaq</i> down to open water, and paddle from there on, and bring enough food for the dogs, too. And ah, they have, the dogs would have food from the seals, or the dry fish we carry in the sled. Same way with ah, if the managers are, want to learn. That's the way to be, involvement. Like this teacher, one time, I had to help; he was a <i>kass'aq</i> teacher here in the village. I build a steam house by the school, and he took <i>maqi</i> in there. And ah, he and I went seal hunting together. And he and I went to moose hunting together, up there at Aniak. And ah, if the people were like that, we would feel better for that person, or be friends with them. And ah, the person would be friends with me. Same way as those teachers that—who were teachers that used to do, and people in the village know him, now I don't know the names of these people, or a lot of teachers that teach in, in this school. Even I go up there almost every day. Interviewer: Because they come and? Clark Turner: . . . because involvement helps. Interviewer: Do you think it's because they come and go so fast? Clark Turner: Yeah. 8:37</p>
5-2	<p>Interviewer: And that is, you know one of the things that I was telling my friend back at the Fish and Wildlife who does understand these things, [Federal Manager—Name Removed], you know [Federal Manager—Name Removed] Clark Turner: Yeah. Interviewer: You know, and I said, "You know it would go a long way, I think, if we would have some kind of a program for managers. If you were going to be involved in the decision-making process, then you need to go and ah, participate in a week long fish camp or something in the summertime, where you can get an understanding of what kind of work is involved in a very small aspect of people's lives. You know, so they can say, when they go back, and they go to stand there and cast their votes in their decisions that impact people's lives, that they can stop and say, you know, there are other things that have to be considered when we look at these things. There's drying time. There's an understanding of what kind of planning goes into ah, setting up these activities. You know, how many roles people are serving in, in the communities. And some of these things would dawn on them, when they go to make decisions. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And I think that, between that and making it a priority of getting out to communities, and talking. Clark Turner: Yeah, like you mentioned, participation is really important and helps people. Let me tell you about ah, teachers we used to have at the old BIA school. They were everything, they were Village Council, they were nurses, they were teachers, and they were ah, they communicate with the doctor at night, or not have to worry about the fee, the money. They don't get anything for that, but they report sick people to the doctor, at night, ah, until eleven o'clock, or something like that. They were, they come to our meetings, to our community meetings. They were Village Council, they were anything you call them. Ah, we, my teacher was, my teacher was the Sunday school</p>

	<p>teacher at the school. And her husband was the lead pastor at the church. And ah, they were from another village, but they were sent over here to teach school. And like you mentioned, participation helps. Ah, if a person goes to a fish camp, and learn over there, they would learn both ways—I mean, the people in the fish camp learns from somebody who comes, and the other way around. Interviewer: Yes, yes. Clark Turner: The person who comes to fish camp learns too. So it's, both way learning, for those managers. Like I mentioned, people think ah, they, you are protection people. You're not; even you tell 'em you're not a bad person, [laughter]. That's the way people would understand the difference, if they know the difference, I think that would help a lot. And these people need to ah, participate more in the villages, not only come for ah, for reasons, not only come for problems. And like yourself, come down and learn and learn the both way public is ah, the best thing. Ah, like the teacher I told you about, ah, they learned peoples' sicknesses. Peoples, ah, what people needs, as a Village Council, as a ah, doctor, and everything. Interviewer: Wow. Clark Turner: That's involvement, that's what I mean. 8:65</p>
5-3	<p>Clark Turner: When I go to public meeting in the village. They always allow me to speak as Fish and Game advisory committee, or what we did at Fish and Wildlife meetings. I always ah, glad to report to the public at that time. Ah so, that helps ah, some, because some people are very interested in what we do at village, I mean, what we do at the RAC meetings, or what we do at the AC meeting. And ah, I tell the people, the RAC is the Regional Advisory Council is the ah, ah, the people to represent their villages to talk to the chair and ah, ah, subsistence board. So if we work together, ah, that would help. And tell the people that, like, like that information, little information added on, it may, may not be big problem, but knowing little information that would become big problem later on that would help because little things are big problem sometimes. Interviewer: Yeah. Clark Turner: A lot of times. Like the motor, when it ah, snow machine. There's little problem. There's ice in the fuel tank, water in the fuel tank that wouldn't make the motor run, because it's frozen. Little things like that become big problem, so ah, that's how I see that being a manager. Getting little problems from the villages, ah, that they learn, and I'd like to see the managers at the RAC meetings, too, or AC meetings that we learn from the people who represent our villages. They learn ah, ah the good stuff they did, the bad stuff they did, both. Because both of those helps people—the problem they have, different we, the wrong things, and good things, they all add up. And they can help each other, that's how I see it. Being ah, managers like that should work with the public, a little more. Interviewer: Yeah so, so let, right, so let me ask you this, so I can clarify, ah, ah, for the record, you know, when I'm thinking about this later, when you say the managers, do you mean like the Federal Subsistence Board members? Those high-level managers, they should be at the RAC's? Clark Turner: Yeah. Interviewer: Okay. Clark Turner: They collect the RAC's information, and use them for, to manage Fish and Game. 8:72</p>
5-4	<p>Matt Conley: People in our region are really good at observing, at least the older people. Hours and hours just watching things you know, watching the river, watching the weather ah. . . watching other people ah. . . I always figured them old people—they older people they'd watch you, they'd never talk to you much. They watch you and then they'd figure out what kind of person you were. And then if they figured out you were a real person they'd start talking to you. Interviewer: I've heard that at least a half dozen times. A woman told ah. . . my translator that I had for three interviews, he came ah. . . he said, Kevin, he said, I'm just gonna tell you this, he said, you're gonna walk into these places and people are gonna know who you are without even hearing you talk and they're gonna know what kind of person you are very quickly. Matt Conley: Yeah. Just by how you do little things. . . Interviewer: And ah. . . boy he was right, you know. And ah. . . you know, I—when I went in with him on those three interviews I did very little talking you know, and ah. . . these were—these were true Elders you know, in their nineties. Matter of fact, one of those women just died, I mean two days ago you know, it was very, very sad you know because ah. . . you know, it just, it bring it home to me to—her daughter was sitting with her when I interviewed her, her three daughters, but one of them was kinda talking to me a little bit and she said, you have unwritten contract to pass along in your books the words that out Elders tell you exactly as they tell you them words. And I thought, man that is a big burden you know, and ah. . . but it's one that I am very conscientious of every day, you know. And I read you know, those people they don't want—they may not understand this, those managers may not understand this, but you know, when I—when I sit I collected a thousand pages of—of data you know, a thousand pages of interviews and that's not a lie, you know. I have read over three hundred of them and I have spent nearly two hundred hours doing that. And I am just starting you know, and ah. . . I have to work sixty hours a week just to keep up with these. You know, and ah. . . I don't have to do—to be so critical when I read those, but when I'm reading them I look at it like my duty to hear what those—those people that shared that time with me, I need to listen and I need to think long and hard about what I see because one day real soon I'm gonna have to write this stuff and it's gonna be very important to me that what comes out on that paper is what the people told me. Matt Conley: Yeah. 15:3</p>
5-5	<p>George Sanders: Yeah. We started this conversation out by me telling you what old Father Loyin said to us as educators. That we need to go to funerals. We need to go to weddings. You know, if you want parents to listen to you about their children's needs. You don't want them to view you as some politician way down the road over here that they only see. They want to see you at their village functions, and they want to see you as a part of that community. Then they're gonna listen to you. I told this to [State fisheries scientist] in an email to them, but one time the State asked me to do something. Basically, like [Upper Level State Manager] trying to get out of. They asked us to change our whole focus, well it wasn't change our whole focus, but to change the focus in the way we presented math, to go from the old basic math, which we all you used to teach for years in years to the modern math concepts. Teaching, starting to teach algebra much earlier. Making kids understand arithmetic theory. Interviewer: Right. George Sanders: In other words operating off a different basis rather than ten. Just to start making them think more theoretical. And, of course that was an introduction of a whole new vocabulary and stuff like that. So that was kind of our charge and uh, the textbook series</p>

that we was going to be doing, I think was Abboth and Wesley, so State wanted us as principals to start talking to all these people out there and get em ready for this change in mathematics. So the people that I had on my board out then were the people who were raised in Roman Catholic schools which has a neo-Thomism philosophy of education, which is very, a very conservative approach to education. And others have gone out to the Chumawah Indian Schools, Wrangell, and they gone on to schools in the Lower 48, which all have had very basic conservative approaches to education. In other words basic approaches. The three are reading, writing, and arithmetic. And it took me three years to convince them that modern math was okay. And I'm not sure I convinced them all, but it took me three years. Now hear [Upper Level State Manager] is trying to do the same thing in one year. He's trying to make, want us to look at this thing entirely different, and change the way we looking at the escapements for individual rivers. Wanting to reduce the escapement goals. Here all along they've been telling us we need to keep our escapement goals up high to guarantee we have enough fish coming back. Now, all of a sudden we need to drop em down. You know they're wanting this drastic change in our thinking, and they're gonna do it in one, in not even a year, just six months, since March. You know they're gonna want us, and people are just not going to buy into that stuff and I understand that. But again, going back to, what you're stating right at the beginning of this thing. If you have somebody who spent face time in those communities. Spent times in their steam baths with the men. Drunk tea and you know played the games out there. When you make a recommendation to em next summer they're gonna remember that you were in that village, and you know that you were eating with them, or whatever you were doing with em. You know, I think that's so important if you want to change. The direction for change, you know as an anthropologist does, usually come from the outside. But true change comes from the inside. **Interviewer:** Oh absolutely. **George Sanders:** Absolutely comes from the inside every time. And so, go ahead and give all that direction from the outside. **Interviewer:** So the directions, but implementation has to come right on the inside. **George Sanders:** That's exactly right, or it won't, it's not true change. 11:16

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E6. Yup'ik Worldview on Land and Animals.

6-1	<p>Bobby Sterling: But inland when you harvest a big game animal ah. . .when you harvest a moose, bear, [inaudible], it's—it's—it's a common tradition seem like—common cultural and spiritual tradition to, you know, give the animal water ah, after harvesting 'em. Ah, some say that it is to make sure that they do not go into the next world ah, thirsty, that they can. . .their spirits can communicate with the other—the other animals that you—you harvest this animal in respect, you treated it well by giving it water. Ah, and that—those animals will see that respect and come—come back here. And—and also the disposal of the various parts that—that are not eaten. Ah, in many cases the—like the heads of the animals we don't normally take home, but now, when you lay it on the ground you lay it towards the sun—the sunrise, east, so they can see the sunrise. And you never leave the hide, [inaudible], it's ah, it's always the fur outside. And some of the hunters, they take and bury the. . .the fur and the. . .ah, burn the ah—and the ah. . .intestines so that they don't turn rancid and be disrespectful. 6:1</p>
6-2	<p>Interviewer: Do you think that your knowledge, the knowledge that you bring about, when it comes to the animals, and the land, and the experiences that you have, do you think that that knowledge is not just listened to by managers in Anchorage, but processed into the decision-making? Clark Turner: Yeah, that's what, that's what I ah, had in mind when I—because the fish you see in the clear water. When the fish sees something moving on the ground, they don't stay in the spot, they go hide someplace, or they go travel. Because I learned that, because I have a camp over there, way over there in the mountains. And ah, that's where there's fish. And anyway, that made me think, if there's too many boats traveling on the same river, or there's barges, those fish are not going to go to their spawning areas. Ah, because they're scared, and they're not going to their destination. They go, they'd go off. And ah, that made me think about those barges, we have a lot more barge travel on the upriver than there used to be. There was not that many traffic before. So that scare the fish away. And those managers should ah, be aware of that too, and not, I mean, when people talk about that, they should think about it, ah, that's the way managers supposed to be, ah, think of other things. If I was a manager, ah, at the store I would tell those people to stock what it's gonna sell, and not stock what it's not gonna sell. Because we want to earn money. And ah, the fish are same way, we want to help the fish to go to their spawning grounds, then going off to someplace and they, they catch the, ah, where they are not, where they wanna go. That's why I'm not happy with this. I'm a shareholder with Calista, but I'm not for this Donlin Goldmine, that managers supposed to give the, what you call it now, that permit or that ah—[Phone rings] Clark Turner: Oh, my son, huh. She will answer it back there. Anyway, that's how I think too. Managers, if I was managers, I should be puzzling these problems together. And be if I was a success, I'd be better. That's how I see it as a program manager. Interviewer: Huh, that makes sense. Clark Turner: Puzzling using small things, even they are small things, they add. The big problems, the small problems, they add together. Interviewer: So you think that those, those small bits of information, like the barges and stuff, do you think that they're listened to by these managers in Anchorage, or no? Clark Turner: Ah, they should be listening to everything and ah, putting them together like that. Ah, I had that in mind when I, when I'm going to that inter-agency meeting in Anchorage. And I'm going to mention that. Interviewer: That's a good point. A lot of people had mentioned that barge, too, in other places that I have talked about. And you know I didn't necessarily understand that until someone showed me a picture of it. Clark Turner: Because those barges would be finding the channel and the fish want to travel on the channel too. 8:52</p>

6-3	<p>Translator [Translating for Eugenia Hayes]: When the water and sewer system drains to the lagoon, where does the lagoon drains to? Um, she says that um, um, not only Marshall, but other communities are um, enjoying the services of a water and sewer system. And her personal observation, it seems to her that um, the fishery resources are declining after the water and sewer system was introduced to the area. And she wonders how far in the Yukon River drainage goes up the river. And how many communities are using water and sewer system. And in her personal mind that ah, the fish are very sensitive when, when you, when, when they get close to ah, unfamiliar things in water, you know they, takes off. And she's wondering if ah, water and sewer system do have an effect, effect on ah, fish, fish survival. Because she thinks that um, the, the um, the sewer system, when it drains to, to the Yukon River, yes it's diluted by Yukon River water, but it's unfamiliar habitat to the fish. Translator: Okay, [speaks in Yup'ik] Eugenia Hayes: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Translator: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Translator [Translating for Eugenia Hayes]: She said that ah, no one has brought up, in her attention, but um, in her own mind she began to wonder about water and sewer system, what effects it may have on fisheries, survival. And ah, she said that the water and sewer system is not new, it's been here approximately twenty years, and most of the communities, if not all, most of the communities are using, are now using water and sewer system. And she was taking herself as an example. She said that um, she wonders what is um, drained in the system, like for, for her sometimes it takes um, you know like ah, some like um, some refuse of ah, the food, maybe brine or something down the drain or down the toilet, and flush it out. And um, she wonders what else is being poured into the toilet, you know, and it drains into the lagoon. And the lagoon doesn't drain anywhere else but into the river. And she also mentions that ah, in the dump, dump area, there are a variety of things, like ah, even ah, old wanton waste. You know like people dump food out there, and burned. And then where else does ah, does ah, what comes from the dump drains to, it drains to the lagoon and into the river. And ah, no one, no one told her or mentioned anything about this, but on her own she began to wonder, what effects does all of these ah, refuse, or chemicals, maybe, have effect on fisheries. Eugenia Hayes: [Speaks in Yup'ik] Translator [Translating for Eugenia Hayes]: There's something else that I forgot to interpret. One of the things that she noticed, after the water and sewer system was introduced to the area is that the, the quality of fish is not like it used to be. Ah, when, when ah, even the taste is not like it used to be in the past. You know, before water and sewer system was introduced into the area. ... [Speaks in Yup'ik to respondent] 9:3</p>
6-4	<p>Interviewer: I wanted to ask you, what does subsistence mean to you? And you know, whatever comes to your mind, you know, the word itself, ah, if there's anything you want to comment on that, what does subsistence mean to you? John Griffon: Well, it's kind of like, almost a freedom, to be able to go out and get what we want and need. Like as in, we want real food, not store-bought Tommy Griffon: or all that factory shit, that chicken, hormones and steroids that stuffs no good. John Griffon: And when you're out there, it's like a home, it's like our home. Tommy Griffon: Being able to go out with nobody saying you can't. Well, with these guys and their regulations, they're, sometimes we can't. But when we can, it feels like we're more free to do what our ancestors have been doing for a long time. Practice those same things that they were doing, the exact same things, but in a little bit different ways. Just a little different. Like using, like how we take the animals, and how we travel—those are the things that are mainly different nowadays. John Griffon: But the, how we respect them Tommy Griffon: is the same. And you be happy what you get. Whatever you get, you have to be happy for it. If you don't get anything, then that's okay. You don't always get anything on the first day of the hunt, John Griffon: or on the third. Tommy Griffon: I've gone out moose hunting, numbers of times, maybe more than three times, never seen a moose, never shot a moose, in the times that I've gone. With our group at that time, I wasn't successful, we weren't successful. But the act of doing it, being out there and trying to put food on the table for the family, that's, that can't be replaced. John Griffon: And those young guys, I think, it's like a real job, it's a big step up, like from, instead of dumping the <i>quun</i> [honey bucket toilet], or you know, cleaning the yard, or even us, we got no sisters, we do dishes, we help our mom all the time. We don't, we cut fish too, and um, it's a big step up, and it really feels like a big step up, going out and camping, and moose hunting. It takes a lot of effort, it's cold and rainy. Tommy Griffon: To put it in the most simplest words, it's a bitch. It's really hard. Girls and our mom, they say they want to go moose hunting, and we look at them and just think, "No you don't, no you don't. Interviewer: Yeah, and I would just say that, one thing that I learned to you know, just going out with you guys on the trap line, just for day trips. Six hour, eight hour day trips. More than once I know I was out there thinking it's cold. I don't say that, you know, and ah, but you're right, it is work, it is work. 10:4</p>
6-5	<p>Tommy Griffon: And so um, can you repeat the question? Interviewer: No it's, I was just saying, asking you to talk to me about how you both view your relationship to animals and the land. Tommy Griffon: Okay, so I have more to say about that, but it's in here, but I can't. Um, so ah. John Griffon: It's a big relationship. Tommy Griffon: One that cannot be broken. John Griffon: It's not a little small relationship, it's a big part. It's, again it's, to me, it's a way of life. Tommy Griffon: Let's say you are at fish camp, you have seagulls, bears, and ravens going after your fish on the fish rack drying. And when they do that, you want to protect your food, protect what you need to live, and any animal, any animal, any person will do the same thing. And out there they're teaching you, you know, they're showing you, you don't do, you don't, you know—John Griffon: They're taking opportunities too. Interviewer: Ahh. And that's how animals teach you, teach you things important lessons like that too. Because you are an animal too, we're just all beings. Tommy Griffon: You know, a lot of people don't like to think of it like that, you know, having a god and having a, you know. John Griffon: a civilized life. Tommy Griffon: You know, we're not animals, we're human beings, you know, people say that and stuff. John Griffon: We're at the top of the food chain, you know. Tommy Griffon: No we're not. All: [Laughter] John Griffon: Yep, not in Alaska. And in Las Vegas, maybe, there's nothing. Tommy Griffon: But here, huh-uh, if you don't do stuff the right way, you're basically at the bottom of the food chain. John Griffon: Like that falls</p>

	<p>into the relationship thing, you're not at the top of the food chain, you're... Interviewer: Part of it? John Griffon: Yep, just like, just like a fish and an eagle, you know, it's all the same, you know. I don't know how to say it. Tommy Griffon: Watch look um, you know if we're not animals, then what are we? If mosquitos can suck blood from us, if other animals can kill us, and if we're human beings, you know, what are we? We are part of this place, we are all in the same ecosystem. People, not people, but things have to live on other things, you know, eat other things to stay alive, and that's what we do out here, it's the same thing as all those other animals out there. Fish, birds, caribou, flies, mosquitos, worms, whatever, we're all the same, we all got spirits. Interviewer: No that said it perfectly. You know, the important thing I heard there is, humans are not higher than animals, they are animals. They are beings. Tommy Griffon: We. Interviewer: We are beings. And we are just one of the beings. John Griffon: This is our home, this is their home, too, but they were here first. And we got to respect them. Out there on the <i>nunapak</i>, you know, on the land and on the tundra, that's their home. Tommy Griffon: We're going onto their home, their homeland. We go out there, we do whatever we want, if we're not slight with it, we're not gonna make it back. We go when we want, and if we're not lucky, we don't make it back. Given that there's storms, or if it's really cold out, or if you're not dressed right. John Griffon: That's where they live, is in those storms, you know. We got a house. Tommy Griffon: Running water. Interviewer: You know, that's a good point, for the record, I want to take you back to that. When you go on top of the tundra, and you're up there, you're on their home. It's part of your world too, but you're on their home now. And in order to be successful, you have to be aware, and listen. John Griffon: And the 'R' word, that big 'R' word, respect it. Interviewer: And respect it. And that goes all the way, if I'm understanding this right that goes all the way to your intentions too, when you go out there. It's like you said, have no ill intentions, have no negative feelings when you're out there, you have to be respectful. Tommy Griffon: Let's say you have somebody coming in, you know, a person, coming into your house that wants to do something, right? They come in, you know, they have to do something, but they have something on their mind, so they're, you know, being really negative. You don't want them in your house, right? Like um, let's say, who is it, what kind of people visit other people? Well let's say a plumber comes in to fix your pipes or something and they're all cussing and everything, you know, you don't want them in your house. And they're being rude, you don't want them in your house; they're being disrespectful to you in your house, you want them out, same thing. Interviewer: Ahh, yeah that's a good point, right? So when you go up onto the tundra, you're in their home. John Griffon: It's their home, you've got to respect them. Interviewer: You've got to respect that home. If you don't respect it, they're not going to respect you, and you're not going to get that opportunity, because they're not going to present themselves to you. Tommy Griffon: Even I go out there a lot of times, I see trash that people left. Even if it's not mine, I pick it up and put it into my pocket, put it in the sled, you know. You've got to clean up after other people sometimes. John Griffon: Just make sure it goes where it needs to go, where it's supposed to go. Interviewer: And the animals in the land are going to remember that too, that you respected them. John Griffon: Uh-huh. And what you do is after you, when you're done, let's say with bird feathers and bird guts and stuff, like stuff that you can't use. And after taking everything that you could, when you put it back in its home, you bring it back to it. You drive up on side of the river, walk up the bank a little ways, find an area near a tree or something. Tommy Griffon: Or where there's grasses, and you get a bunch of grass, a bunch of leaves, and you dump the feathers and the guts. And as you're laying down the grass, and laying down leaves, [Speaks in Yup'ik]. This is what you're supposed to say [speaks in Yup'ik]. You know. John Griffon: May you come back plentiful. Interviewer: May you come back plentiful? Tommy Griffon: The same thing with bones, and any kind of stuff. You know, mammals, water-dwelling mammals? Beavers, muskrats, seals. John Griffon: You put it back in the water. Tommy Griffon: You put it back in middle of the river, in the middle of the river, and say the same thing. [Speaks in Yup'ik] John Griffon: That's what we were taught. I'm going to remember it for the rest of my life. Tommy Griffon: That's the way it is". 10:20</p>
6-6	<p>Tommy Griffon: The land is, that's the law. You either follow it, follow what you're supposed to do, or you're going to get in trouble. Life and death trouble, John Griffon: There's no badge, no badge. Tommy Griffon: The land don't need a badge. John Griffon: Nope. Interviewer: And even said in those terms, the land itself, is alive. Tommy Griffon: Oh yeah. John Griffon: It'll live longer than anybody else, anybody else here. Interviewer: It's not a thing, it's not, you know. And that's why I'm asking, that's what I'm after, is these differences, and this, the biologists understanding of this, versus your understanding of this, of the land and the animals. Tommy Griffon: And these biologists that worked here, that have worked here, up at SARON, and up at the Kwethluk River, they want to go home. That's all they want to do is go home. Do what they do and go home. Count this fish, "Oh it's a chum, oh it's a red, oh it's a king." And we count one, two, three, four hundred, and then we go home. Go down to lower forty-eight. And that's all they want to do, you know. Their um, what they're doing is interacting with things, is what they call them in their mind is things. And those things have names. Like, "Oh this fish is a red salmon." Brown bear, moose, you know, like a white crowned sparrow, whatever you name, those to them are things. Everything and everybody, just like we do. Just like us, you know, Yup'ik people. You know we have intentions too. We intend to do things. John Griffon: So do they. Tommy Griffon: Hence the name, fieldwork". 10:26</p>
6-7	<p>Interviewer: I learned a lot of people think of animals you know, as having intentions, you know. Animals—animals think, they have feelings. Matt Conley: Oh man, they do. Interviewer: Yeah. Matt Conley: You spend enough time around 'em and observing 'em just living with them year after year you see it. They have fear, they have jealousy, they have—maybe they have love, I don't know. They have emotions, they're not. . . and they have intelligence, you know, I've seen it. Everybody's seen it whose spent a lifetime with them. The stories about animals that people have you know, just when they're out on the land for weeks and months at a time, the things they see animals do, you know. I've seen,</p>

especially my years in the barge travelling five miles an hour, twenty-four hours a day. **Interviewer:** Watching.

Matt Conley: Seeing what they do. Yeah. They ah. . .yeah, they certainly, I think have intelligence. Year before last I was fishing, subsistence fishing and up there I fish at night, I start at midnight and usually quit at five or so, it's the only way to catch a few more, you know during the day you don't catch much. Darkest time of the night, two o'clock in the morning's always my best drift, this was in June, you know. It was about three o'clock in the morning, pretty bright out now. I see this big King salmon come up out of the net he goes down, I said, boy I'm gonna catch him. I wait watched and then nothing. Huh. He comes up again a little closer to the boat, oh he goes back down, he's figuring it out. So I pulled the net a little more down, trying to surround him, he comes up again, looks at me and goes back down. I turned the motor off even. He comes up one more time, he's really close to the end of the net now and I never see him again. He figured it out. Tell me they have no intelligence. Stuff like that, you know. **Interviewer:** One time I was on the Russian River, my Grandpa died that day and ah. . .he died in Kentucky and I called my Mom and he had had cancer for maybe going on ten years, but it finally got him. And he ah. . .and—and they said, yeah we—you know, we—we think this is gonna be it for him today and I was going fishing and I told—I told her, I said, you tell—you tell Grandpa I love him and ah. . .and I took off and I—and I lost cell reception and I went up into the mountain and I got out of the car and I walked to the favorite spot of mine up river on the Russian. **Matt Conley:** This one down here in the Kenai?

Interviewer: Yeah, but you know, up river towards the bears and the falls. I like to fish up there because there's nobody. They're scared to death of the bears and so they don't go up there, you know. Those—and those first few years I was up here I used to fish with no gun. Now I take a shotgun. I got scared a few times by bears, but I was going up there and I caught a number of ah. . .of Sockeye a day and ah. . .I had—I had ah. . .three on my stringer you know, that's all they'll let you take and ah. . .and I was just watching people fish at that point and then I saw, the first and only time I saw King salmon come up that river. Everybody was throwing hooks at that thing. They were going bananas, you know. And I had a—a seven weight fly rod in my hand which was for trout. I like to fish Sockeye with a low, you know with a—like fishing 'em with—with a ah. . .a trout rod you know, because it's more fun, you know. So I—I ran up onto this rock and I knew that fish was freaking out because of all of them hooks and I ran up to that rock and I started pulling out line and I watched that fish come back one more time and I knew it was gonna shoot, I'd been fishing that river for a while and I knew it was gonna shoot this one channel and I put that fly out one time and it went right into its mouth. That fish was so big it didn't—it didn't even know that I had hooked him because I had this light weight rod and I was kinda going, whoa. Is he still going upriver? He didn't even know that I had him in the mouth. And then he realized it and like a battleship that fish starts slowly turning back down river. Soon as he got pointed this way. . . **Matt Conley:** Oh no.

Interviewer: That fish starts flying, you know. And I just let that line go and he didn't make it about twenty yards and he went down, he came up and he spit that hook straight through the air. **Matt Conley:** [Laughter]. **Interviewer:** And I was the happiest man alive. I didn't give a shit that we didn't catch that fish. And my—and I later found out, I mean if we did the math right my Grandpa died somewhere right in between that hour or two that I was walking off that river. Because after that, I cleaned those fish and packed 'em up and when I headed out I called my Mom, when I got back to the car about an hour later and she had told me that he had passed ah. . .and hour or two ahead of that. And I couldn't help but think that my Grandpa had something to do with that one King salmon I had ever seen on that river, ever, ever you know. **Matt Conley:** Sure. **Interviewer:** And we didn't catch that fish you know, and—and I'm glad I didn't catch that fish that day. And ah. . .and one day I was listening to Yukon River ah. . .teleconference and this man said he had harvested this big King. He hadn't seen Kings that big in many years and he said, later I got back to the fish camp and I cried, he said, because I missed an opportunity. He shoulda went up that river. **Matt Conley:** Yeah. **Interviewer:** You know? **Matt Conley:** Same—same thing to me last year. I caught only two Kings over twenty pounds in subsistence fishing. The first one that I pulled in I was so surprised that just out of instinct I grabbed the gaff and clubbed it. And then I thought, oh man, I coulda let her go. You know, big female we're in the midst of this crisis. The next one I caught was drowned so I had to keep it. When I was growing up we would always—my Apa would always let the first one go, no worries there's more coming, you know. There's more to this world than what we can see, you know. **Interviewer:** I don't think those ah. . .you know, I hear—I hear these stories you know, about animals having intentions you know, and ah. . .and I know these biologists don't look at it that way you know, and ah. . .and right or wrong you know, and ah. . .you know, it doesn't matter you know, what matters to—I believe it, I believe it. But the—to me the big difference isn't in why you'll never hear that come out of a scientist's mouth, the reason why because you can't understand that in a one month weir project or two weeks out on—on the—on the Tuluksak counting fish as they go by, you know. You don't understand that unless you are out on the land. **Matt Conley:** Yeah. **Interviewer:** And you know, like the day we were caribou hunting you know, I didn't tell that story in there, but we saw one animal that day. And ah. . .from—from a distance of like four hundred yards I seen—I seen what I thought was bigfoot at the time, I mean I—I gotta admit I don't believe in bigfoot, but right then I—I was almost a believer. And ah. . .in the middle of the tundra is this large object and it was when we got to three hundred yards it's alive you know, it's looking at us. And—and my friend was ahead of me on the snow machine and I wanted to say, slow down do you see that? But I couldn't because I didn't want to go too fast and scare it. And then he saw it and we stopped and we looked and we were about two hundred and fifty yards away. And I said, man that 's awful dark you know, and ah. . .I said what could it be? I don't know what it was. We got up there at about one hundred and fifty yards it disappeared. It was windy that day and we couldn't see anything, but my friend said he thought it was a fox and I said, no way man, you know ah. . .maybe a wolverine or something, but it was standing up on this—on this one lone berm out in the middle of the tundra. It was standing up and it was looking at us and I swear to God it had to be five feet tall. **Matt Conley:** Yeah. **Interviewer:** You know? And ah. . .and ah. . .you

	<p>know, it just ah. . .but you don't—you don't—you don't ever—you're never gonna appreciate those kinds of encounters unless you're knee deep right in the middle of the tundra out there on a cold day and you come to appreciate that animals make choices. Matt Conley: Yeah, they do. Interviewer: And ah. . .we didn't—I did say that in there, we didn't get that caribou that day, but it taught me something a hell of a lot more valuable than getting that caribou and that was it is work. This life is work, you know and ah. . .and I think these Anchorage managers think you can just come out to your back porch with a weapon and shoot an animal, pull out a knife and an hour later it's in your freezer. It's not the way it is. Matt Conley: It's just the beginning. Interviewer: You know, it didn't even come close to describing the effort that goes into that entire, you know ah. . .and I never harvested an animal out there yet. We did all the trap lines several times, but no caribou, no moose. I look forward to that opportunity in the future you know, because ah. . .that's a moment to learn something and I hope these managers eventually ah. . .the AVCP talks about the need to get—to get these managers out on this land you know, and I heavily support that. Matt Conley: That would be the ultimate answer is the biologists need to be people from home, just like the teachers need to be, the Troopers, you know ah. . .the doctors, the nurses because otherwise they just come and go. They never—you know, some stay and become part of the people. They'll never understand until they stay, live the life. You know what I mean, you talk about that thing you seen in the tundra, yeah, they're true. I could tell you lots of stories they even caught one in Holy Cross. They been taught all kinds of things about how to show respect for what you catch and lots of people don't follow anymore. I do. I figure if they—they old people took the time to teach me I'm gonna follow it and I'm gonna pass it on. I was reminded a couple years ago, up above Napaimute there's a river that comes out of the mountains, clear, beautiful, good for fishing. I keep a tent up there all the time, wall tent with a stove, wood floor, you know. Never had problems with bears. There's lots of bears, but they never bother. One year they started bothering, I don't know why. Maybe they're—I don't know, some people think—I don't know, but I wouldn't even close the door on the tent you know, so they could go in snoop around, do whatever they want to do, they would even sleep in there, mess up the beds the sleeping bags, everything was in there, but they'd always make a new hole to go out. So, pretty soon I had no more tent. I'd keep patching it up with plywood, scraps of plywood. I replaced the tent with a brand new wall tent, you know they're not cheap. Sure enough I leave the door open, they go in monkey around make a hole and go out. I say, man this is a brand new tent, I gotta do something. So, I put snares and I started catching bears and you know, I didn't go up there every day so some of the bears got wasted. If they were fresh I'd salvage them. But it was—I told my—and then I caught a brown bear and it looked like a bomb went off, you know. But it died and I felt really bad you know, that's one of the most powerful animals, it is the most powerful animal in our country. I told my family, this is—this is bunk, this is like we're at war with the bears. We gotta do something to make peace. I remember the old time tradition, when you catch a bear you cut the head off, bury the head pointing east so I did that. I let my son do it so he could learn. Rest of the season, no bear trouble. They were still there, they would still pass by, whenever they reach a snare they'd push it off the way, pass. Never bothered anything, gave me goose bumps. Interviewer: Wow. Matt Conley: You know. Yeah. There's a story it's a long story, sometime another setting I'll tell you why you're not supposed to talk about bears if you're gonna hunt them. It's okay to hunt bears, bears don't mind, but don't talk about it. It's a really good story. Bears are the most intelligent animal, I think that we have. They're smart. 15:8 and 15:12 and 15:19 and 15:21</p>
6-8	<p>Matt Conley: I'll tell you a quick Yukon story. I always wonder if this is why they are having such hard fishing times, you know they used to have a fishery. A fishery on the Yukon for the roe, roe only ah. . .Chum though, it wasn't King salmon and it was very lucrative. Those guys made a lot of money just selling Chum salmon roe. But they used to waste like crazy. I was with a family one time, the patriarch, the Grandpa, was early September fishing season was over Fish and Game was gone. He tells the boys go down to the fish camp and take care of those fish. Okay, I went with them. They had a twenty-two foot boat, wide one, five foot bottom I think. We went down to their fish camp and there was racks and racks of Chum salmon hanging, they'd been hanging since July you know, and they just plain cut 'em you know, they just split 'em from tail to head so they looked like they were hanging and they left 'em there. They you know, took all the roe and sold it. So we took all that fish off the racks, we loaded that boat up twice, twenty-two foot boat you know, stacked three and a half feet high with Dog salmon, I don't know how many hundreds it was. We brought 'em up to the middle of the Yukon and dumped 'em. Yeah. I couldn't believe what I was being a part of, you know. Huge, huge wanton waste, in the name of money. That happened on the Kuskokwim too, they used to have a roe fishery. Subsistence fishermen used to be able to sell their roe. And that was kinda traditionally the woman's money because they're the ones cutting the fish, they'd keep the roe, they'd sell it and they'd get to keep the money. Planes or boats would go from fish camp to fish camp to buy the roe. But then waste—waste started becoming a problem and they shut it down. Interviewer: Man. Matt Conley: Human nature I guess . . . if you can make money. We all need money I guess, to some degree. But they teach us . . . that waste animals won't come back. You fight over 'em they'll go away . . . 15:9</p>
6-9	<p>Matt Conley: Some people I won't tell that stuff to because they'll ridicule you, you know. I caught a wolf one time. I came upon him swimming in the fall time right above Aniak, early in the morning. I didn't want to kill him, the furs no good, but I wanted to let him know you know, I think that lower forty—maybe the Lakota or somebody that I think called [inaudible]. The bravest thing a warrior could do is touch their enemy, but not kill them. So I went up to him and pulled his tail while he was swimming and I told him, I'll look for you this winter. He was growling and trying to bite me, but he couldn't because he was swimming. I caught a wolf that I'm pretty sure was that same wolf not far from that area that winter, big male gray wolf. I'm almost positive that's the same wolf. If not it's a good story you know, I pulled his tail and told him I'm gonna look for him this winter. Interviewer: Wow. I believe it you know, I. . . ah. . .it's like that King salmon I caught you know, some things happen to you in your life and other people might not believe it, but it's the</p>

	<p>truth and I believe that is—man you grabbed it by the tail? Oh man. Matt Conley: Two times. I told this story and it depends, there are hunters and there are killers you know, in Bethel I see a lot of killers you know, not very respectful, don't take care of what they catch. I was telling that story to somebody, why didn't you kill it, why didn't you kill it? I said, what for? It was no good I don't kill anything just to kill it. They kill lots of moose. I said, well yeah maybe, but I see a lot of people killing moose that don't need to too, you know. Interviewer: Huh. I don't know—I don't know much about this you know, this I hear a lot of this talk about predator management and wolves. Wolves kill moose and you know, and I heard a man from southeast Alaska tell me this one time, he said, the wolves are very important, he said, they keep the herd strong. And you know, I don't know—I don't know much about it. Matt Conley: That's a common belief ah. . .my experience with wolves, they're like people. When there's lots they'll be wasteful, when there's not much. . .I've seen 'em eat moose down to the everything, even crack the head open and eat the brains, but then you see caribou that they—and moose occasionally that they just killed and bit off of—they like the nose because it's fat, some of the guts because it's fat, you know. They eat very little. I don't know, I don't know. That's just what I think, they're like people. Interviewer: Well bears—just hearing you say that made me think of bears. I used to work in Katmai. Matt Conley: Fish, they'll just take a bite. Interviewer: Yeah. Matt Conley: If there's lots of fish. Interviewer: If there's lots of fish, they're gonna take that skin right off of it and they're gonna leave the rest of it. Matt Conley: Yeah. Interviewer: And then they're gonna come back in the fall time when those carcasses start coming in and then they're gonna eat everything, you know. Matt Conley: Because there's nothing else. Interviewer: And ah. . .but it's like you said, if an animal can get—if there's lots of food out there for them, they're gonna take their favorite parts and that's it, you know. Matt Conley: I saw one time a moose came out, really deep snow that year, came out of the woods in Napaimute the bank was drifted in deep snow, she tried to come down and she fell in the snow and couldn't get out you know, she was up to snow like this. I don't know what order it happened in, if she was dead there or if she died after the wolf came, one single wolf came from across the river went to her, ate her nose and left her. Interviewer: Wow. Matt Conley: When I found her she was dead. 15:11</p>
6-10	<p>Matt Conley: Okay, here's what I think about it. We've been involved with it since the very beginning, it's going on how many years now? Fifteen years or something, okay and we've been generally supportive, I've been supportive because of the employment opportunities. When they were in the exploration phase they had two hundred of our people working. Two hundred. Had a huge impact on the region and they're—I watched them boys, and I went, I visited the exploration camp many times ah. . .they weren't just slaves, they were moved up as quickly as possible to supervisor positions. I mean, these were kids to me and they're telling helicopters what to do you know . . . I said, yeah. And for a lot of 'em, lot of those people it was the first time they had full time employment in their life, you know and the work ethic they learned, the safety habits, just—man, their valuable employees to anybody today. Unfortunately the exploration phase ended, most of 'em got laid off you know, now they're in permitting and all that. Nothing's going on up there, there's just a handful of people keeping the camp warm. . . but I picked up some of those guys to work for Napaimute you know, with our wood. In fact . . . they're awesome. They're responsible, they understand about budgets you know, keeping expenses down, doing things efficiently, safely you know, coming to work on time, your job starts when you're at the job site, not when you're sitting there drinking coffee or whatever or not when you're travelling to the job site. Starts when you get there, you know. And this is probably off the subject, but we have a timber harvester. Do you know what that is? Interviewer: No, tell me. Matt Conley: It's a machine that grabs a tree, a big tree, or a little tree, cuts it off, drops it, de-limbs it and then cuts it up into whatever lengths you want to cut it. It's high tech, it's computerized. We have the only one off the road system in Alaska, and we have the only Alaska Native harvester operator trained in Washington to run this thing. We have four of them I brought down there for training and they're all guys that used work at Donlin Creek too and they're awesome. [Matt's employee] especially, when he's in his groove he can take one big tree, cut it, drop it, de-limb it and buck it up, thirty seconds, you know. People need work. The younger people especially or we are gonna keep burying them and putting them in prison, you know. That's what we're doing with our young men . . . They're killing themselves with suicide or alcohol or they're getting in trouble and going to jail. 15:30</p>
6-11	<p>Chairman Roczicka: Quyana (In Yup'ik). There was a gentleman on line that--from the village. Would you please identify yourself, and then if you had some comments for the Council, go ahead. Mr. Ivan: Thank you very much. Ivan. M. Ivan. My Yup'ik name is (In Yup'ik), Chief of Akiak Native Community, just upriver from you. I agree wholeheartedly with the statements of Jackson Williams, who's also an Akiak Native Community member. And my comments to you, we look to your group, RAC I guess they call you that, I'm just learning, to protect our subsistence fishing rights for king salmon. As a Federal agency, you're carrying the trust responsibility that Secretary of Interior incorporated us in 1931, and deal with us on government-to-government basis. And thank you for your tribal consultation. We look forward to working with you. And thank you for allowing us to comment to your community. I've got two brief--really three brief. Our older elders need, critically need to eat dry fish that's from king salmon for this long winter. They cannot testify, so I'm trying to speak on their behalf. They've asked us to speak for them as much as possible. It's not only our elders, but our very young grandchildren need the dried king salmon, because it's more filling than pizza, and it goes a little longer in our stomach. There's another one that really bothers the elders, and that's the net size. I was born to eight-and-half and eight-and-a-quarter mesh for king salmon that preserved the kings up to this time. The four-inch our elders say is not good. It's killing kings, king jacks that are going to return next year or years as adults to spawn on the rivers. And some of them lay as food for young salmon. And I was happy when I heard about last--two months ago or a month ago when the governor put together scientists to take a look at the famine issue in western Alaska. And they said Kuskokwim had no fish problem whatsoever, but I can't speak for the Yukon. I'm sure there's a</p>

	<p>lot of people that can speak for that river. There's some information that I have not given to State of Alaska's Fish and Game people. Comments like, information like (In Yup'ik) in June, first week of June, two days of wind, rain, waves that drives those fish to the Kuskokwim. When that doesn't happen, there's not very many, but there's fish. The other one is some years the fish go through the channel and they're hard to get. But as true scientists, our elders used to drop several year old milk right in the channel of the river to make them move up, detour around it so that they can get it. The key point is tribal consultation. And thank you very much for doing this. We cannot survive without king salmon. That's our hope. That's our prayer. That's been given to us by the Almighty. And please protect our rights. I can't speak for Fish and Game. I'm sorry, I don't trust them anymore, but I do trust you people that will represent us. And I will try to answer any questions that you may have. Chairman Roczicka: <i>Quyana</i>, Ivan. [Public Record] 20:21</p>
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E7. Managers' Worldview on Land and Animals.

7-1	<p>Interviewer: Bill you know, as—as a starter I just wanted to ah. . .to get little ah. . .brief background of ah. . .of what your ah. . .you involvement with ah. . .your involvement in the management, Fish and Wildlife has been over the years.</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: Well let's see, I started my career after I graduated from a small liberal arts college in northern Wisconsin, the Northland College and . . . that was in nineteen eighty and right after I got out of there I ran an environmental education program . . . that worked with the school districts in northwestern Wisconsin with some very affluent people that had an environmental mission in mind and ah. . .so really they were instrumental in that particular start. And then I went to graduate school and I got my master's degree at the University of Wisconsin ah. . .and ah. . .that was in biology. And ah. . .did my master's thesis on a predatory bird called the Merlin and ah. . .and ah. . .after I did that—while I was doing that stint I was a biologist for the National Park Service ah. . .and ah. . .and I did that for—on a seasonal basis for a few years. And ah. . .and after my degree was completed and I was working for the park service, I was an adjunct professor and ah. . .and ah. . .also a staff member at the Sigurd Olson Environmental Institute. The Sigurd Olson Institute is a wilderness ah. . .kind of think tank and ah. . .person and place that was part of Northland College very much for my bachelor's degree. And ah. . .so it was fun. I talked to wildlife sciences there and delved into ah. . .a lot of aquatic resource issues and ah. . .and lots of ah. . .of different ah. . .I would say issues oriented around wilderness in the north woods. I left there and I worked for twelve years for the Bad River band of Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians and I started out as their wildlife biologist and then I became their wildlife and fishery biologist and then I became their wildlife biologist and—ah. . .and fishery biologist and supervisory game warden. And ah. . .so, on the Bad River Tribe and ah. . .and that was a really great, great experience both in understand ah. . .I—I think in parts of Tribal issues and Indian law and as well as ah. . .working you know, specifically with the Bad River ah. . .Band of Lake Superior Chippewa. And ah. . .so ah. . .I mean, I still go back there and it's ah. . .it's a place that's home. It's a place I'm always welcome to and ah. . .and I am not Native American and ah. . .but I—I've really been—I was really treated as. . .quite fairly by the—by the Bad River Tribe and a great experience. And then ah. . .I decided to come and work for Fish and Wildlife in Bethel, Alaska. Interviewer: What year was this? Bill Cartwright: Ah. . .that—I came here in ah. . .two thousand and seven. End of May in two thousand and seven. And ah. . .so, I had left the Tribe and ah. . .where most of my family was to work here ah. . .for a number of reasons, one was that the magnitude of the resource and I—and I came here as a biologist, I came here as a supervisory wildlife biologist. And ah. . .and so I've—I've always held science and best science near and dear to me and making sure that good factual information is always the basis of decision and ah. . .and making sure that we do that and in the course of our actions is ah. . .it's ah. . .sometimes it takes time to—to do the right thing and make the right decision. And some decisions if they're emergencies have to be made right then. But I was at Bad River Tribe too, I was a pilot and ah. . .so, I assisted law enforcement and sciences you know, when—and ah. . .flew the Tribe's airplane. Ah. . .so ah. . .so, coming here I had an aviation background, I had a scientific background, I had a management background and ah. . .and I had a pretty strong academic background and a lot of workings, you know, working for Tribal organizations with different facets of—of federal government from the EPA to Fish and Wildlife Service to National Park Service and the private NGOs such as the Nature Conservancy and ah. . .and the National Wildlife Federation. . . . so you get lots of good broad based experience when you get to do that sort of thing. And then ah. . .more than a year ago ah. . .I was offered the job to be the Deputy Refuge Manager at the Yukon Delta and a leadership position with Fish and Wildlife Service. So that's ah. . .so and as ah. . .as a hometown Wisconsin boy coming to Alaska it's ah. . .it's a wonderful experience to be part of you know, one of the largest National Wildlife Refuges in the country and also that has, not just a good resource base, but has a huge public base and public constituency of ah. . .of Alaska Natives and other people ah. . .that use the resources in western Alaska. So, that's how. . .my life in a nutshell. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow, geez. Bill Cartwright: In the last thirty years. Interviewer: That is ah. . .a huge amount of experience. Bill Cartwright: It's broad, for sure, it—and I think working for Tribal governments exposes you to all the nuances of different government agencies, whether it be State, or other Tribal groups, or the federal government. So, I—I guess I can never ever ah. . .deny that the best training that anybody could ever have is—is working with Tribal organization at some point in their career, in a more intimate way. And—and ah. . .and—and it's something where I think in any job that you're in the field with, it's that your decisions can immediately affect people. Ah. . .didn't matter if I was working at Bad River or working here, the decision—the gravity of decision is—is—is high. A good example would be [inaudible] ah. .</p>
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	<p>.this is one of the world's best remaining wild Chinook salmon runs. And again, one that is the highest you know, subsistence use salmon runs. So, when you think about your gravity of your decision both from a resource stand point and from—and from a social stand point, it's pretty vague. And. . .if you didn't have that personal connection and you weren't—and you were detached from it, I'm—I'm not sure whether it would have the heart and soul that you would really need to—to be a good decision maker about some of these things. And ah. . .so it didn't matter whether I was at Bad River or here ah. . .I mean, when I worked for the Park Service it was as a scientist and the decisions seemed broader. To a wider American public ah. . .and don't get me wrong, working for Fish and Wildlife Service our decisions have impacts in the laws that we govern. It's just this refuge is just as much for a kid from New York City as it is for you know, somebody that grew up—grew up in Kwethluk. And ah. . .so it's—so it really ah. . .but—but you don't have that direct personal attachment many times that you have when you're working ah. . .for subsistence cultures and directly for people. And definitely it was even more separated when I was in academic ah. . .and—and doing that sort of thing. And then you know, biologically, I mean when I look at research papers, papers I've published and big reports I've published they range from aquatic invertebrates to. . .you know, to wolves you know, so it's—so I've always been one that's looked at all things great and small. And ah. . .and I actually have a great passion for the intricacies of life ah. . .especially when I look at the—the roles of benthic invertebrates to natural systems. . .I mean, I did one—I did the original inventory of—of ah. . .freshwater bivalve mollusks on the St Croix national scenic river way. So, I was a federal diver at that time so. . .we—we—and then also cooperating with the State of ah. . .of Wisconsin ah. . .and Minnesota, we enacted these big inventories and really it consisted of listing some of these invertebrates, but also it gave you an appreciation for you know, something that most people might take for granted on the bottom of the river that's critical to ecosystem functioning.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right. Right. You know, I guess I—I really admire the ah. . .the ah. . .federal government's position of not just looking at managing particular populations, but I understand those small species have an effect on entire ecosystems and looking at the health of just—of ecosystems, not just the health of individual species. Bill Cartwright: I hope we continue to do so and it's not all about the charismatic mega-fauna. It takes sometimes you know, politically and socially you know, for the masses you know, there's these big things out there, but again the drivers of our ecosystems many times, it's governed on water quality and water chemistry and the physical nature of things and on the small creature that—that ah. . .inhabit those—those biomes. And ah. . .so if we don't take a hard look at how the system functions, it's kind of like you know, putting a roof on the house before you finish the basement. Ah. . .you've got you know, you've got to understand the base—you know, build the basement first and then put the walls on and then the roof on and then it's going to be. . .and then you're going to understand you know, that you're gonna have a whole house and I'm not sure whether sometimes that we don't get carried away on what's easy to study. It's easy to study big stuff, wolves and bears and. . .and deer ah. . .and moose, but you know, but really what's really driving the ecosystem? And it may be ah. . .it may be something very small. 5:1</p>
7-2	<p>Bill Cartwright: You know, if we really are thinking for generations to come, we're thinking of the future. But on the other hand, when those populations come up then—then it's not an issue anymore. And—and then—and we move on. What you hope is that. . .that it's not—a lot of times, I think people take personal blame or that they feel that they're being blamed when there's ah—ever never one cause. You know, where we can say this was a harvest issue or this was you know, an ocean issue. It's that—it's synergy and that it's always these combined factors that usually come into play with any animal population and so that's totally natural and some of it's definitely human caused. 5:2</p>
7-3	<p>Bill Cartwright: Ah. . .and—and also it's ah. . .you know it's. . .it's a—it's really a. . .a matter of—of what is the biggest impact? You know, where do these fish put on the most amount of their you know, their biomass you know, it's in the ocean. So, is there something with overall productivity? Again you know, trawlers that's an additive, I mean where is it you know, it—again it's—it's—it's something that's adding to the problem. So, if you're getting poor ocean productivity, plus trawlers, plus high harvest levels in the spawning areas, when you add them all together what does it—what does it really mean? And—and so I think it's a—it a matter of waiting and—and understanding you know, a resource. It's really difficult you know, going into a totally invisible environment is ah. . .is some you know, and some of it becomes very mathematical, which again becomes very difficult for people to understand. There was also that scenario when you have a personal observation that's negative that can over cloud the majority of what's actually occurring. I sit in my deer stand and I shot a deer out of it every year, but this year I didn't see any deer therefore there's no deer in the woods. . .that's my observation. I was there on a boat and I saw a halibut get chopped up, I saw this—this horrible waste and—and—and because of my experience that's the way the whole thing is. It's not to negate or undermine that experience, but sometimes one individual's observation isn't not—not necessarily representing the whole picture. You know, did—did it mean that there were really last year in all northern Wisconsin or—or is there less moose in all of northern Wisconsin or—or in western Alaska? It—it really comes down to that individual's observation being parlayed out into a bigger—bigger deal.</p> <p>Interviewer: And the timing—Bill Cartwright: Right. Interviewer: Of what's happening currently. Bill Cartwright: Right. And—and it sensationalizes the opinion, the negative opinion. If you're already believing you don't like it. It's one person's opinion as additive to that you're gonna—you're gonna be in the feeding frenzy, you're—you're that flock of gulls you know. On that—on that ah. . .meat pile. So. . .so are you—so really is it truly representative and that's where broader based fact, I think is really important to keep in mind. And—and we—and we have to always look at the individual observation versus to more than one individual's observation toward. . .and whether that conflicts with the available science. 5:3</p>
7-4	<p>Interviewer: Do you think that there's an element of funding ah. . .behind some species that—that draws lots and lots of research towards things like salmon and not white fish or—or things like that? Bill Cartwright: You know, it's [inaudible]</p>

	<p>you know, you know some Emersonian thought at least from existentialist thought, not to get really too deep on that question. But if you really think about it you know, who appreciates you know, the whale more? You know, the poet that looks at—that looks at the you know, the whale for kind of its overall value of the beast? Or the whaler that might make flagellates out of its bones. I think that Thoreau was the one that—that—that was ah. . . that was one of his observations you know, who would appreciate you know, the tree you know, a poet or would it be the—the timber man? And I think we know that both have a different appreciation, but come from a different perspective. Some people come from it from—from a spiritual standpoint, some people come from it from a utilitarian, some—some from a subsistence standpoint. Some people come from it because they just think it's interesting to them. It's a personal—it's a personal connection and. . . and so it's like ah. . . hunters that might appreciate deer because they're only interested in deer, may not show the ah. . . the respect for a wolf, for instance . . . but I think that—that in when you look at wildlife and you look at traditional cultures and use—and you look at what we have—what we think drives the thing that we want to see as human beings do and I talk about human beings as. . . it's that part of their person is to respect life. I mean so . . . I think that if we see respect for something, whether you use it or not is something we can learn from traditional cultures, but something that needs to go into the dominant culture's use of wildlife too. But many times it becomes very. . . very centric in—in—in one animal versus another or what I'm interested in ah. . . and—and—and—and I—and I—and I really think that you know, there's varieties of different motivations you know, recreation, we—we have fun doing this. You know, we have fun fishing, we have fun hunting you know and so—and—and then—and it creates value systems and look at the roots of those value systems. I mean the roots of those value systems in—in this country you know, many times came from a Eurocen—European background and it came from a sporting ethic. All you have to do is read Izaak Walton's work and have a really good understand that it wasn't necessarily about food in the pantry, it was about having fun and it was about being fair on how you kill things. If you look at traditional cultures was it about being fair? It was really about utilitarian. I would—it's easier to pull the bear out of the den and kill it. It's easier to run down a moose in the winter on snow shoes and kill it in the winter because of just the tools that you had the time of year that you could do it and just basic necessity and safety for your actions to be able to get that—that form of wildlife on the ground so you could eat it to survive. So. . . so again it's not saying that the person that is Izaak Walton's cohort didn't respect wildlife or that traditional cultures didn't respect wildlife, but what we expect both—both entities to do is—to share the common ground for the resource and that I think really comes down to that respect and—and passion for and the understanding of others and how they use these resources. And—or. . . or not to use them at all. I mean just think of you know, we really cater to bird watchers in the Fish and Wildlife Service. We cater to people that just want to walk. You know, and we look at some of that you know, some of the ethics of again from you know, of—of a kind of philosophies that would drive the Sierra Club and others from—from—from [inaudible] to—to ah. . . to you know, too. . . the Great Wilderness Advocates. It—it wasn't just about the use of it, when you sit and look at Sigurd Olson or any of the people that created the Wilderness Act. It was about large spaces, large viewscapes, places where human beings could find peace and solitude away from a population of human that now we're going to look at breaking the eight billion mark. And—and so, when we look at these values for wildlife it's that sometimes we're not willing to open up our—our own viewscapes, our own insides to understand just those simple spiritual values and how people express it in so many different ways you know, in—in nature. . . . I think that you know, a very long winded way of answering that question. 5:8</p>
7-5	<p>Bill Cartwright: And I think that when we look at ways of life I think that you can have a way of life if you're true—I mean my Dad on Sunday mornings would give me a choice of church or fishing. And I liked fishing so, and so that becomes part of your way of life you know, part of where your free time where you become connected . . . and to have that personal prerogative is I think a really. . . a really important thing, but—but again, to be judgmental on whether my right to have that spiritual connection to fishing is more important than the Minayanan Lodge spiritual connection of their tradition is. . . I think is not the. . . is not the role of government. It sure as heck is not the role of . . . anything that we do. It's—the key is to making sure that we can provide that space and that—and—and that quality for a lot of people to—to have that—to have that place with nature and—and I think that those opportunities become more and more regulated and it doesn't matter whether it's sport fishermen or the Tribal member in Wisconsin or the Alaska Native in—in western Alaska, it's just all about more people, about a global population that puts pressure on resources that ah. . . that assures that essentially that they're finite and that they're at risk. Interviewer: Malthusian, yeah. Bill Cartwright: Yep. And so. . . and so regulation comes in as a matter of necessity. Actually later at a period of time in history in comparison to when you look at European and the sporting ethic was many times populations that were greatly reduced with lots of people major habitat manipulations and essentially things became the sport of kings or the rights to land, essentially because of too many people and too much abuse on the land and—and I think we'd be. . . I think that this [inaudible] population densities, North America had lower population densities, but as we know there was still a large population and people did not necessarily always take care of those populations they—people were opportunistic. Essentially all cultures are at—at some point. And so. . . but in this modern era of so many people and—and such risk to wildlife, doesn't matter if it's climate change issues, doesn't matter if it's atmospheric deposition from Asian airtrans and mercury going into fish in western Alaska to ah. . . to migratory birds that fly into ah. . . agricultural zones in the lower forty-eight getting shot at the whole way they go there. And—and so these—these resources obviously are not resources that are—would be, what I would say would be in a primeval condition, just because of the extraneous threats from a global environment are—are so vast because of this huge human population on this land. So it's. . . it really—it—it presents a lot of challenges and also it presents, as you know for this part of the world and for people that aren't used to change that change—change is happening whether we like it or not. 5:22</p>

7-6	<p>Rick Strickland: Upper level management on the federal side chooses not to see them that way or anything like that. And it's a matter of choice, it is a matter of choice, there's plenty of latitude for them to ah, to implement management structure. But that is failing of the system right now is that the board ah. . .the member agencies of the federal subsistence board are not accountable to the board or to the recommendations of the managers. Interviewer: Okay, the managers being the? Rick Strickland: Fish and Wildlife service, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service. . . Interviewer: Are not accountable to? Rick Strickland: To the federal board or to the ah. They all got their own policies that they. That is the nature. Interviewer: So the missions of each one of those agencies is not accountable? Rick Strickland: To the federal subsistence process. I mean they do have their. . .oh gosh, how do. . .they are to provide the subsistence opportunity and so they are covered by that mandate, but as far as ah, actually managing the populations they're—again they. . .the way the system is set is that ah, they figure opening the season is adequate to provide for subsistence opportunity whether or not there's anything in there [inaudible]. And ah, and that's what I'm saying is that they—they've got their management policies in place that are. . .ah. . .oh, gosh, I wish I could grab my vocabulary. They're more subservient to the ah. . .to the environmentalist concerns than they are for the actual harvest unit. They call it managing for the natural diversity but it was specifically stated in the conference committee leading up to ANILCA that natural diversity did not preclude managing your populations to provide for—for human use. That's—that's one that I continually beat 'em up about. We've had three times now, the federal managers have. . .through lack of action have essentially said people are just going to have to find something else to eat. We're not gonna do it. I asked a guy down at. . .one of the assistant's secretaries. . .assistant directors at the—in Washington DC last spring. . .they had the ah, in the Senate of Indian Affairs Committee Meeting. And I asked him at that meeting is that the Fish and Wildlife's new policy for implementing ANILCA? People are just gonna have to find something else to eat? That's what he wrote. And that guy just got so insulted he came up to me afterwards and said, no, no, no and started apologizing all over the place. And stop ah, your former national directors are now on the, ah, on the board of directors for Defenders of Wildlife and the Sierra Club and they have the inside track. Interviewer: So, ah just for the clarification, you know, for the record, you know, why do you think that this upper level management in Washington DC is. . . I guess the word—Rick Strickland: Ignorant. It's been institutionalized. It's a Farley Mowat syndrome. It's institutionalized. It's something that's. . . has become institutionalized with the agencies. But ah, used to be purely hands-off and only monitor not manage. Management is all focused just on—on the human harvest aspect. 18:4</p>
7-7	<p>Interviewer: Do you think now that the bycatch of King Salmon from the Pollock industry has reportedly come down real—or significantly that we're gonna see. . . now that it's been six years since the high bycatch of 2007 that we're gonna see more fish return due to less pressure on Chinook from the Pollock bycatch? At least another ten thousand in the rivers, each of the rivers. Ron Gables: Ten thousand? Interviewer: Ten thousand fish. I hope that if we Ron Gables: Each? Interviewer: Cut it from the high of a hundred some odd thousand bycatch to under twenty-five, thirty thousand like they have reported. Ron Gables: See you have to look at that number and put it in context, that was. . .that was during a period of really high abundance of Chinook so it was a proportion. That high interception may have just been proportional to the abundance of Chinook out on the Bering Sea. Interviewer: Well, what do you—if you had to take a guess at ah, I've heard different numbers but I've heard that up to thirty percent of the King Salmon caught in the Pollock bycatch are bound for Western Alaska. Ron Gables: Right. Interviewer: Do you think that's a pretty good number? Ron Gables: Yeah, thirty to fifty percent ah. . .are some of the numbers they've put out there but those are. . .those are—that's thirty to fifty percent but then those are all age classes. Interviewer: All age classes, right. Ron Gables: All the age classes not every one of the thirty percent of fish in that thirty percent would have returned in any given year. Interviewer: Returning fish, right. Ron Gables: And those are fish that are anywhere from two years. . .two salts to—Interviewer: Four, five, six. . .Ron Gables: Six—six salts, right? So you have to proportion that out over those years. When you do the back and back calculations. . . I think we started looking at this two thousand ten with the bycatch, you know, for instance two thousand ten it would have been—and this is just a rough calculation, only a couple thousand fish. Interviewer: A couple thousand fish per river? Ron Gables: For the Kuskokwim. Interviewer: Kuskokwim and Yukon. Ron Gables: To the Kuskokwim. Interviewer: To the Kuskokwim. Ron Gables: Yeah. Interviewer: Couple thousand fish? Wow. Ron Gables: Out of seventy-five thousand fish that are harvested in the subsistence fishery that year. I'll leave it up to you to decide whether that's. . . Interviewer: Right. Significant, right, right. You know, I—I'm just asking, you know, because I see the numbers and—and I'm not a fisheries scientist, you know, and I'm—I'm trying to understand it too, if ah. . .people have a valid claim when they ah. . .start worrying about whether or not. Ron Gables: Well it's—Interviewer: Commercial fishing is disrupting subsistence fishing or which one's a priority, you know? Ron Gables: Well, we're fishing in general less and it's not any one thing which is before and it's. . .it's a classic death of a thousand cuts. Yeah, you know, everything contributes to the—to the ah. . .long-term sustainability and health of these stocks of fish. Whether it's high seas interception, ocean acidification just normal, you know, climatic patterns, normal cycles of abundance ah. . .habitat degradation, over fishing pressure, over fishing pressure, over fishing pressure. . . Interviewer: So really the only one which we can actually change is. . . Ron Gables: Selective fisheries. Interviewer: Is allocation and how much is harvested. That's really all we have to go off of. Ron Gables: That's another point that people fail to understand is they want us to do something about the. . .the pollock fishery that's going on. We don't have the jurisdictional authority. . . Interviewer: Who does? Ron Gables: To do anything about that. It'd be National Marine Fishing Service. Interviewer: National Marine Fishing Service Ron Gables: Yeah. And they're—they're. . .they've been working on it. Interviewer: Let me ask you this, when the Stevens and Magnuson Act ah. . .expanded the ah. . .the federal waters out to one hundred and</p>

	<p>fifty, two hundred miles, whatever that was ah. . .to include the Bering Sea, did that not then make those waters federal waters? Ron Gables: Yeah. Interviewer: And do those waters then apply to ANILCA? Ron Gables: Ah. . . Interviewer: You know if we're managing for subsistence ah. . . Ron Gables: Yeah. Interviewer: Does it get bodied. . . Ron Gables: They're federal waters and in actuality you can in certain circumstances exert extra-jurisdictional authority. Interviewer: Ah-huh. Ron Gables: So, for instance, if the case was so compelling that high seas interception from that pollock fishery that was taking place in federal waters ah, was significantly and it would have to be overwhelming evidence, was significantly affecting returns to the Kuskokwim River the refuge manager here could make a strong case to exert extra-jurisdictional authority and then ah. . .curtail that fishery. Interviewer: So the federal government has the power to do that. Ron Gables: We do. Interviewer: If there is enough evidence. Ron Gables: Compelling evidence. Interviewer: Compelling evidence. Ron Gables: It has to be compelling, yes. That evidence is not there. As much as people want to have a straw man to stand up and beat on, you know, and point the finger somewhere else—this is—this is—and this is so classic in fisheries. . .in declining fisheries, is that people will point—and this has happened all over the world, people point at every other factor and every other cause as the cause that's causing their fish—their fish to be in decline or disappear and never look inward, never look at themselves and their own impacts on the fishery. You're at fifty, sixty percent, plus seventy percent exploitation rate on Chinook salmon in this river. 19:4</p>
7-8	<p>Ron Gables: It's not the commercial fishery, that's not the interception, that's just the subsistence fishery. Do people discuss it? Do they point to that as contributing to the decline? Some do, some don't. . . a lot of people don't. Interviewer: Some people own it and some people—some people won't, you know, just like the commercial fishery doesn't—doesn't—doesn't think that they any impact on—on Chinook salmon. You know, I don't think they're—they're above—above thinking that they're—that they're impacts aren't—aren't. . . Ron Gables: In Chinook salmon? The commercial fishery? Interviewer: You know, it's not just Chinook, halibut and everything else get thrown overboard . . . Ron Gables: I don't think those fish are getting thrown overboard anymore. Interviewer: Oh their not? Ron Gables: I think they're being processed. Interviewer: They're being processed? Ron Gables: Yeah. Interviewer: That's good, I didn't know that. Ron Gables: Well these fish here—you know, these fish if you've ever seen a cod in when they're coming up with pollock? Have you ever seen them pull up a net? Interviewer: Visually no, with my own eyes. You worked on 'em didn't you? Ron Gables: Yeah, I've. Those fish you gotta cut out of the net and they're gonna be mush. They're gonna be ground to a pulp, okay? There's so much. . .it depends on where they got in the—in the caught, when it was deployed or when it was retrieved. Ah. . .but usually those fish are really beat up and they're, again they're not the king—adult kings like we. . .people envision, they're like this. Okay? So there small—a lot of 'em are just small sub-adult king salmon so. . .and then if you say, well that's a waste ah. . .well somehow you've got a situation where they were retaining those fish where potentially those fish could wind up in a market somewhere. I mean, [inaudible]. I mean, that's the whole point. Interviewer: None of those fish should be thrown overboard as waste, you know. That's just my own personal opinion. Ron Gables: But it—it's not waste. Interviewer: When they die and nobody eats them it's waste, you know. Ron Gables: But things die in nature all the time. Everything gets eaten in nature. Not by you but nature. Interviewer: It feeds the ecosphere. Ron Gables: Nature needs those fish. Interviewer: Back into the ecosphere. Ron Gables: I would rather see that fish go back in the ocean than go in some fishmeal somewhere. It's. . . ah. . .again that's—it—I don't believe when you're looking at sixty percent exploitation rate by the subsistence fishery in this river, compared to less than half of a percent of exploitation that may be occurring in the interception fishery and the Pollock fishery. Where are you going to focus your energy, where are you going to focus your effort. . .if you've got a problem with Chinook salmon? And not only that, that's sixty percent, if you want to break that down further exploitation rate ah. . .good sixty, seventy percent of that occurs right out of Bethel here. So it's not even just all the users on the Kuskokwim. . .it's really one community. So what's . . . let's address the real issue. But where is the most local group from? Where's the seed of the political power at? I mean. . .you know I'm not saying that there's—you know, I think that's too high of an exploitation rate actually, but there are ways to mitigate that and you know, the double edged sword with. . .in addition to just the ah. . .sheer numbers of fish that are caught, Chinook—we're talking Chinooks here, is the nature of the fishery and the use of the large gear. . .the selectivity of that large gear. That, in effect, may be the largest long-term detrimental effect to this stock of fish. Interviewer: So you think by—by going down to the—this six inch ah. . .mesh is really gonna impact the getting those big kings back up here and—and in the future it would help it? Ron Gables: I hope it does. That's the whole point behind it. 19:5</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E8. Managers' Approach to Management.

8-1	<p>Interviewer: People believe that. . .there are some people that believe upriver that—that beaver is really maybe gonna cause problems on the Kuskokwim. You know, I don't know enough about the biology of beavers, but I know.</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: Yeah I mean, again I—I take a look at you know, on some things that we have and the tools of this day and—and people that are educated also, I mean when we—that's one of the questions we've answered in one of our salmon camps you know, is that we take a look at you know, impacts of beaver you know, and ah. . .and also that we always remind people that beaver are a resource that—that people can use, they can eat them, they can sell skins, they can make any crafts out of them. It's a population that's within their own personal management control. And when you look at the benefits of beaver if you're a water fowl biologist, you'll understand that ponds are great for puddle ducks and so there's—so again we—we eat migratory birds. We know also that—that beaver also create rearing areas for salmon 'cause salmon don't you know, that are up there get bigger, it's warmer water, their high in food production and then in the spring you know, when the floods come or it's time to out-migrate, there they go. So, there may be a benefit to getting more robust fish to out-migrate which is—which is beneficial to you know, to salmon populations. So, not a negative, but again until you have that, again research and factual base people who are willing to listen to another person I think are critical so, communication is critical and. . .and I think it's ah. . .many Tribal organizations have people and biologists, I was one, as a biologist representing a Tribe so when we went to the table we were talking the same language and it'd come out to, how many deer should we be harvesting off the reservation or how many deer should we harvest on the reservation or when I—it didn't matter whether it was you know, fish quotas or commercial fishing on lake superior when we were in negotiations with the State for white fish quotas, I was hired to speak Western science to Western scientists on behalf of a Tribal organization and there was a trust on doing that and there was advice from the Tribe to be able to do that. Many of the inter-Tribal organizations ah. . .if we look at the northwest part of the—of ah. . .the United States, again based with biologists, again everybody's discussing science to scientists between science with a basis of hypotheses and—and knowledge from the Tribal members and—and somebody in the oversight group that looks at you know, whether the science is being targeted. . .targeted in the right way. And—and I. . .but again it—it's part of. . .of making sure there's a self-determined effort to. . .to do that. I've always been reminded—I was always reminded by a Tribal judge . . . when you're working with Tribal natural resources is that. . .that the ability to self-govern natural resources on Tribal—on reservations in the lower forty-eight was an experiment and the Tribes either had a choice to be successful at it or to fail because if we—but if somebody failed there was always somebody willing to take over and manage their resources on their behalf. And so, that was always there, now I'm going to do the best job I can to manage it because we can manage our resources. And it—but I—but—but they did it in a way that worked between the old and the new and they were successful and are successful and will continue to be successful. So, I think that this area really you know, really needs to have that you know, to really try to build those capacities and I'm not sure how that's going to happen, I mean there's—but there's a lot of land base here, fortunate and—and the resource base is good and the human population is still moderate you know, but ah. . .there's no you know, you can't. . .wilderness—every place in wilderness has a name here. Every place does, somebody's been there, somebody's used it, families been part of this land. So, I think to the dominant society they go, wilderness, oh there's nobody out here no one's using it, well as you know, there's not—there's everything has had a human being on it, just about here. And people have been here for thousands of years using these landscapes. So, it's really ah. . .you know, it's—it's really you know, those things where this change is going to have to involve Western science because Western science isn't going away. 5:6</p>
8-2	<p>Bill Cartwright: You know, where we can say this was a harvest issue or this was you know, an ocean issue. It's that—it's synergy and that it's always these combined factors that usually come into play with any animal population and so that's totally natural and some of it's definitely human caused. And. . .and if we. . .and if we can address what we can control at least we can control that, I mean to control ah. . .ocean productivity is a pretty tall order. To control harvest is something that we can do you know, so I—I think many times it's—it's always. . .it's always a measure of what can we do or—or show that we're—we're even players in the you know, in—in the ah. . .in the decision making process. So you know, it's—it's—and it's never a simple solutions and it's—and usually there's never a quick fix to solve it, especially when you're trying to rebuild populations of—of animals. But what you hope that you get to is not that you have to rebuild anything, that the constraints or that the awareness of something actually is preemptive to getting into crisis mode. I hope that we never you know, but a lot of times we're a crisis reactionary society and that's when things get a lot of attention. But by that time, many times it's—it's—it's too late. 5:23</p>
8-3	<p>Interviewer: Do you feel that information, that when information is shared behind closed doors at meetings that it affects the trust that subsistence users have with managers? Bob Riley: Ah. . .I definitely feel it affects the trust. I do. I think people don't really know what's happening behind those closed doors and they assume something is happening that, that we don't want them to know about. I think that that is. . .is dangerous and ah. . .I do know that ah. . .that there are reasons for that that are perfectly reasonable, but they don't ah. . .they don't translate very well when people don't know what's happening. That's why last year we did invite ah, Susan to come into our caucus and she can take it away and—and say whatever she wants. She doesn't have to keep it secret. It doesn't have to be secret. The reason that that happens is because no one wants to see a free association of decision making between the managers going on in front of them. No one really wants to see my boss arguing with her boss or my boss arguing with the federal government or the federal government arguing with their boss. I mean, that's—that's all stuff that's unprofessional and should be done at some other</p>

	<p>level. I mean you know, at some—at some point you know, you have to be allowed to make a decision. And—and in not every case are they gonna want to talk about it all in public because somebody might want to be candid and that candor might not be something that the ... [agency] really. . . that's not their position, but okay what if I stood up in a meeting and said, well I think that's perfectly reasonable idea and I think that we should go ahead and do that and the—the ... [agency] is thinking well, we can't do that because law prohibits us from doing that and it would really have been better for me to bring that concern up in private and then we can—we don't look like a bunch of buffoons. They're all out there, we can't decide on anything. We don't you know, we're you know. . . some of the people in the working group appreciate that and some of them don't. I mean if you talk to [working group member], I don't know if you have, he's said in meetings that he doesn't think that that should happen. That that should be a problem. I don't know how he feels about it right now today because peoples' opinions change all the time, but he has said in meetings, I don't think that the—that the ... [agencies] should be out here having their arguments in front of us. I think that they should make up their mind and come back and I don't really mind the caucus. A lot of people get really bent out of shape about it. I understand that. I would really rather, if we can't make a decision without a caucus and we can't have a caucus without upsetting anybody that we adjourn the meeting. And then we'll have the discussion and we'll come back together when we're all on the same page again. Sometimes it's about asking. . . asking your supervisors if you think you're on the right track. Rather than have them correct you in public. And then you don't have the respect of the people or they don't have the respect of the people because you see them indecisive. 7:12</p>
8-4	<p>Interviewer: Right, I wonder often, what is the best way to go about this, right? Because when people, if you delay information people are frustrated. Sometimes some people get frustrated, but then again if the information comes out and causes more turmoil and in-fighting then it's very destructive, and then it's not gonna be helpful either. When I heard you guys say we need to wait for the information ah. . . at this time we're still in the analysis phase, my brain said, man I understand that. I'm not ready with this right now. There is a time for exposing information and that time is when you are ready. Bob Riley: We didn't want to give them the forecast figures last week. Because we know they'll be different next week. And how's that gonna build trust? You change your—you seem to be changing your mind at every few days until you've got that solid. Is it not more responsible to wait and share it when it's ready? Interviewer: I agree a hundred percent. Bob Riley: But that doesn't build trust. Not in this environment. 7:13</p>
8-5	<p>Rick Strickland: They're [The Federal Agencies representative on the Federal Subsistence Board] more subservient to the ah. . . to the environmentalist concerns than they are for the actual harvest unit. They call it managing for the natural diversity but it was specifically stated in the conference committee leading up to ANILCA that natural diversity did not preclude managing your populations to provide for—for human use. That's—that's one that I continually beat 'em up about. We've had three times now, the federal managers have. . . through lack of action have essentially said people are just going to have to find something else to eat. We're not gonna do it. I asked a guy down at. . . one of the assistant's secretaries. . . assistant directors at the—in Washington DC last spring. . . they had the ah, in the Senate of Indian Affairs Committee Meeting. And I asked him at that meeting is that the Fish and Wildlife's new policy for implementing ANILCA? People are just gonna have to find something else to eat? That's what he wrote. And that guy just got so insulted he came up to me afterwards and said, no, no, no and started apologizing all over the place. And stop ah, your former national directors are now on the, ah, on the board of directors for Defenders of Wildlife and the Sierra Club and they have the inside track. Interviewer: So, ah just for the clarification, you know, for the record, you know, why do you think that this upper level management in Washington DC ... I guess the word ... Rick Strickland: Ignorant. It's been institutionalized. It's a Farley Mowat syndrome. It's institutionalized. It's something that's ... has become institutionalized with the agencies. 18:4</p>
8-6	<p>Ron Gables: But, I mean sometimes it's—it's just, you know. . . there's no. . . you don't have the wiggle room and we don't have a crystal ball. We don't know what the outcome is actually going to be. Ah. . . we take our best shot at what we think it's gonna be and I'll tell ya, ah. . . that usually in those situations where we disagreed with the working group or the working group disagreed with us the decision that we made was the correct one in the end when you look at the numbers of fish. You know, so. . . folks have the luxury of, you know, on the working group, they have the luxury of taking into consideration other factors that ah. . . are. . . what. . . ah. . . other factors that are important to taking—to consider but they can—they prioritize them over factors that we have to consider by law, or the first things that we have to protect. Right, so, the biology basically, number of fish to the spawning grounds. We have—we are obligated by law to meet our escapement objectives, right? And if that causes people to not fish then that's unfortunate. That's—that's what managing the fishery is about. So. . . you know, you try to factor in things like, oh, give us one day, or, ah. . . why didn't you have the opener sooner when we had good drying weather, you know, rather than later? People don't, sometimes make the connection that the only way you can meet your escapement objectives is—is not by just moving pieces around on the board, right? You have to take the pieces off the board. A dead fish is gonna be a dead fish. And so. . . I mean there's a little bit of tightness that you can play with but you have to reduce harvest ultimately. And often times what you see is people would rather—rather just try to manipulate the ah. . . timing of the harvest around to meet our objectives. And it's been shown over and over and it's what the windows all about and we did an analysis—[inaudible] did an analysis and that showed that it makes no difference ultimately. That—because they had these narrow windows—the closures, what people do is they fish harder on the front end and the back side because they have a goal in mind, two hundred fish. 19:2</p>
8-7	<p>Ron Gables: The thing that is frustrating to me, and I hear it all the time is you know, folks say, well we take what we need. We just take what we need and then we stop. Well, the problem with that is—well there's several problems with that is ah. . . there's a lot more people out here now that need more than what they needed a hundred years ago, fifty years</p>

	ago. So that's an added injury to the fishery, right? People just taking what they need then you've got five times more people out here, that's still too many, possibly. ... the other thing is that there—there's no analogue for what we're currently experiencing in ocean productivity and what's going on with the climate, so we don't really know how these fish are going to respond to that. And so to base your current harvest practices on what has historically been adequate and sustainable for the fishery could be a very risky you know, position to take because there's things going on in the ocean and world-wide in the climate that—that have huge, huge impacts on these fish, they will. . . and they will. So, it's said, well we're taking what we need, what we've always needed, is fine if these other factors weren't playing into it. 19:3
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E9. Yup'ik Approach to Management.

9-1	<p>Susan Carter: Yeah, and I think all the people of the river, the stake holders and I'm not talking about the people just moving here and thinking it's their God given right but people that been using this river for generations and generations um, I think all we want is for our fish to be returning in healthy numbers. Do what we can to make it happen and to be a part of the decision making process. It's a win-win situation when the feds and the state are working—truly working with the people. And, and ah, you know yeah, I'm proud that my cousin [Federal Manager—name removed] is—you know [Federal Manager—name removed] he's—you know his grandmother was a [name removed]. And I'm just so proud to see him in his seat. He's not at those meetings, [Federal Manager—name removed] often is and I wish he would be at those meetings more. I would love to see um, it—you know as long as we don't have our local people as the biologists and the researchers and, we're—we're—we're the people. I'm the biologist without a degree, I'm the. . . you know, the—the representation of the people who have used this river and um, and when you're not used you know, I don't—like a lot of the—some of the people. . . there's a lot of people there like [working group member] and [working group member], a lot of us we go there—it truly is a volunteer um, situation. Some people are paid to. It just it's a natural—natural part of their job to be a part of the working group. But I think it's just really important to be a part of it and even when I've been at my most frustrated—because I really like these guys. I—I think they're smart. They're—but they might be book smart but they're. . . they're not culturally smart. They're not. . . there—there's no emotion in their research. There isn't. They um, they love—some—I don't know of any biologists that have been here for a long, long time that retired here. They do their time and they're out. There's no emotion. They love the opportunities they have here I've seen. . . I've seen them all up on the Kisaralik and Kwethluk Rivers, you know, having fun and enjoying our life but they um, we approach it in our need our emotions our culture um, our being, our whole being depends on the ability to live here and use the resource here and there's a lot of emotion involved. The biologists who really help, have helped me understand the whole biology of the fish cycle, you know, I mean I never thought about it growing up. A lot of people here still don't understand that the fish go up the river to spawn and they go out and then they come back. You know, I mean it just—nobody's talked about that growing up. Now being talked about not enough, like I bet if you went to the high school and ah, asked the biology teacher just if you could have a couple minutes and just ask the kids, can you tell me about the cycle of the king salmon. . . I wonder how many of them—my kids know because we have talked of that. Interviewer: That's a good point. Susan Carter: Yeah, a lot of people don't get taught that. . . I didn't get taught that, I just was taught, we eat king salmon they come back every year. I know they come back every year—never thought about their spawning grounds growing up. . . never thought about that. Never talked about it. Just that we eat salmon six days a week and on Sunday we eat chicken. You know? 1:8</p>
9-2	<p>Interviewer: I wanted to tell you this, ah, what happened to me yesterday because you said on the phone, when I talked to you, you said, "I want you to remember the four things: listen, observe, acknowledge and execute." Andy Rollins: To me there are four words. Let me reiterate, observe. When you observe, you come to know what it is. Comprehend. Interviewer: Ahh, I did get it wrong, I did get it wrong. Andy Rollins: You'll get it. And then when you comprehend, "Oh, this is what it is." Acknowledge, and you know that it is existing and affecting. Execute. After you know what it becomes, you're not going to have a proper way to deal with it, unless you know the object, unless you know what it is, unless you know what [its] affects are, both pros and cons. You must learn the pros and cons of that product, or whatever it is. Once you have gotten those three, the fourth one is usually something that you are going to take act upon, action upon. And, or something that you know is going to be productive. If you've got questions about it, you really have to run the whole thing, until you're sure [he is referring to exhausting all questions you have about a subject or thing]. And that's how you become productive. It's not just anyway, it's in life, it's something you do, it's what your career is, it's life. Now where were we? Interviewer: No, no, I like that, because you know, I had something happen to me bad yesterday, and I was thinking about that, and I was thinking about that. And I was driving snow machine, and I got stuck. And I was about twelve miles away from my destination. I was by myself, and I was driving, and I got stuck in some deep snow, and that machine, with gas in it, it weighs about six hundred and fifty pounds, big machine, you know. And it was minus forty, probably out, and it was cold, and I had all that heavy gear on, and I said, "You know, I've got to get strong right now, and I don't want to start sweating. So I pulled my coat off, and I put it aside, and I stopped by the snow machine, and I said, and I was thinking about what you were saying, and I said, "Man, there's another thing you do, you stop, you pray, you think, and you execute, or you die." ... Andy Rollins: There's nothing more I could add, but I utilize that. It's a necessity in life. That builds moral in you. And those four words you mentioned, if you believe. 4:10</p>

9-3	<p>Andy Rollins: Let me tell you something here, I'm going to tell you a fact. How do I put it? Waiting helps. Getting the information out of whatever you can, mostly the Bible. Listening to everybody helps. When you have learned, when you have seen something to that effect. Listening to them, you're going to know when they talk about something other than what it really is. That's when you take the bone out, and put it aside, because you know the fact already, you know what it, you know the true meaning of what it is being spoken here. We're eating. The word that he's talking about is feeding us. Now and then, he's going to feed you something with a bone, he probably won't notice it, but he's going to put it in your mouth anyway. And because you know the fact, and because you know that's not the way it is, because I already read it, I learn it. You take that part off, like the bone, put it aside, not good for you, and continue listening, because you're eating. He's feeding you words, your brain is capturing it, your type-writer is typing it in there [laughter]. 4:11</p>
9-4	<p>Interviewer: How do you see that, the way that you see your relationship with the care of, not just the fish and the wildlife, but all the beings of this land, differently, how is that different than the way scientists see it? Do you have anything on that? Andy Rollins: It's basically the way we, the way we live in it, the way we structure it, and the way we manage it. A lot of things that is done outside [outside of village/state]. Although they're not experiencing it first hand and living it, living off of it. They mean to manage it in the best way they possibly could. But the bottom line is this: they need to stop at the bottom. Not from the top to the bottom. The way Federal and State government normally takes cares of these laws they come up with, they normally go downward, instead of from bottom to top. They draft management. They bring out some of these laws that pertains to managing their animals and fish and any kind of species, it's wrong sometimes. I myself have to break the law, once in a while; I'm not going to hide that. Let me give you an example that we do, in my lifetime, what I do. Little blackfish lives in streams. It don't normally go anywhere at all, but it lives out in there. When we make out trap, its customary and traditional, and at the end, to leave a small opening large enough for the fry. Fry are those little fishes that grow up to become, until they're matured. A little space ending where these fry can escape, it's preservation. I want to catch some again next year. It's the law in my lifetime—preserving enough to spawn, enough to feed everyone in the surroundings. Another thing is that the Federal and the State does not understand, although they have the scientific and technology. Let me give you an example, beaver is an animal who doesn't have a certificate, a high certificate that you can get, but it lives off. And it does their living to their knowledge. Beaver dam is built in the way that it's going to be holding, although the water is going to be very swift, they have knowledge to put enough pressure in there, even in the cold winter it will not wash away. And they're very quick. Yukon-Kuskokwim Rivers are important to the world, because of their tributaries. Their tributaries are where the fish spawn. All these little creeks are just as important, but these two are the ones we need to monitor. For the past several years since I became on advisory council, I tried to bring out a situation that's happening between Bogus Creek and Akiak. Between Bogus Creek and Akiak was one of the places that the species would stop by when they were going up and down. There used to be a lot of what they call 'eddy', you know what I mean? Interviewer: Yeah. Andy Rollins: Wound-up area where it's—Interviewer: Swirling? Andy Rollins: Yeah, where it's, um, they stop and rest, all the species, kings, chums, Coho, you name it. They are not super men, or super girl, they're living beings, just like any living being. There's not much difference between a king salmon to a little bug. A bug is a very good example. On your palm, you leave it out (?) and nothing there. There's nothing there, there's nothing there, maybe there's a germ, or maybe there's nothing there, you know? And that one germ could be detrimental. Watershed, I see that watershed there. Watershed comes from one drop of rain. Without that one drop, it wouldn't be watershed. So we need to be very careful where that thing came from, and what sources they used. Right now, since I became a council (member) three years ago, we have advanced because we were working together. Because we are trying to be in the same boat, everybody working together. In the Council itself, I would like to use the chairman as the person who drives the boat. It's essential he be there to drive us. And everybody in that boat have a paddle, and they must paddle, and paddle swift in order to get ahead. I was in the other day, the Department of Fish and Game is today's achievements with what they have did so far, because we're not just, we're not (?) where we were three or four years ago, we have come about from there. We were talking about that weapon earlier; let me use that as an example. The Department of Fish and Game, the Department of Fish and Wildlife needs an ammo. We have structured productivity to an area, we need an ammo. The Department of, the ah Advisory Council are the chamber of that weapon, they direct where that bullet is going. The chairman of the board is the trigger that fires the ammo. Oh, let's not forget [inaudible name, Eric? 0:18:20] he's the trigger that pulls. Even when he was in court he was a good voice, without them, you wouldn't have a typed paper (?). [Laughter] They get annoyed by that, you know, we like to tease our cousins, and that's humor to us [laughter]. ... Andy Rollins: Nevertheless, there's people in the boat ... we need to work together. When we cook a meal, we boil it; we add rice and macaroni to it. And when it's boiled, we eat it. I was referring the rice and the macaroni as the people and organizations that help support us, too, to get ahead. And that's our life today. And if we put those four words together, we have yet to achieve. Right now, what the Board of Fish needs to do is hear from us. Last year, the chairman was here, and he heard us. If he were to go to all—how many are there, twelve, thirteen Councils in the area?—each of them represent the area that they serve. And each of them have different approach to it, but they have it built up through these traditional values that they have used. What I'm hoping to see about now to get to where we want to be at, the next level, is that this Council, this advisory council put a report into where the Board of Fish and the Board of Wildlife can hear, we have put it in—I'm sure every advisory council has put in some thought, some idea where the Board of Fish will report to the Secretary of Interior and to the Secretary of Agriculture, so that they can put in some international protective clause in there where management is renewed, right now. ... we need to utilize these recommendations from these advisory council to amend that process, to get that legislation into effect now. 4:9—4:13—4:14</p>

9-5	<p>Bob Riley: Well then the other thing is ... an important point to make is that even if you're just looking at fish, even if you're just looking at salmon you're looking at a different pie than we are because ah we've got you know, they've got cultural knowledge, they've got personal observation, they've got all these things that they. . .that—that contribute to their knowledge of what's going on. Ah. . .we've got ah. . .we've got ah. . .a body of scientific work and we've got whatever information they can give us and we've got ah. . .information from different areas. So, we're looking at different pies and you know, with their cultural knowledge they may have an understanding that is perfectly reasonable, but is very different than ours, like for example when they talked about using six inch mesh here. There are people in the Delta that say if you put a six inch mesh here in the river you're gonna kill the young fish, you're killing the future generation. And our understanding is different because our understanding stretches from saltwater to the fresh to the—to the spawning grounds. And the people in the Delta don't see the spawning grounds so their conclusion is perfectly reasonable from their point of view, but it's extremely inaccurate because those fish that they think are the young fish that are going to come back and spawn next year or the year after that, they're all gonna die. And they don't—they don't really understand that. So, they're putting things together in their minds in a way that I might do it if I—if I saw the same kinds of things that they do, but because I've seen other things as well I put it together differently. Same thing can be said from their point of view. They see a different group of—of factors working together stuff that we could easily miss because we're not used to thinking about things, we're not thinking about how the ducks and the bugs and the other things might coalesce with what's going on with the fish ... when we're just thinking about fish we're just thinking about fish. So ... we both have things to learn from each other. It's hard because we're not speaking the same language and not just Yupik, but also—Yupik-English, but also just how you're putting the information together. 7:16</p>
9-6	<p>Interviewer: One thing that I recognize is, one day it hit me, it dawned on me that, you know, managers in Anchorage, these biologists, they see managing animals as managing resources. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And maybe counting them, and watching them ... I heard a man tell me, he said, Here we have no police ... Clark Turner: Uh-huh. ... Yeah. Interviewer: It's the, it's the whole—it's the animals, it's the land, and it's the stewardship. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And so, I guess I'd like to ask you, if you were to look at the difference of how you see managing and caring for animals, and the land, and how that is maybe different from the biologists? Clark Turner: Well that's a, that's a good question, there. When I was a kid, we've never had, we've never heard of ah, ah, Fish and Game managers, or Fish and Wildlife managers. Ah, we've never heard of those. And ah, because like I just told you, ah, people, ah, it's like their own management. Ah, moving around and catch different animals. Ah, like fall time, we fish for ah, whitefish. And freeze some whitefish, and other fish that's from the fresh water, like ah, pikes and burbot. And in wintertime, we fish for blackfish. And ah, blackfish is the fresh fish we catch in winter time. Anyway that's ah, ah, and catching, snaring snowshoe rabbit, or ptarmigan, ah, and we don't catch everything we hunt for. Ah, and that's self-management, I think. People are catching what they have, and survive off the land. And what they can catch. Those years, we were used to told to catch all we can, just in case we need ah, we need the food during starvation. There used to be starvations around here, even there was not that many people. Because people did not store food, like in freezers and stuff like that. And no stores, ah, to, for, what you call it, alternate food, or something like that. 8:26</p>
9-7	<p>Clark Turner: And being ah, being a ah, ah ... what you call it, ANCSA, we learned that we, we're still learning that problem that was given to us, as village people, that we have to deal with these lawmakers to change our regulations on both Fish and Game that's in our land, the whole land, like ANCSA was given to us by the government. And people has to learn we're, we're still in the learning process of ah, managing fish and game, or the law that was given to us to go abide by law. I, I always mention the law because we have village rules, village regulations, or rules, and we have State rules, we have Federal rules, ah, that we have to go by. And City rules would be the village police, or City police that helps correct the problems. That's the way it should be with the Fish and Game, because ah, when, when people hear about Fish and Game, they think about the protection right away. That's they talk about Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife, they think they're all bad people, but they're not. They try to help us, ah, solve the problem, mostly. Interviewer: Let me ask you this ... why do you think it is that, that many people think that ah, that these Fish and Wildlife, and Fish and Game, both are, are bad people? ... Clark Turner: Me, I don't think about ah, I don't think they are bad people. But I've heard that, I've heard people, because when they, when they talk about Fish and Game, and Fish and Wildlife, they don't know the difference between the protection people, because the—Interviewer: Oh, and the law enforcement? Clark Turner: Yeah the law enforcement, people. Public thinks they're all law enforcement people. That's what I mean while ago when I mentioned that about the police. Try to, try to, they're all people, they're human like us. But they're trying to protect the village. Or keep the village clean, with ah, clean from problems. That's the way they ah, that's why I don't have nothing against Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife, or the protection people, law enforcement people. ... people think, right away about law enforcement people when they hear about Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife. 8:27</p>
9-8	<p>George Sanders: We need some goddamn local managers [stressed]. Somebody who lives out there, who's gotta vested interest. You know. Do you think that? I mean, I was the principal at the school in Aniak for 18 years. I, you know, I worked two years up there. I worked at the university. I worked all over out there in education. But, do you think when I raised my kids in Aniak that I was not a butt, much better educator and principal because I raised my kids there, and I had something to lose. Interviewer: Oh yeah George Sanders: You follow me. ... I had a vested interest. I still own my home out there. If I had a place that I would, would never want to leave if I knew I was gonna die that's where I'd kinda like to die is right there, you know. I mean that's where my heart is. Well I'd love to have a manager out there, that that's where their heart was. Their heart wasn't here in Anchorage, or somewhere else you know. 11:15</p>

9-9	<p>Josh Owens: When the villages on the lower Yukon were asked to do a moratorium on moose to help ah, to help build-up that population. And on those, on the moose, they added a couple more years, the villages did. The State of Alaska and Fish and Wildlife did not do that. It was the villages that asked them to extend it. Interviewer: Wow. Josh Owens: And today their able to hunt, ah, for moose out in the lower Yukon whenever they want to. 12:1</p>
9-10	<p>Interviewer: I'm just curious, if you think about the management, and the care of the fish and wildlife, how do you think that differs, from what it is these biologists think? Josh Owens: There's a lot of difference. Interviewer: There's a lot of difference? Josh Owens: Yeah, you know, there's some traditional values that are being, that our parents and other Elders have told us in the past. They've told me directly, too, and we convey it to our younger people now days: take only as much as you need. Don't take more than what you need, is the number one rule. And there are certain times a year, when things should be left alone. Don't bother them, at those critical periods. And, you know if there's ah, if there seems to be a decline in certain species, that you notice, try and find out what's going on, and work with other people. You don't, and ah, you try and get your own local people to help observe what's going on. One of the other things that I've noticed over the years is that, you know the regional manager of Fish and Game biologist who works here in Bethel, fishery biologist; he's only here like from April to end of September, or something to that effect. And he's in Anchorage for the rest of the year. He doesn't know what's going on during the wintertime. The seasonal changes, and seasonal experiences of the winter, compared to last winter, this winters wet. And there's a lot more moisture in the air then we've noticed before. It's something that Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game will not—unless they're here—will not notice. But a lot of decisions are made based on, "Oh, this is our forecast. And this is what we think is gonna become it." When other environmental factors were not even considered. Interviewer: Yeah. Josh Owens: Like ah, you know I'm from the village of Hooper Bay, sometimes we don't get king salmon or chum salmon in large numbers because of the prevailing winds during the wintertime. If the if the wind is blowing from northwest most of the winter, then we can say, "Oh we anticipate there's gonna be a good run of salmon in Hooper Bay." Because of the Yukon River, ah, the water coming out of the Yukon is being blown south. I mean, towards south, towards Hooper Bay. If it was, prevailing wind was from the south, of east, it blows it out away from the land, so there wouldn't be as much salmon that people will anticipate during the summertime. So it's those things. It's not just, ah, the numbers that people are saying, oh this is what we had; this is what we had a few years ago in terms of numbers of fish return to the river. But in terms of both north and south of the Yukon, and even on the Kuskokwim River, for that matter, it depends on which, what the prevailing wind has been during the wintertime. And if you're going to be seeing some of these resources being made available to you. And then we plan accordingly. And it's something that you won't necessarily hear from Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game, except for some of the people that have been working for Fish and Game in Emmonak for quite a long time. They hear that, and they start to understand and realize that. But people in Anchorage just don't, if they're not there, and never been there, they never understand what's going on. They may be a biometrician. They may be a chief research biologist or something like that, but if they've never been there, they're not going to understand it. And I think that's one of the issues with ah, with [Upper Level Federal Manager—Name Removed], he's never been here in Western Alaska. He spends most of his time down in Kodiak. 12:2</p>
9-11	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark]: When other environmental factors were not even considered. What he said is that um, if you go, if something is missing in your research, someone else will give you a right answer, and what you are trying to find out, is resolved along the way sometime somewhere. He said that's how everything works. He says everything else, when you're trying to do something, leads to that. And it works exactly the same way. Even if it's Caucasian research, or study, or whatever, or meetings—if something's missing, nothing works. It's that word that needs to be documented. 14:7</p>
9-12	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: Okay, what he's saying is that um, you know, he's using the example of unwritten rules. There's do's and don'ts in <i>Yup'ik</i> life. Um, in today's terminology, it might be regulations, laws. So as you go, whether you're going among <i>Yup'ik</i> people, or Caucasian folks, or maybe in a city, you'd be avoiding the crowd, and then all of a sudden you might run across someone who ran into a problem, who is involved in an incident, and then admittedly, you will, when you see that incident, or problem, you will realize, so this is why we are told not to do this or not to do that. It's just like realizing something that someone told you long time ago, even many years ago, a few, several years ago, not to do this so you won't run into that. Or for an example, maybe, regulations. There's um, breaking regulations—I'm using this—breaking regulations has consequences, is what he's getting at. And ah, and it not only includes written law, but it includes unwritten rules and laws. [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Sherry Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>] Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: What he said is that um—I think this is very important for your research. Um, what he said is that um, the words; there are many definitions for each word. And each word, I mean each region—well maybe, he put it in in a <i>Yup'ik</i> way, but it has something to do with research. When someone is trying to find out something, it may not work at first. But as you hear while you're going, as you hear different concerns and comments, it'll funnel down to the goal. And there's no way you could go any way from there. Like the meaning, all of the purpose and meanings of that research, for an example, will funnel down to one meaning. Like success for an example. He's using a success, um, as an example. Because some of us, including myself, you know, when we were growing up, or when we were young kids, you know, we weren't successful. We didn't, you know, we were, for an example, we were someone who needs help. You know, because we didn't know how to succeed. But along the line, some people, some people's living and understanding leads to success, to the point when some people in Caucasian terms, not in <i>Yup'ik</i> terms, but leads to 'executive' positions. Becoming someone who's successful doing their job. Or becoming successful in business, for an example, in Western terms. In</p>

	<p><i>Yup'ik</i> terms, it's the same thing in a different way. Like um, based on what he was telling us, telling you in <i>Yup'ik</i>, um, because many <i>Yup'ik</i> words have different definitions and terminologies. People who uses those, who recognize the reasons why some, there's some do's and don'ts for everything. And the only time when you realize that you know, it's a do or don't is when you run across that something by observing someone who, who either run into an incident, or who succeeded. 14:21 and 14:22 and 14:11</p>
9-13	<p>Interviewer: One thing I'd ask you ... is, I noticed while I was in Marshall right, I was talking to someone in Marshall. And when I go in there he said, he said you know we don't have any policemen here. He said, we ah, we're trying to teach our young children the old <i>Yup'ik</i> tradition of caring for one another. ... and when I hear people talk about animals and the land, it's about caring and stewardship of the land, and respect. Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. Interviewer: And I wanted to try to get an understanding, so what it is that <i>Yup'ik</i> peoples see as their relationship with the land, and the animals, and how that is different than the relationships scientists have with the land and the animals ... Nick Larson: Ah, like in fishing they always ask us to go out as early as possible in early part of the season, ladder part of May, early part of May, and then you're done harvesting salmon by the early twenties [in May], when the peak of the run, like I said earlier, when the peak of the run hits, they always let them go by. The idea is to let them go up the river to spawn. That's the thing that the working group never understood when we try to bring it out, the traditional way of harvesting salmon, ah, that being some, in the early years people like my family used to go out and harvest like anywhere between one to three hundred kings, but nowadays we rarely do that. We try to let the kings go by, and try to catch some reds and chums. But then the old die-hards, they want to go and try to harvest as much as they can on kings. But the early, like I said earlier, if you go out and fish early, from my own observation is the early runs usually consist of smaller kings, mostly young males and jacks. When the peak of the run hits ah, on kings, is when the bigger females come in, the ones that are what we call 'spawners'. I think that's the idea in the early years when they try and go out and fish early, the other, the other reason they go out early, before the air warms up, before the flies start flying, give the fish less chance to spoil. And it, it's the same with all those other species, the first ones, before the runs pick up really heavy, try to get the first ones, because the first runs of each species are mostly males and smaller fish, too. But the peak of the run hits, they're bigger, and mixed. And same way with trapping. My father used to let my trap the same trap line every year after year, but we, one year he'll trap off mainly off the Kwethluk, one to two weeks, and he'll pull them out and take them to Akulikutak for another one to two weeks, or three weeks, and pull it off by January, February, we'd be up on the Kasigaluk, between Kasigaluk and Kisaralik trapping that area. Never in one place too long. The thing is not to overharvest one valley, or one river. What happens, if you over harvest one year, it will take a longer while to spill over and other, they come from elsewhere to repopulate that drainage? Same thing if you're trapping up in the mountains. We'd have one base camp. But they'll ask us to go trap on the other side of the river, valley on the next river, or further up [than] where we live. Go up, few miles further out, and trap that area and go back to your base camp. Maybe next year you do the other valley, too. Never in one place too long. In fall time, you do that and trap, you trap one area in the lake, and maybe only for a week or two, that's it. Interviewer: You know in the old days, when, ah, before people started settling in these communities, and they used to move a lot ... Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, they'd move their whole camp. They're more like nomads, they whole little, your little community, one area, than you move it to another area. They say they did the same in the days when they had reindeer. They'd take their herd to one spot, after they been grazing for a little while. Then they pull their camp out, move to another area where they can have a better feed. Interviewer: And that kind of, do you think that kind of, moving around and not keeping the pressure on one area allowed for animals to come back? Nick Larson: Give the plants, and to keep the area not to get over grazed, they keep moving them. Interviewer: Ah yeah, to keep the herds on the move, so they don't over-graze and eat everything up in one area? Nick Larson: Uh-huh. Same way with trapping, you trap one area for a while. Because I've seen, other trappers where they trap one area too long, and they start seeing hardly any game, or hardly any animals. 17:8</p>
9-14	<p>Nick Larson: But the problem I've seen with that working group, the first chair and co-chair are both are, one is a guide operator, and one is ah—both of them are guide operators, sport fish. And the Department always get pressure from the people that do little bit of commercial fishing, and they buckle to them. The concerns my village has over here is, we want to see the escapement goals met on these nearby rivers, we want to—we don't want the future generation to be not able to harvest salmon in the future. That's the message we've been trying to get over to the Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife, but half the time they say everybody has to take a shot at it, the same fish have to come up our river to spawn... That's something we've been trying to, when they come up with escapement goals, we always tell them it's too low, but they always say they are experts When other environmental factors were not even considered. When other environmental factors were not even considered ... and their experts don't live here, they're elsewhere. And if you look at Board of Fish, their chair is out of Anchorage, I don't think he ever set a foot anywhere on the Kuskokwim River, or to fish camp, or to a village—they don't know how we live. 17:51</p>
9-15	<p>Mr. J. Williams: Good afternoon, RAC. (In <i>Yup'ik</i>) I'll do this in <i>Yup'ik</i>, because most of them are <i>Yup'ik</i>, and I'll do my best to translate it. (In <i>Yup'ik</i>) Chairman Roczicka: Jackson, you want to conclude your statements here and then for the recorder? Mr. J. Williams: Yeah. Okay. You want me to translate it as much or ... Chairman Roczicka: Yes. And then if there's questions that are from the Council, we can ask you. Mr. J. Williams: Okay. You know, as we go along these past years and especially this year, we really had a real hard time. A lot of people from tundra, Kuskokwim, when I go to these meetings, they share their really hardship this year, really back hardship. They tell me there's no king salmon in my smokehouse, period. Nothing. And a lot of these are going on, and I say to them, my growing up in Akiak, my dad was really looking after animals, conserving them. Some spring he'd go look for the muskrat, you know,</p>

	<p>I don't know how to say that, but during the winter they make a hole and make, you know, moss on top of the ice for coming out in the wintertime. He'd go look for those. In Kisaralik area, if there's more than the Upper Akiak, we'd go to that area, conserving it. We don't stay in one spot and hunt. And also one time in my lifetime in a big lake above Akiak, whitefish died on that lake. All of them. You know, it got so stink, I couldn't hunt any more in that lake. But my dad wanted to tell me that these do happen. He tell me not to worry, they do happen as we go along. Some kind of disease I think. But to my surprise out of those whitefish, there was no pike dead. Only whitefish. And, you know, this year I went to a lot to these meetings. I went to Anchorage and the outlook for hardship after 60 and older, hopefully this summer they can subsistence, you know. Older people. And that will be a relief for a lot of the elders. What really happened this past summer, our elders, we had a big meeting in Akiak. Our elders tell us to go ahead and fish for them, you know. We were craving it so bad. That's our number one food. But, anyway, the subsistence way of life is changed so much in these villages, it's affecting our people. And when I testimony on the Federal Board, my 10-year-old grandson and 8-year-old boy helped me this past summer. And when the game wardens came around to confiscate some of the fishing, we did not—we did this, not protest fish; we did it using our subsistence fishing right. We've been doing this all our life to feed our family. And my 10-year and 8-year-old ... the oldest boy told me, why are they doing this? You know, I had nothing answered, because I know conservation, they're doing it. 20:5</p>
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E10. Managers' Perceptions of Subsistence Harvesters' Role.

10-1	<p>Ron Gables: The—well and the—the real hang up is here ah. . .what people don't fully understand is that ah. . .you know they—the working group is an advisory Body, right? They have no true authority. Ah, they're just advisory, just like the RAC is an advisory group, Regional Advisory Council for subsistence they're and advise—they don't have any authority, they're advisory. The ah. . .Fish and Game advisory groups. They're advisory, right? So, they don't have authority and that's because you can't give a group of citizens, legally, you can't give them authority over a common property resource. Right? You understand? It has to lie with the governmental agency. Understand what I'm saying? It's all. . .we can't—you can't make vigilantes cops actually or—or not vigilantes, I shouldn't use that word. You can't make volunteers—you can't just. . .you can—well I guess you could deputize them but I mean, they don't really have the authority to arrest. That authority has to be derived from rent-a-cops, okay, they may be cops but they don't have authority to arrest—that authority has to be derived from legal—a legal framework. Interviewer: What do you think about the inter-Tribal management in Washington? Ron Gables: Well ... that was a congressional hat. Right? And I'm not saying that it's—that it doesn't happen. Because it does. I mean, you can go to the Great Lakes there's the inter-Tribal commission there. There's an inter-Tribal commission down in Washington and those are actually congressional—those are laws. Those were congressional acts of legislation that was passed that granted that authority. Authority has to be granted [inaudible]. Okay? Nobody. In Alaska that has not been done. Okay so, it doesn't mean it can't happen. It doesn't mean that if that's what people want ... they should pursue that but they have to pursue it through the legal framework. In order to make it happen. They can't just say, well. . .but the working group should make the decisions. Legally we can't—we can't allow that. The State can't allow that because then we're subjugating our authority to people who didn't have the authority. It doesn't mean we don't value their input. It doesn't mean we don't use what they, you know, the information they provide to us, we do. You've heard those meetings. It. . .it often times gets characterized as, well, you know because they don't have the authority to make the decision, they're ineffectual. You know, there's no, why are they there if they can't make—well they're there to advise, sway, and convince us that this is what we. . .this is what we would like to see. And we take that into consideration. We do all the time. We do every time so...they...it's a worthwhile endeavor for them participating and continue participating and I really wish more people understood. 19:21</p>
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E11. How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role.

11-1	<p>Interviewer: if you could define your meaningful participation in the care and management of fish and wildlife, how would you define that? Susan Carter: Well, then we'd all be equal at the table in making management decisions. And that's, I think, where we all want to go is ah, stakeholders on the Kuskokwim and I'm sure on the Yukon want to have equal say at these tables. The working group, there's no other group like that, you know and it became very clear to us that we didn't want to be just an advisory capacity when there was such differences between the federal and state. And they were meeting prior to our meetings. They were meeting behind closed doors and then bringing their decisions and then turning on their own. . .like, you know, last summer the state thought they had the support of the feds and the feds came in and said, no we want to close it and it was the feds that. . .so, you know, it's equal. You got a good working group; you've got incredible people on there that have a lot of history. Not just ah, stakeholders but both with the federal advisory programs and the Kuskokwim working group. . . . this is a great opportunity for the feds and state to recognize. They recognize that, hey, we're—we're gonna make this decision together. It'll work. It'll work, we're not ah, unreasonable people. 2:32</p>
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11-2	<p>Interviewer: How do you see that, the way that you see your relationship with the care of, not just the fish and the wildlife, but all the beings of this land, differently, how is that different than the way scientists see it? Do you have anything on that? Andy Rollins: It's basically the way we, the way we live in it, the way we structure it, and the way we manage it. A lot of things that is done outside [outside of village/state]. Although they're not experiencing it first hand and living it, living off of it. They mean to manage it in the best way they possibly could. But the bottom line is this: they need to stop at the bottom. Not from the top to the bottom. The way Federal and State government normally takes cares of these laws they come up with, they normally go downward, instead of from bottom to top. They draft management. They bring out some of these laws that pertains to managing their animals and fish and any kind of species, its wrong sometimes. I myself have to break the law, once in a while; I'm not going to hide that. Let me give you an example that we do, in my lifetime, what I do. Little blackfish lives in streams. It don't normally go anywhere at all, but it lives out in there. When we make out trap, its customary and traditional, and at the end, to leave a small opening large enough for the fry. Fry are those little fishes that grow up to become, until they're matured. A little space ending where these fry can escape, it's preservation. I want to catch some again next year. It's the law in my lifetime—preserving enough to spawn, enough to feed everyone in the surroundings. Another thing is that the Federal and the State does not understand, although they have the scientific and technology. Let me give you an example, beaver is an animal who doesn't have a certificate, a high certificate that you can get, but it lives off. And it does their living to their knowledge. Beaver dam is built in the way that it it's going to be holding, although the water is going to be very swift, they have knowledge to put enough pressure in there, even in the cold winter it will not wash away. And they're very quick. Yukon-Kuskokwim Rivers are important to the world, because of their tributaries. Their tributaries are where the fish spawn. All these little creeks are just as important, but these two are the ones we need to monitor. For the past several years since I became on advisory council, I tried to bring out a situation that's happening between Bogus Creek and Akiak. Between Bogus Creek and Akiak was one of the places that the species would stop by when they were going up and down. There used to be a lot of what they call 'eddy', you know what I mean? Interviewer: Yeah. Andy Rollins: Wound-up area where it's—Interviewer: Swirling? Andy Rollins: Yeah, where it's, um, they stop and rest, all the species, kings, chums, Coho, you name it. They are not super men, or super girl, they're living beings, just like any living being. There's not much difference between a king salmon to a little bug. A bug is a very good example. On your palm, you leave it out (?) and nothing there. There's nothing there, there's nothing there, maybe there's a germ, or maybe there's nothing there, you know? And that one germ could be detrimental. Watershed, I see that watershed there. Watershed comes from one drop of rain. Without that one drop, it wouldn't be watershed. So we need to be very careful where that thing came from, and what sources they used. Right now, since I became a council (member) three years ago, we have advanced because we were working together. Because we are trying to be in the same boat, everybody working together. In the Council itself, I would like to use the chairman as the person who drives the boat. It's essential he be there to drive us. And everybody in that boat have a paddle, and they must paddle, and paddle swift in order to get ahead. I was in the other day, the Department of Fish and Game is today's achievements with what they have did so far, because we're not just, we're not (?) where we were three or four years ago, we have come about from there. We were talking about that weapon earlier; let me use that as an example. The Department of Fish and Game, the Department of Fish and Wildlife needs an ammo. We have structured productivity to an area, we need an ammo. The Department of, the ah Advisory Council are the chamber of that weapon, they direct where that bullet is going. The chairman of the board is the trigger that fires the ammo. Oh, let's not forget [inaudible name, Eric? 0:18:20] he's the trigger that pulls. Even when he was in court he was a good voice, without them, you wouldn't have a typed paper (?). [Laughter] They get annoyed by that, you know, we like to tease our cousins, and that's humor to us [laughter]. ... Andy Rollins: Nevertheless, there's people in the boat, us together, we need to work together. When we cook a meal, we boil it; we add rice and macaroni to it. And when it's boiled, we eat it. I was referring the rice and the macaroni as the people and organizations that help support us, too, to get ahead. And that's our life today. And if we put those four words together, we have yet to achieve. Right now, what the Board of Fish needs to do is hear from us. Last year, the chairman was here, and he heard us. If he were to go to all—how many are there, twelve, thirteen Councils in the area?—each of them represent the area that they serve. And each of them have different approach to it, but they have it built up through these traditional values that they have used. What I'm hoping to see about now to get to where we want to be at, the next level, is that this Council, this Advisory Council put a report into where the Board of Fish and the Board of Wildlife can hear, we have put it in—I'm sure every Advisory Council has put in some thought, some idea where the Board of Fish will report to the Secretary of Interior and to the Secretary of Agriculture, so that they can put in some international protective clause in there where management is renewed, right now. We've gone through a certain process, and we need to utilize these recommendations from these Advisory Council to amend that process, to get that legislation into effect right now . . . 4:9—4:13—4:14</p>
11-3	<p>Josh Owens: You know they use the process of the regional advisory councils and Federal Subsistence Board, but we didn't have those when we sat down together back in, in dealing with the migratory birds as well as moose issues. We worked with the villages directly. We didn't have to go to the RAC or the Board of Fish, or Board of Game. Our people worked together with the agencies. Interviewer: Huh, was that in nineteen eighty-four, you mean? Josh Owens: Nineteen eighty-four for the migratory birds. Nineteen nineties, or nineteen eighties for the caribou here in the Kuskokwim area, as well as on the Yukon in the nineteen nineties for the moose. Interviewer: What time did the, or when did the RAC's actually start up then? Josh Owens: Ah after, sometime after nineteen nineties. Interviewer: Oh it was already in the nineties? Josh Owens: Yeah. So they're not, they're just a recent. Interviewer: Wow. You know, I mean, if ANILCA was eighty, and—Josh Owens: Yeah, they were still trying to figure out how to deal with that. Interviewer: Ten years to get</p>

	<p>that going. Josh Owens: Yeah. Interviewer: I don't think I realized that it took that long. Josh Owens: Yeah it took, maybe ten years after, passes of ANILCA for it really got into play. There was some limitations that were placed, I think by the Secretary of Interior, as well as ah, Secretaries of Agriculture saying that, "This is inherently Federal." You know that "inherently Federal", what is "inherently Federal"? What is inherently the sovereign rights of the State of Alaska? You know, those are questions, you know, and what is "meaningful"? You know the meaningful thing is ah, as, when I talk to one of the State Commissioners of Health and Human Services, he said, "You know when we deal with children, we're not talking about sovereignty of the State, or sovereignty of a village, we're talking about the welfare of the children." Why can't the State and organizations like AVCP work together, for the benefit of those children? You know the ones that they remove to put in homes, or take out of the village to get them away from some domestic concern or issue. And also ah, not necessarily working with the local Tribal governments to have those people in the villages be the ones to help deal with those issues when issues arise. But the State comes and just takes the kids away and place them somewhere else without necessarily involving the local peoples, saying, "Oh, we have jurisdiction over the kids, therefore we're sovereign and you have no rights to deal with these people because they belong to the State." 12:29</p>
11-4	<p>Josh Owens: I'd, meaningful role, I'd like to see our own people do the research, and come up with information, that we can provide, or work with. And ah, be able to sit across the table from the State, or the Fed's, and tell them, "Hey, we don't agree with this. And we don't agree with this because of these. What are you going to do to fix, ah, the issue to make us agree with you?" And, "We're willing to work with you, or we're willing to disagree, for the benefit of our people. We just don't want to agree with you because you guys have the, you say that you have the role and responsibility to try and protect the overall welfare of the rest of the nation, because this is our country, and we grow up on these resources and we want to be able to have them around in perpetuity to help provide food for many people that are going to become in the future, as well as the present day. So, and our land, like one of the Elders said, out in village of Hooper Bay, our land is our plate of food. And we need to protect that for our benefit, soon. Their best managers, who have really watched the resources, and watched them grow, in terms of numbers are our own Native people. 12:45</p>
11-5	<p>Interviewer: I'm wondering what is would you envision, I mean if you had a choice, what would you envision your involvement as being? Matt Conley: Having the final say. Interviewer: Having the final say. Matt Conley: But I'm also frustrated with. . .we have to be careful about this distorting subsistence. That's what some of them are doing; they're distorting subsistence, using it as a sacred holy word to replace doing whatever they want to do. They want to be able to do whatever they want to do without any kind of restrictions, without any kind of regulations, but we can't live like that these days, not if we're gonna keep our population growing. More people, more restrictions, you know. It's a fact of life, you know. Look at all the restrictions around here for any kind of fishing, you know. We can't distort that or use it as an excuse to do whatever we want. We can't. Not if we want subsistence to survive and something—and there to be something for our kids and grandkids. 15:27</p>
11-6	<p>Interviewer: When working with managers what were some of the things that you found were helpful in the experiences? Mike Wallace: Working with the managers? Well, it—it makes discussion with the needs that we have in the area makes it a lot easier with the people that have already served this area. And though they have an idea, not necessarily on the ground roots part but they have an idea of where we come from and they have an idea of how the area that we come from is, you know, with ah, resources and things like that. Anything that had to do with subsistence area that I'm really concerned is—with is ah, with ah. . .with—at the time the thing that I thought of was I'd rather represent myself, you know and that I could represent the area and in order for me to represent the area, I've gotta be living in that area. That's about that. The best way to represent that area is to live it. 16:5</p>
11-7	<p>Interviewer: Do people from your community seem to want to be involved in the management of fish and wildlife? And I ask you that because, you know, ah, just, I don't know, I just want to hear what you guys think about that? From what you've observed with some of your Elders, or you know, the leaders in Kwethluk. John Griffon: Personally me, I don't. Not at this age. But um, I think it would be cool, I think it would be awesome if Elders in each community meet at that school and share their thoughts. And at any other community. And they don't get paid to go to Anchorage, you know, they might as well come there. They don't get paid anyways, you know. And ah—Tommy Griffon: It's all about money these days for those people, all about money. John Griffon: And they know. They know the land, everything, they know a lot more than we do. I don't think I'm qualified to make decisions like that. Interviewer: Wait a minute, when you say "they", who do you mean? John Griffon: Elders. I'm not even close to being qualified to share my thoughts with Elders, but I—Tommy Griffon: Or the decision making. John Griffon: Yeah, but I'd be more than happy to sit there. To me, that would be involved, going there, sitting at the school listening. Not, coming to Bethel is, I don't have a whole lot of time, going to school, going out hunting, eating food. . . But I, I think if—Tommy Griffon: There's people out there that want, you know that wants something done, but they don't agree with these regulations or these you know, rolling closures. And all that kind of stuff, open you know, when the seasons closed. There's hundreds of people, probably thousands of people out here in the Delta who don't agree with them. They want something changed, but they don't know how to do it. You know, walking in a conference room, sitting in the middle of the room, talking to a mic—that's intimidating. It's not what we do around here every day. To those people living in Anchorage, you know, "Oh we've got a meeting at three o'clock. . . Tuesday we've got a meeting at such-and-such time." John Griffon: That's their job. Tommy Griffon: We don't ever do that. Like this interview, we're not used to this. I was a little intimidated because these mics are right in front of us. Same thing with those people out here, they're intimidated, they don't know what to do, they're not used to it. And they don't know how to . . . they want change, they want to help, but they don't know how to do it. 10:8 and 10:53</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E12. Language Differences.

12-1	<p>Interviewer: When you're in—in these regional advisory council meetings or, or ah, any other state management meetings or board of fish, how do you feel about this formal communication process. Ah the Robert's rules of order, I mean, how do you feel about that? Mike Wallace: Well that's. . .that's the best way of getting through is using the Robert's rules of order you know they're—I've been to—in the old days when we had meetings where Robert's rules were Native rules, you know, we didn't have any formal rule but we still. . .everybody still got heard. Interviewer: Do you—do you think—do you think that formal process that we use now—Mike Wallace: Speeds things up to a point, yeah but then also restricts, it also restricts some of the information—useful information that we could have gotten otherwise, you know? When you have a time limit on ah, on people that are testifying there's a lot of things that even though it is repetitive at times it's still information that should have been. . . Interviewer: Right. Mike Wallace: At least acknowledged. Interviewer: You think maybe that some of that formal process ah, makes it ah, makes it difficult for, for, for everybody to be around? Mike Wallace: Not necessarily everybody. It's—it's those people that are going out to the meetings that, you know, for the first time, especially when the older people—I wouldn't say the Elders but the older people that are—have—haven't been introduced to that type of meetings, you know, that are go into the meetings for the first time, makes it hard for them. That's why whenever I conduct a meeting I make sure that everybody gets the information that we're gonna have at our ah, RAC meetings. We make sure we have an interpreter in the event that they're needed. We make sure that we let everybody know that ah, you know, we have public comments prior to the time that we have any discussions going. So we—even though we do use Robert rules of orders at most events we can still [inaudible] to the. . .so that everybody gets their opinion in. And that's what we do at beginning of our meetings in the RAC; we make sure that everybody that has an opinion on any subject concerning anything that affects their subsistence way of life is heard by those who are there to hear it. And not only that—because we know how we live, it's those people that are the—the—the heads of . . . [agencies] that are there that need that information. That is good for—it's the reason that those people are there, to be heard and they should be heard. Every one of them. Interviewer: Have there ever been any times when you felt that there were things that you wanted to say at these meetings but were unable to maybe due to the nature of the proceedings? Mike Wallace: There's a lot of times that—hi, good morning—there's a lot of times when that's happened. You know, just ah, maybe it's my ah, my problem is I—I don't have the necessarily, ah, don't have the knack to acquire verbiage the time I need—at the time that at I need it. It makes it a little bit more difficult not being able to speak the way you wanted to speak. . .be able to get meaning across exactly the way that you want it understood. And that's the time I feel a little bit ah, ah, a little bit uncomfortable. Yeah, not only that, I'm not used to speak—never, never have spoken in public so much so I am not a very good public speaker. So I ha—have a tendency to if something is. . .if something is going right at the time that we're discussing something, you know, then I won't have any comments [inaudible]. Interviewer: Yeah. It's—it's intimidating it real—it is for me. . .or, it's kinda—like when I got up there ah, to, to talk to you guys. . .it's, it—I was really comfortable when I was talking to, to, to you guys at the—at the front but having all the managers behind me was—makes me nervous, you know, and ah, I don't know, I just ah. . .I, I was curious about that, and that—too all the technical jargon. And the scientific language. Mike Wallace: Yeah, with the technical jargon, you learn it after a while, you know. Of all the years that I spent on that—that technical stuff is it—we understand that, we know what they're talking about. They repeat it over and over again. So we get it. Those of us who have been around for a while, we understand the language. It's just the people that are just started, you know, even some of our Elder people, the older people that started at their late age just to get—those are the ones that have ah, understanding but those of us who have been around for a while, we understand, we understand what the discussion is about. 16:2</p>
12-2	<p>Nick Larson: To start off, my name is Nick Larson [pseudonym]. I was born on Eek River, on March seven, nineteen forty-five. I, my first, probably the first seven, about six, six, seven years of my life, I was living in the wilderness with my parents. We moved from spring camp, fish camp, fall camp, and winter camps. And rarely went to school until I was about nine years old. But I, I had a little head start from my mom used to teach me basic reading and writing. And in my experience with fish and wildlife, or natural resources, ah, I lived ah; I lived a full subsistence lifestyle for most of my younger years, 'cause I never was in a village or community setting. And for me, English is always the hardest language for me to speak. But I can get by with it. And when I was a young boy my father taught me how to use twenty-two's, rifles, how to snare, trap—that's how we made our living in those early days. Our family was subsistence, and subsistence was a way of life for all my family members in the early years. 17:49</p>
12-3	<p>Noah Andrew: I put some I guess two cents worth of comment would probably not cover what I try to speak here. My first language is Yup'ik. My second language is English. Sometimes if I try to speak, I lost an alphabet in the word. And on that purpose I follow my colleague Mary's concern. I don't know how to put this in a common, most understandable, most excessive, successful words. 20:7</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E13. Technical Jargon.

13-1	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: And so he was saying is that um, any languages, like <i>Yup'ik</i> language, for an example, there are many terms, terminology that are used. And even he himself, he's an Elder now, even he still don't understand, or don't know the <i>Yup'ik</i> terminology, um, in <i>Yup'ik</i> language. So what he said is that there is a communication barrier, because people don't understand each other. You could be told, for an example, we could be told by people like him in <i>Yup'ik</i>, and we might not understand what he's trying to tell us. So people are trying to tell us, or reporting to us, but down the road, when we see something, if it has to do with unwritten <i>Yup'ik</i> law or regulations, we will see that, and say, "Oh this is how it is. Oh this is the reason why they are telling us not to do this-and-that." So he said languages are kind of confusing in a way, sometime, that people, there is some kind of miscommunication or misunderstanding. And because of that, some people, even Caucasian folks, he said, even Caucasian folks um, partially understand something, or don't understand something. And they see something, and they say to them, "Oh, so this is how it is, this is what some—so it's something that people, people, you know like, in the meeting—his main point is that you know, if it's conducted in a way that local people, and people in attendance understands that, that the purpose of the meeting, there would be better understanding by local folks. 14:20</p>
13-2	<p>Interviewer: If you had suggestions about how we could improve relationships of trust and information sharing between subsistence users and you guys here at the refuge and State and in other places, what—what are some things that we could do? Ron Gables: Well I think—I think the . . .the number one, in my experience, key to gaining trust and cooperation, ah, in any kind of management decision or whatever scenario that you're involved with is participation and ownership of that decision, okay. So people need to get involved, okay. People need to show up at these meetings. People need to walk into this office and talk to me. People need to request that the fisheries biologist come to their Village and explain some of this you know, some of these decisions to them, answer questions to them. People need to do their homework, okay. And understand some of the concepts that we're talking about. Unfortunately, the language that we use a lot of times is not a language—that doesn't translate that well into you know, Yupik languages or just into Village folks so. . .sometimes we talk about concepts that are kind of difficult to grasp, to understand.</p> <p>Interviewer: Do the RITs [Refuge Information Technicians] translate for you when you go to villages. .does that happen very often? Ron Gables: Ah, yeah sometimes, yeah. I usually try to go or I'll take Aaron with me or whatever. Usually there's something. Usually if I'm requested there'll be [inaudible]. Interviewer: Do you think that it makes a big difference? Do you think that—do you think it helps? Ron Gables: Oh God yeah. Oh yeah. Sure, yeah it helps to show up with. . .yeah I mean, you know for me to just show up and start talking like I do you know, yeah. [Laughter] It does. . .first they give me the look like, you stupid <i>gussak</i> what are you doing, you know? And then they go, what did you say you know, slow down you know, but. . .it's. . .people have to. . . 19:23</p>
13-3	<p>Mr. Brown: So I have a concern about on Page 37, paragraph number 4. Sometimes we have a difficult time when someone is speaking like scientific languages and one time I heard in our meeting, I heard someone was complaining that those kind of languages are pretty hard to understand for most of us, those speaking second language in English. Could you bring that out? Mr. Charles: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Since I don't speak very good in English and don't understand very good in English, I like this MOU written down the way it is, because it's -- I have hard time understanding technical words or some things that I don't understand. I'm a fourth grader in school, and it's hard to understand things that are written down in technical form. But I like the way it is written now. I can -- I don't understand everything, but it's understandable. Thank you. 21:14</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E14. Flow of Information.

14-1	<p>Susan Carter: Yeah and then you have someone like [Council member] who is very articulate and an Elder and, you know ah, talks about what it felt like to be out there breaking the law and he's on the working group and he had no idea that things [regulations] had changed. 2:10</p>
14-2	<p>Clark Turner: That's why I don't complain about Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife, only when they're not ah, when they are making us do something that we didn't expect. Like that thing I, [laughter] I don't know if you were around that time, when ah, when we had closure on the river. I was commercial fishing down at Quinhagak, 'cause I'm a commercial fisherman too. Usually, I come back from Quinhagak and fish for subsistence, for subsistence on the Kuskokwim. And I did that one time, not knowing that the river was closed. Fish and Wildlife closed the Federal waters, and I did not know that. Good thing I wasn't, I wasn't caught [laughter]. I told ah, I reported that at that RAC meeting, that I'm a criminal, because I—[laughter]. I call myself criminal, because I was fishing at the closed waters without knowing. But ah, that was ah, that was my funny thing, funny story about myself, being criminal, not knowing what the law was, that time. I mean, what, why they close the river? Good thing that I heard that, I learned before I, I understand that the river was closed, and I was using my radio, my marine radio, who told me it was closed. So I pull my net—good thing I didn't catch very many fish. I pull my net pretty fast and came back, I was scared. Interviewer: Oh man. You know that, that went right to a thing that I wanted to ask, and that I forgot about. You know, just for the record, so that I can understand this later is, how do you get information concerning fish and wildlife regulations, closures and openers? Like what are</p>

	<p>the different ways that you get information in the community? Clark Turner: It's a lot easier now than the past. We have radio station, KYUK, we have phones, house phones, cell phones, and marine radios that always brought, when somebody know, the Village Council know the closures, they broadcast it on the radio. Because every house has this marine radio. That helps. And radio station too, if people listen to that, they; that would help. That's how we learn the closures. But when you're not, when you're busy doing something else, like that time I was commercial fishing at Quinhagak, and not knowing because I was on a, another frequency, and didn't have a phone, I was fishing out here.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah. So it made it easy. Clark Turner: It's a lot easier now to pass the word around. Interviewer: Uh-huh. But still, like, I mean I guess, I guess what I'm trying to understand, too, is like you said, if you're engaged in fishing somewhere else, Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: . . . and you're out there, and you're worried about getting that net in, or getting that boat home. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And you're not maybe so focused upon looking at the, or checking the frequency to the weather report, or things that are really important. Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: But at those times, maybe, ah when closures or openers happen, you know, all of a sudden, like. Clark Turner: Yep, if I know, I wouldn't have set the net. Interviewer: Right, because you're not a criminal. Clark Turner: Yep, as soon as I found out, I pulled the net. And that's, that's the way I do a lot of times, when I do commercial fishing at Quinhagak. Come back and fish a little bit, for subsistence when weather is good. Interviewer: Right. Clark Turner: Ahh, I did that. Interviewer: [Laughter] Clark Turner: Ah, that was the bad time I did that. Interviewer: Well let me, I think you hit this earlier, but I just ah, I just ask this again, anyways, what do you feel, what do you feel that can be done to improve the flow of communication, information, between communities like yours, and Fish and Wildlife and, or Fish and Game. Clark Turner: Um, the Village Council is the best source of information, because they work, Monday through Friday, and they broadcast closures, or other information that the public needs to know, on the marine radio, because they have marine radio up there, too. So, or when ah, when we don't, when all of us don't get the information, we get calls from friends that ah, on the cell phone to pass the word around is a lot easier than it used to be. But another way ah, the . . . [agencies have] been using in the past, is ah, fax, or email. And they post a letter; post a sign in the store, and in the office, and at the post office, of upcoming closures. That's the best thing, too, when people see it. 8:54</p>
14-3	<p>Interviewer: Do you see, do managers ever come out to speak with you all on these things? Do you—do you see managers? Do they come—come to see you? Translator: [Yupik Translation 0:08:30-0:08:45] Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:08:45-0:10:07] Translator [Translating for Lucretia Took]: She said that ah. . . ah. . . in the past there used to be no restrictions, but now they are restricted to ah. . . limit fishing time, times you know, to only certain hours. Each time when it's ah. . . they would ah. . . when restricting fishery it would be to only certain hours per week. And ah. . . that causes a lot of . . . adverse effect on subsistence fishermen because it—it's impossible to . . . harvest as much as they need. And ah. . . she was saying earlier, before that, that ah. . . yes the managers do contact local people, but ah. . . they choose to meet with the fishermen, not with the rest of the Elders. They only meet with the fishermen, the commercial fishermen and ah. . . let 'em know what they're going to be doing. So, so what ah. . . what—what she says is that in the past ah. . . nets used to be out in the eddies ah. . . twenty-four seven and that allowed them much more fish than they do these days. And ah. . . ah. . . but what she's concerned about is ah. . . maybe in the future the restrictions will come to the point where subsistence fishing may—may not be allowed. Interviewer: Ah. . . I guess I'm really curious as to why maybe—maybe why managers are not talking with Elders? It troubles me that managers are—are not speaking with Elders. I wonder—I wonder why . . . Translator: You want me to ask her that? Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. Translator: [Yupik translation 0:13:49-0:14:11] Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:14:11-15:10] Translator [Translating for Lucretia Took]: Her response ah. . . she don't know why the other residents other than commercial fishermen are not ah. . . made aware of ah. . . the intentions of the fishery managers. But she said that there's just no meetings, it's just that there's no meetings in the community regarding that. And I'm assuming it's done by announcements . . . contact the local Tribal office or City office to announce fishery window schedules or restrictions. 13:1</p>
14-4	<p>Chairman Roczicka: I guess what I, I was going to save it later for Council members, but just at the outset of the meeting here, I will mention, for myself, I really feel at a disadvantage at this time. I was certainly looking to have this packet sometime ahead. I know it was on line, but I don't know how things operate in the Federal office, but I would presume that it's the same in many other areas, that you don't do outside work in your formal work place, and I do not have internet access at home, and I'm sure many other people are in the same situation. I was finally able to get a copy of it last night and just look it over briefly, but I haven't had the time to give it any kind of homework, and it's really frustrating for me. 20:19</p>
14-5	<p>Chairman Rockzicka: Okay. One nay for the record. That finishes up that item. Thank you, sir. Too bad, I wish we could have had a different connection. We might be talking here for another half hour yet if we did. [Public Record] 20:9</p>
14-6	<p>Interviewer: What suggestions would you make to managers, uh. That would be helpful for you and other subsistence users wanting to participate in these meetings. Just any suggestions. George Sanders: Improve their uh, their audio capacity, there, their ability to. It's so damn hard when I'm sitting up in Aniak with my telephone. To try, and, just the mechanical part of the meeting. Just make that a little bit better. You know, people don't tune in to those meetings because it's so damn hard to hear and stuff. It's just a very inefficient way. If they could. I don't know if they can do anything to improve it. Maybe that's state of the art right now. But, I think there's probably some things they can do to improve it. Interviewer: Actually, I think there's a woman in our office working on it. George Sanders: Is that right. Interviewer: I think so. From the standpoint of the, of the spectrum that we can improve on. Like at the office where the managers are. George Sanders: Try to get equipment that would play the sound back over the teleconference in a</p>

	way that would be clearer ... Interviewer: To the people ... communities. George Sanders: Yeah. 11:4
14-7	<p>Interviewer: What suggestions would you make to managers that would be helpful for you and other subsistence users wanting to participate in these meetings? So, if there were any suggestions that you could make to managers on how to make these meetings more helpful what, what, what would they be. George Sanders: Well, I guess that they'd be more educational you know. That the education part of the process be massaged into it, you know. If you educate people they're gonna go along with it. And this is chasing a rabbit here across the field, but like the Feds when we had a real shortage of geese here about 20 years ago. Over 20 years ago now. The geese numbers just absolutely plummeted. I mean we were really concerned. So what the Feds did because they manage the Refuge out there is they just mounted this massive educational effort. They took all the elders. I mean they had the money. They took all the elders from out there in the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. They took em all the way down the west coast. They showed em the Refuges. They showed em what efforts they were making right there trying to protect those geese. They showed the efforts that the farmers were making trying to protect those geese. In other words, they showed the folks up here in Alaska. The Feds were asking the people up here in Alaska not to harvest as many geese, and not to get their eggs out of the nests and all that kind of stuff. And, uh, they wanted them to understand that you're not the only people were asking to sacrifice. Interviewer: Wow, so they flew em. George Sanders: They flew em all the way down there and they spent the money, and they had meetings in every one of those villages out there. And they did, uh, mount a great educational effort. And at the same time they were trying to get us a way from lead, which you absolutely know the lethal effects of lead out in these swampy areas where it just sits there on the top and if uh, a bird doesn't eat it this year he eats it five years down the road, and that damn lead kills em deader than doornails. And, uh, so at the same time they were switching us over from lead to steel. And so, that was a kind of a parallel educational effort on their part, and they pretty much succeeded in doing that. There's still some abuse out there, but it's absolutely nothing like it used to be. So anyhow they, you have got to educate people. You gotta figure out how to educate people, and it's gotta be done in the appropriate context. Now, it's not gonna be that easy for what the managers are trying to out there now. If we could educate them about the variability's on the high seas. You know, all these uncertainties and variability's that the managers right now are trying to massage into this model to make it like its concrete evidence when in fact it's not. If they could educate people about what's going on out there like they did at this salmon symposium, massage some of that information. Interviewer: So let me ask you something real quick. So, do you, when you say educate, you know, all of us at the meetings. George Sanders: Yeah Interviewer: On what's going on with the high seas? George Sanders: Right Interviewer: Do you have any comment on, on, why that element is time and time again, I hear it said, uh, let's keep the comment to in river only. Do you know why or have any comment on why that element is stricken from the talks. George Sanders: I don't. I mean that's the reason why I responded to this originally. I think we need to start educating people to all issues. When you start trying to keep people on one narrow point. Interviewer: You mean to keep it kept from you. George Sanders: Well [laughing] you're asking them [rural subsistence users] to make a decision on a narrow point. And the influence is actually from something way out here you know. So, and that needs to be considered where that, that influence, what's the dominant influence there too. But, I think we could start educating people about all these variability's. If [stressed] the managers want us to accept the uncertainties and variability's that they, and then the decisions they make on these uncertainties and variability's. If they want us to accept those than educate us about those. You know, tell us [stressed] about the sand lamps. The sand lamps, the things that these salmon feed on when their going down the shore. Tell us [stressed] when that damn wind blows all the salmon fry out to the middle of the ocean, you know, and they can't get to the food that they could normally get if the wind was blowing the other way. Let us know about those things so that we understand them. It's like I said when you and I first started this conversation. Those people are not dumb out there. You may have to figure out a better way to articulate. To explain it to them than you would to me or you, with our western scientific training and on our background and stuff like that. But, just educate people so that then when you try to convince them that you've gotta formula there that you've gotta massage these variability's and uncertainties in there. Then people will be ready to accept what you're trying to present em with. But as their doing it right now they're never gonna, and I'm not even gonna except it, even though I understand some of these uncertainties and variability's. Even though probably in my heart of hearts I hope the State is right, but the evidence is not there now for them to be right, and they should not be changing the regulations until the evidence is there for them to be right. Interviewer: So, you would say that there's a lot of information from this discussion that is missing. George Sanders: Yeah, it's just not presented in a way that people can get the big picture. Interviewer: Right. George Sanders: Right, you know they try to. We turn on each other in these meetings and we try to blame each other for all the problems when in fact the blame for the problems rest way the hell on out there somewhere. 11:7</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E15. The Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge.

15-1	<p>Andy Rollins: There was mining in [inaudible location], and we were testing water qualities. And the ... [agency] wanted answered one of the questions. And said that beaver is more dangerous than chemicals. Then why are they trying to keep them if they're destructful? They're not used too much for anything. Their furs are good for parka, and things like that, the meat is good for dog team. Some of them don't like to eat beaver meat because of their fat. They're a good supplement, yeah, I agree to that, and I approve one hundred percent supplement one food. But if they are destructing, rather than getting productivity, isn't it wise to get them down to a limit, where they will be producing eventually just enough to survive. Interviewer: Yeah, I agree with you, you know, that's, I mean, I listen when Elders say things, you understand that if you're a white person, and you come here, and you stay here for any period of time, you realize very quickly, that I feel like a baby, a child when I came out here, very little knowledge. I would be in trouble without my friends. And I listened to them, when those nineteen, twenty-year old kids talk to me, they're teaching me things.</p> <p>Andy Rollins: I often wonder, I am going to give you a State law, a State constitution, I often wonder why the ... [agencies] don't read it, or recognize it, or don't pursue it. Article twelve, section twelve, it's a disclaimer clause. But it's hardly been used. When I written now and then, they listen because it's part of the constitution. It's their bylaw. But once it, the sound goes out the other ear. They move with their job, what their supposed to, what they're told by administration, or whoever is ahead over there. If they don't they'll be fired. I guess that's the way they ah, the proposals and what-have-you are compiled in the office. If we were to be in the same boat, and if we cooked the same pot, we would share it and live accordingly. With both sides, it would be good to help each other; we'd be paddling the same boat. Paddle with strong hands, and swiftly. We'd be ahead. Nothing would catch us and try to prevent us from, or try to tell us, "Oh no, not that, this one." We have the people out there. Example in my Advisory Council, we have the Department of Fish and Game, Fish and Wildlife, we have the Board, and we have outside help, other organizations, entities that help us to pursue our process. We're not, it's something that the papers, usually trying to follow it, it would prevent us or cause problems. The paper that is typed from somebody in the big office, for all our Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife to follow, someone without any education or traditional knowledge, or someone who doesn't use these resources, and try to manage it. If they would give more respect to the Natives, to the villages, I say it; we would have a positive conservation. The conservation that we produces these species back to health. That's what we should be working on. That's what the Secretary of Interior; the Secretary of Agriculture needs to understand. Board of Fish must educate them both, so that these two secretaries will bring this information out to Congress, for the Congress to put some protective clauses in there. I know they are able to, but they need to observe, they need to comprehend, they need to acknowledge, and they must act on it before there is nothing there. I don't know how much longer I can put it. 4:12</p>
15-2	<p>Bob Riley: It's always helpful to get information on ah. . . how subsistence activities are progressing. Information on what kind of catches people are—are getting ah. . . what kind of species information you know, are they getting lots of Kings and just a few Chums, or lots of Chums and just a few Kings, whether the fish are big, whether the fish are small, whether the fish are starting to change color, I mean these are all—these are all really important parts of the puzzle. And in recent years things have been cold, things have been late, but that's not the way it always is sometimes the fish are early, sometimes the runs are big and—and this is all really good information for managers to get an idea of how well the subsistence ... fishery is progressing. ... information about you know ... traditional information is also really helpful. Sometimes it's more helpful than others because sometimes it points us in a direction for research. Other times it's—it's interesting, but we don't really know how to incorporate it. You know, when people say there's lots of—there's lots of insects right now so there's lots of—there's gotta be lots of fish in the water and we're not necessarily sure if the relationship is. . . in their minds the insects and the fish are related, or if the timing's the same. . . sometimes—sometimes things are a little clearer, but ah. . . but some of the traditional knowledge we can easily use and other traditional knowledge we can't. "Oh it's gonna be cold, the fish are gonna be late". Although, we've seen that time after time and that plays out. . . in working with people I've found that ah. . . mutual respect is extremely important and it isn't always easy to come by because people are approaching things from very different points of view. . . subsistence users often feel as if their point of view is disregarded, and in the past it very well might have been and in the present it's not, but it's not always apparent that it's being held in high regard because we're not always receiving information that we can do much with, with respect to managing the fishery and so sometimes things feel—people feel like we're not listening. For example, if they say, we know there's a lot of fish there because there's a lot of bugs and our indices show that there aren't that many fish there ah. . . we can't—we can't put those two things together. Interviewer: Yeah, I noticed ... one of the biggest topics ... among anthropologists that looked into these things is with ... the incorporation—whether or not traditional and local knowledge is able to be incorporated and how do we do that ... And it's not—I mean, there's no easy answer to that. You know, you're working on two very different paradigms. You've got the western hard science paradigm for processing information, you've got traditional paradigm for processing information, one that we really don't have any kind of hard ... or clear understanding of what that paradigm is. I've been given examples of how people process knowledge ... from the traditional and customary approach you know, from Alaska Native peoples, but I mean, it is—it is ah. . . it's a difficult—it's a difficult ah. . . task. You know, and I don't know that we really have a good answer on ... it's interesting that you bring that up and I think it's a difficult task. Bob Riley: And recent—there certainly are lots of examples, although I might have trouble coming up with them right now of—of things that do fit very well and can point you in the right direction. Or things that we've heard people say for many, many years and then we find other evidence to support it, which gives us more confidence in—in taking that advice ... some of the</p>

	<p>advice we get or some of the things we've heard people say, that they feel like we don't—or that we've heard that people feel like we don't listen to our you know, we only take what we need so you don't need to restrict us. ... that's a really important perspective. As long as people continue to do things the same way year after year things are—chances are things are going to be very good. ... And that makes good sense. It just—it just fails to recognize certain other realities that might superimpose themselves on that situation, like if there's a climate change issue or if there were a high seas drift issue ah. . . which we can't prove for or against right now, but if there were one ah. . . then—then the question of restriction doesn't come to whether someone's done something wrong in the river because chances are they haven't. The question is whether or not we need to restrict in order to save their lifestyle for the future. 7:9 and 7:14</p>
15-3	<p>Clark Turner: Because those barges would be finding the channel and the fish want to travel on the channel too. Interviewer: The channel too. Somebody said, "How many fish do you think are killed in those, when they go up river?" You know? Clark Turner: They get scared before they get to their destination, or go someplace where they would be caught, too. Interviewer: You know another thing that ah, that kind of makes me think in similar problem to fish, I think, and I did this for years. And now I don't know how I feel about it anymore. Like when it comes to sockeye fishing, and you're fishing for the red salmon, they will allow to what they call line them, you know, and stick the hook in their mouth. But essentially, you know, you're running that hook into their face, you know, and snagging them. And I grew up fishing, and I like that, it's fun. But then I started understanding that when I'm down there throwing hooks at those fish, it spooks them, they're afraid. Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep. Interviewer: And it affects them, and I've seen a number of times, a school turn around and swim back down and come back up, and they're under a serious amount of pressure from all those hooks that are being thrown at them. And I read a book one time, about a year ago that was called, ah, Lessons From the North, Playing with Fish. You know, it's written by a man doing some work out here in this region. And he was talking with people in Togiak, and this man said to him, "Sometimes I see fish that come up these rivers, they got so many medals on them; they look like a war general. They got that many medals hanging off of them. And he said, you know, ah, to them, that's just extremely disrespectful. All these ah, it's understood as harassing fish. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: And you know, I had to process that. As [Council member] likes to say, "Observe. . ." you know ah, what's he say, he says, he says ah, "Observe, comprehend, acknowledge and execute." You know, and I kind of like it, because you know, he, when I heard him say that recently again to me on the phone, he said, "Do you remember?" And I tried to say it, and he told it to me again. And I thought, you know, that is a way of processing knowledge just like Western biologists have. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: That's science to them. But observe, comprehend, acknowledge, and execute. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: That is a framework for knowledge, too. And it's not a huge gap, like these managers think that it is. It just needs to be understood by these managers in a way that it can be used to work problems. And that's what I hope, you know. Clark Turner: Yeah that's what I see, that's what I see key to keep on track, and keep those ah, ah, that's what [Council member] is saying that, if you're on a track, gather these little information and make 'em work. That's how these managers are supposed to be. Little things add too, like I said, little things add up. 8:49</p>
15-4	<p>Interviewer: Do you think the local and traditional knowledge that is offered to managers by subsistence users is listened to, and acted upon by managers? Tommy Griffon: If it was listened to, and acted upon, it would be a lot different. We'd be able to fish, we'd be able to shoot moose, you know. You know, I don't think it's acted upon. I don't know a lot about managers, and I don't know a lot about that kind of stuff that happens in the office or the conference room. But what I do know is that, you know, if it's not time to hunt, it's not time to hunt. But that's when you can hunt, when you are allowed to hunt, nowadays. Interviewer: When the animals are not there? Tommy Griffon: Yeah, when they're not there, they're not ready is when you are supposed to go, supposed. John Griffon: When you're allowed. 10:44</p>
15-5	<p>Interviewer: Tell me about some experiences that you have had Federal or State managers when things became difficult. George Sanders: Well I'd say, right off, right off the bat. I mean defining difficult for me would be, would be saying that uh, that they. That my perception of what our overall. The reason that we existed is to protect the resource. Protection of that resource making sure that there's always escapement. Making sure that that resource can always go and spawn. That's the number one reason that we all exist. Is protecting that resource. Okay, with that in mind. If you look at the river holistically. Holistically, all the way from the top waters all the way down to the bottom of the river right there. We've lost a lot of our salmon from way up river. We do not have those big salmon going up there anymore. Uh, I don't have the research to support that. Which, biologists always like to throw that at you as a layman. Well, well "what do you got to back up your observations?" Well, [retired Federal Manager—Name Removed]. He used to be the Yukon Kuskokwim manager out there before [Federal Manager—Name Removed] became the manager out there. I told him that these biologists were always throwing this argument at me. He said, well next time they throw that argument at you. You just tell them that you may not have the research but you know the difference between presence and absence. You Your damn clear on that in your mind. What the presence and absence is. And the fact is there's an absence of those big kings going way up that river spawning anymore. There was a time when the Fish and Game would acknowledge that. And they said okay our job then is to try and reconstruct those runs way upriver. To rebuild them not reconstruct them. But reconstruction in my mind based on this past exercise is going back and looking at all those statistics and trying to decide how many fished moved up and when and all that kind of stuff. Well we wanna rebuild those runs in other words. And so, we talked about that for three or five years. And then suddenly we wouldn't talk about that anymore. About rebuilding those salmon runs way up to the headwaters of the river. ... Interviewer: Why do you think that was? George Sanders: [name removed] Oh, they, because it didn't. It would</p>

	interfere with their mandate. They would have had to knock off all that commercial fishing down in the river below and they would have had to run the political risk of saying okay we've got to close the river to let some of these big kings get by so they can get upriver. Because those first run kings theoretically are kings that are going way up that river and they didn't want to have to tell the, didn't want to have to tell the subsistence people don't put your nets in yet. 11:8
15-6	Interviewer: Do you think that [your knowledge] is taken creditable when you're talking with scientists? Do you think it is listened to? Josh Owens: No. Interviewer: No? Josh Owens: Very little, if any. You know, one of the things that my last comment, last made at the last North Pacific Management Council meeting that I attended, I said to them that science and reality sometimes does not coincide, because scientists are looking at what may have happened within the last five years, and try and get what they call a scale. But in reality something's going on here that makes the, the last five years meaningless. 12:11
15-7	Interviewer: Let me ask you this, do you think that at these, when you participate in the RAC or the Kuskokwim Working Group, do you think that when traditional and local knowledge is offered to the AC [Advisory Council] managers, that it's listened to and processed? Nick Larson: Most of the time they'll listen to you, they can hear you, but they won't listen to you. I remember years ago, when we used to go before them and tell them, "Here, look we're having this problem, we need to alleviate it, one way or another." And they'll, they'll, and they'll dismiss you, [saying], "That's folklore," or they'll describe you one way or the other, and they won't give us credit for it. But if you do your presentation, testimony under the Federal Subsistence Board, they'll consider it. Because I think they have a Native chair out of Unalakleet, and they've got two more from the village, one is from Barrow, his name is Charles Brower, another one is from Southeast, and I forgot the name of that other one. 17:20
15-8	Nick Larson: These [He is pointing to an old newspaper article which is reporting on the outcome of the regulatory proposals submitted at the Board of Fish in 2012] are all the ones, these ones that failed, coming from the villages. Interviewer: Kuskokwim ... Nick Larson: This one came out of, ah, Bethel, oh and see (?), they were trying to limit the fish that had been taken out of the region; it failed because it came in from Bethel. There was two proposals about Kuskokwim salmon, because they adopt one, they no action on the second. Interviewer: I saw what he was trying to do here. I remember [Council member] bringing this, [Council member] bringing this— Nick Larson: Yeah, trying to limit the fish that are being taken 'cause all these years, Fish and Game never monitor how much fish is going out of Bethel. Interviewer: Right, right. And you know, it's understandable, the people don't want to see, ah, mass amounts of sport fishing, basically, under what they're calling subsistence flowing out of the region. Nick Larson: And under customary trade, this wasn't written down or anything, this one was to address the Yukon River, Yukon, but let's say the Kuskokwim River fails it—they were trying to put a number on it, a limit on how much you can sell under the table, or your dry fish. It failed, because there are too many, each area had a different idea of how much you could allow to sell out of your own private dry fish supply. Interviewer: Let me ask you this, on the Board of Fish, how many, are there any subsistence users? Nick Larson: Only one. Interviewer: One out of six, right? Nick Larson: Out of five. Interviewer: Or five, five. Nick Larson: Only one subsistence user. Same thing with the Board of Fish, only one subsistence user. And he's from way up the Yukon River from Galena area, or Huslia. And they have an entirely different lifestyles from there to the mouth of the Yukon. And he doesn't have an idea of how we live over here on the Kuskokwim. 17:53
15-9	Nick Larson: The other one is ah, traditional and environmental knowledge. Too many times they always wave that one off. They can listen to you, but they cannot hear you—they can hear you, but won't listen. Interviewer: So when you say that, would you think that, would you say that traditional and local knowledge, that it's given to managers by the subsistence users, that, so you believe that often times it's meaningless, it's meaningless to them maybe? Nick Larson: Too often they disregard it, yeah. But if it comes from their own biologists or scientists, they said, "Here's good valuable data." But if you give them what you have, they'll call it folklore, or something else, there's another word for it, that they always describe it. Interviewer: That's, you know I'm, I'm glad to hear you say that, because I think it's an important point that we need to understand. You know, it's one thing for me to think it, it's a whole other thing for me to hear it. Nick Larson: It's been our experience in the past when we testify before the board. And too often, or when you come in from the village, you don't have a computer, you don't have the data, or you don't, you don't have it in black and white, or a PowerPoint presentation, or they'll say it's hearsay because we don't say it in black and white, or we don't project it on the wall, they say, "You have no information to backup up you're proposal. The staff on the other hand, some of them are good, they can understand it but, if you don't provide them with additional information or does not have the backing of the outer areas, or right with the committee, those other villages, the chance of it going through are pretty slim, or passing. 17:23 and 17:57
15-10	Interviewer: When you're relaying what you know to these managers do you think that they find that credible? When they compare it with their science or—I mean, do you think that is incorporated? Rick Strickland: You know many times I feel like it's. . . ah. . . they're just being accommodating. To what degree you can actually apply that in the scientific decision making process and ah, I think that, actually what people get of the local knowledge ah. . . is really borne out by the science. Although, you do have obvious. . . ah. . . beliefs people will have such as ah. . . the jack kings are gonna be turning around and going back to the ocean to [inaudible] ocean [laughter]. I don't know if you heard that one, I just—oh my gosh. So, when people come across with statements like that it really weakens. But, actually I found out. . . or, one of the observations that I've seen over the years is that it ah. . . quite often when we get these different projects and studies and so forth that ah, it takes a five year study project to ah. . . essentially prove scientifically what someone in our Village will tell you in five minutes. So. . . that's. . . so yeah and—and in that sense I guess it. . . it's—that

	knowledge is listened to ... if incorporate is the right word but [inaudible] back into science. 18:10
15-11	Mr. J. Andrew: Yeah. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'd like to express my heartfelt appreciation for you coming out here. For many of us that come from the villages to testify before the Board or the Board of Game, like Bob said there, we always feel pretty humble by the people we don't know. It's always scary to do presentations, especially if you come from the villages and present your traditional environmental knowledge to the Board and Staff. Too often a dismissal says our testimony being folklore or rhetoric. It's a frustration, because we're the people that live all our lives over here. We know our own conditions out there. And people that come in from the outside to manage it, too often they say, you don't have no college degree. You don't have no science background. Yet we live with it; know naturally, it's all our lives. I mean, how -- we know the area well, and our fish and game, too. That's the message I'd like for you to deliver to your counterparts over there. Thank you very much. [Public Record] 21:33
15-12	Mr. Aloysius: One thing that I'm glad of is that they've pretty scrapped TEK, which is very ambiguous to me, and I would prefer the language local. And I noticed that they deleted the word local. We have to give credit where credit is due, you know. These are individuals, people, residents of a village and of an area that are providing this, and we should give them the credit. You know, that just TEK. Well, TEK might be great in scientific circle, but it doesn't mean a damn thing to me, because it doesn't give credit to the people who are providing the information to the scientists. And so that - - you know, I still would like the word local in there. But I'm glad they pretty much scrapped TEK. Mr. Kessler: Yes. Well, Mr. Chairman, that was a very interesting comment about the word local, because we had a long discussion on that word. And we had long discussions on a lot of words, but we were concerned that there have been a lot of people that have moved from living in a local area, and moved to Bethel or wherever it might be. And they still have, you know, a lot of knowledge. They may not live locally, but they may have a lot of knowledge. And so when we looked at this statement, we said, what we're seeking are the people who have knowledge of the customary and traditional uses. And those can be local people, or people who don't live so locally any more. So that's sort of what we came out on that. Chairman L. Wilde: Mr. Aloysius. Mr. Aloysius: Another -- let me explain it again. I don't care where you're from. If you have knowledge that you want to share with somebody, that knowledge -- I mean, that sharing should be credited to where you're from. Like, Yupiakamiut (ph) It means people of the Inupiak Nation. That's TEK-- or <i>Yupiakamiut</i> (ph), please of the Eyepiece Nation. TEK doesn't mean anything to them, because you're just throwing these words out and not giving credit to the Inupiak, the Molimiut or the Eyepiece. You know, that's what I'm talking about when I say local. You know indigenous local knowledge. And don't get me started, because I ... [Public Record] 21:2

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E16. Working Together in Communities.

16-1	Interviewer: Do you ever, do you ever see these managers, these Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association managers, do they ever come out and talk to you guys face-to-face? Adam Cooper: Well, not very much. We don't, like I say, you know, if commercial fishermen had a voice, we'd hear a lot of voice, you know. Um, but right now, there's so much emphasis against the commercial fisheries. You know, subsistence people win out on us commercial fishermen, you know all the time. You know, not only that, it's their priority. They say subsistence is a priority, why not make it fifty-fifty, instead of priority, you know? Priority should provide for the people in both ways, not only through subsistence. We also need money. I would like to see someday our fish processor open. Another thing that came up in my mind was, let us commercial fish and be able to sell our fish to these subsistence people that want fish, you know, that are using food stamps right now. I would let somebody buy my fish with food stamps, I'd be happy. Interviewer: ... Is there anything maybe that I haven't mentioned that you would like to—that I haven't touched on—that you would like to say, if you had a chance to say something to these managers. Maybe these managers in Anchorage that don't make it down here very often? What would you like to say if there's anything that you can remember that you didn't go over? Adam Cooper: Yeah ... there's too much thinking that the rural people live on subsistence alone, that's not true. Ah, us rural people you know, times have changed, we're not living the eighteen hundreds, or early nineteen fifties. Things have changed around here. A lot of things that we need to, we got to go to store and buy, use cash, we have light bills to pay, we've got fuel bills to pay. You know, we got a lot of things that need to be paid in cash, which subsistence can't cover for. So things have changed over the years. Like it or not, the whole world is changing. So right now as a teacher, I would like to see more and more people, you know, get into this job arena, in a way to provide for themselves instead of pitching subsistence and whatever "Native culture" to these people, that makes them lose interest in educating themselves, or furthering themselves in life, and wind up living off of food stamps for the rest of their life. That should never be. You know, we should educate our kids. We need our people to go forward, otherwise, my fear is, if they ever cut food stamps, someday ... it's gonna be pretty scary for a lot of these people that don't have job skills and etc. 3:3
16-2	Bill Cartwright: So, you know—but to me still regardless of the travel cap, we need to have more personalized contact [with villages] and we need to have more work for RIT's [Refuge Information Technicians] so they—so we have higher retention. 5:16
16-3	Interviewer: Let me ask—let me ask you this, how—if you just had to give a raw estimate, how many—how many of the fifty-six communities are you able to see and annually here? Bill Cartwright: Well, I think—well, considering that on refuge there's probably forty-six ... And then if you look at—if you go upriver, like to Chuathbaluk or Crooked

	<p>Creek you could—you could count those within a service area of people that might come down. . . I would say that we probably get to all of them twice a year. Interviewer: All of them twice a year. Bill Cartwright: Yeah. . . Interviewer: Wow. Bill Cartwright: Because I couldn't think of why we wouldn't. There might be a few outliers that we don't get to where it's like a group meeting. 5:25</p>
16-4	<p>Bobby Sterling: When that situation that happened in Marshall ah, in two thousand nine, there's protest fishery that occurred there, ah. . . there was a lot of enforcement on the Yukon River both state and federal and there was a coordinated effort. But they were out—there was a period of time when they were not there and I don't know, grace of God or whatever it might be, the luck—luck of the fishermen but then the enforcement people, in fact one of the federal law enforcement people said they were just there fifteen minutes prior to their—to their—to their fishing. Anyway, the whole—the press got a hold of it but it was a big viral thing that went on all across the state, it made some papers down in the lower forty-eight. Ah, and then the service—the Fish and Wildlife service sent a law enforcement agent out to Marshall in the month of October, this was like ah. . . four months . . . July, August, September, yeah, about four months after it had happened to issue a citation for the. . . just only one of the ten per—per ten fishermen. Ah. . . it was turned over to the—the solicitor's office ah. . . or the. . . the cross [inaudible] on the federal side there and eventually the case was dropped. But to gain a better understanding of why people went out and did that, how—I mean on the local response to these restrictions, [upper level federal manager] came out to Marshall. . . And had a meeting with the local people. And all of us ended up—I think we stayed overnight there. . . he heard a lot, there was a lot of animosity, not necessarily towards him but toward the regulation, the inability to harvest what you need, ah, and the concern for the lack of food over winter, for quality food during winter and [inaudible]. So what [upper level federal manager] did on the federal side, coming out and meeting with people just—just for that one village, I mean it spoke a thousand—a thousand words. I mean, here's we have this head of the, you know the biggest federal agency ah. . . in the region, come out and pay the local people a visit to talk to them to gain a better understanding. I think it ah. . . I think it developed in a better understanding—gave him a better understanding. Now if the other federal managers, that sit on the Federal Subsistence Board were gonna actually go out and do that to some of these more remote areas ah. . . where there are no Hiltons, there are no places to stay and see and live and, you know, just for that brief moment, why people do what they need to do out there ah, perhaps they'll get a better understanding of why we advocate for this and then this is so. . . so foreign to us. Ah. . . and for a lot of people, for a lot of our people in our villages out here, the entire federal and state management system is just totally foreign. It's like a foreign government invaded our home community. Ah. . . you know, there's some. . . there's some understanding of the court system. There's some understanding of law enforcement. There's some understanding of—of the ah. . . you know, the forces that need to make the regulations but if they don't see it how are they going to learn about it? Ah, even RAC meetings in the villages, the AC meetings in the villages ah, give them a little bit of exposure to that. Ah, in many of my years that I've held this position we've always seen a very small amount of people from the villages actually travel to the regulatory meetings. . . Interviewer: Really. So that was nothin' new? When we met last, I was shocked, that was my first RAC in—in Bethel. I was shocked to only see the one man testify and ah—but so that's not nothin'—that's nothin' new? If you had to say why, what would you—what would be the major reasons? Bobby Sterling: For lack of local participation? For regional participation? I think it's just because that there's not enough exposure. You know we've—we used to have meetings in the villages. Ah, people would come in participate and testify. I mean, we probably have maybe ten people in Hooper Bay that participate in the—in the RAC meeting out there, providing their testimony. And ah, you know, all though might have been in Yupik there's—there's an interpreter there. Ah, a lot of the other villages that have travelled for RAC meetings ah, there's been a lot more participation than one, and it might be four or five of them at least. . . people can observe, watch, and see how the process works. Ah, the other thing is ah, that we only have one Office of Subsistence Management employee in town in the regions, which would be [Office of Subsistence Management employee] Ah. . . and his primary responsibility is to the regional advisory councils. But, there needs to be outreach. I think outreach is totally, totally and completely important in the management system. We used to have a whole network of RITs [Refuge Information Technicians] that were really effective. I can't remember how many we had in the beginning it must have been about ten, fifteen, sixteen of'em. 6:19</p>
16-5	<p>Bobby Sterling: Yeah and going back to the water fowl conservation committee where there was a lot of. . . a lot of local participation, regional participation. There's also the Western Alaska Brown Bear management. They sent out a lot of people from the various villages. And there's also the Lower Yukon Moose Management Committee which, I mean you see the fruits of it. Their latest now the Lower Yukon moose . . . we have way too many moose now. In the Lower Yukon area we have the caribou herd working group. Those were all . . . 809 activities, ANILCA activities that involved a lot of the local people. And you know, a lot of those—a lot of those were key management decisions being made by local people and what happened to that, a lot of the local authority and a lot of the local input, a lot of local participation through those processes went away at some point. Whether it be—I don't know if there was a change in the administration, change in philosophy, change in leadership. . . and that ah. . . a lot of those organizations go away. Like in the Western Alaska Brown Bear Management area that—that was primarily the subsistence harvest of . . . brown bears, where they're able to participate in the hunt that they—how they used to do customarily and traditionally. You know, who can hunt at whatever time, based on your local village and tradition. Ah, for the [inaudible] caribou herd, ah. . . I think what happened to that one [inaudible] came through and swallowed up the herd and they with [inaudible]. Ah. . . but ah. . . in any case that led to no longer any local decision making processes and taken over by the regional advisory councils and—the ACs. And now that we're kind of a short—ah, short of—short of money, short of human</p>

	resources, and the high cost of transportation and everything else it seems like the management agencies don't want to go in that direction. But they were extremely effective, you know, they met ... once or twice a year. 6:21
16-6	<p>Interviewer: How often do you travel to communities while you're stationed in Bethel during the summer? Ah. . . and if—and if you're not able to do it you know, what are the reasons? Bob Riley: Well, perhaps I'm not the right person to ask that question of because my position is a little bit more focused, but I believe that Travis Ellison, manager, traveled pretty extensively to communities. How far he got, whether he got to the upper river, that I don't know. Interviewer: Does the Fish and Game have an outreach program? Bob Riley: I think that our outreach ah. . . probably isn't as strong as it could be. And ah. . . I think that—no I take that back. I'm not sure that our outreach could be a ton stronger than it is, but I think that there's some desire for it to be stronger. Interviewer: What are the limiting factors? Bob Riley: Time, money ah. . . but mostly time. We have a volume of work and it sounds like excuses, but it's true. A volume of work. A volume of work that is crushing. We don't have enough time to do anything. I have worked every weekend for the past month and a half. And it's winter. . . . again it sounds like excuses, but when do you have the time to travel and so. . . . Travis Ellison makes a very good effort in the summertime to try to get to some of the communities and—and talk with them and share information with them and tell them what's coming and tell them why and get their perspective on it ah. . . . get their ideas about it. But so, he probably won't be having time to go to more than—to go to the same community more than once and he probably won't have time to go to more than a handful of communities. And ah. . . I have a feeling that I may be travelling more often this year to promote our post-season subsistence survey program in order to you know, not lose that. But ah. . . you know I—I have—I have a budget, I have ah. . . tasks I have to complete and it isn't really necessary for me to be in the villages. I used to be in the Villages a lot with—with my work when I was out there. But ah. . . you know, I mean. . . it's not one of the things that I have to get done and I have to get certain things done. Interviewer: So when you say it's not necessary, you're saying that from a perspective of . . . Bob Riley: To accomplish my job. Interviewer: To accomplish your job, okay. Bob Riley: Not that I don't care. Interviewer: Yeah, I just wanted—I just wanted to clarify. Bob Riley: Not that I wouldn't like to, it would probably be something of great interest you know, but it's just—it's just sort of. . . I am—in my job I am a facilitator for the working group. I have to keep it going, I have to keep it alive. And I know everybody that's on it, some of them better than others. I haven't visited them all in their Villages, I haven't visited them all in their homes and—and people complained this year about the Anchorage meeting. Usually they're happy to have it, but that is a place that we—we consider really important for people to be able to sit down and see each other face to face and learn about each other and know each other. And ah. . . unfortunately we're bringing them in, but that's just as important, I think as sending a bunch of people out. You know, you bring them together so they can network and. 7:21</p>
16-7	<p>Interviewer: Do you ever see Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game in your community? And if so, how often do they come? Clark Turner: Ah, we have survey people come by once in a while. I don't know how often, maybe once a year from ah, ah, Fish and Game. And there are surveyors from Fish and Wildlife Service that come by. And ah, I've heard of other people come by only when there is a problem in the village. Like illegal fishing last summer, like last summer there was a—I was not happy with the picture of my fish rack because I, I fished legally last summer. I had to travel outside of the boundary and fish, catch a few kings. *[Respondent means that he briefly traveled outside the boundary, but fished inside] And they took a picture of my fish rack, and say that people were catching fish over here. I can't afford to do illegally. I'm, I'm like I told you, I do my stuff myself, and not ah, I don't like to do things illegally, or against the law. Interviewer: Yeah, and so, and that, you just hit something that I thought was extremely important. What I heard you say was, when, sometimes surveyors come, but a lot of times when they come, or when Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game come, there's a problem. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: So, you know, my next question would be, do you ever see them come out when there's not a problem, just to talk with people? Clark Turner: No. Interviewer: Never? Clark Turner: I haven't seen them. Interviewer: You know that's ah, you know that's—I've heard a few people tell me, in different roles around the Delta, that it would probably be beneficial if we had more meetings with Fish and Wildlife, Fish and Game managers in our communities. Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Interviewer: They ask me, "Would they [managers] come here and talk to us?" And um, so, I wanted to start asking people that, just that simple question, so that we can get an understanding. If I go around the Delta, if it's just in the Lower Kuskokwim, or if it's throughout the whole Delta? Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yeah. Interviewer: that we are we seeing if whether in fact people in communities are seeing managers in their communities. And so far, I haven't had a single person tell me, that they just come to talk—many of them have never seen managers. Clark Turner: If we have that ah, I think people would be more relaxed, because when I see something about regulation changes or proposals, on the review, I mention at our up-coming meetings, all the time, Fish and Game, Fish and Wildlife meetings, RAC meetings, or AC meetings or ah, other meetings like ah, board of fish meetings, board of game meetings—I always mention those on the KYUK radio station, talk show, um, because at the talk show, a lot of people listen to that. I always mention our up-coming meetings; that way people would know. But some don't like me for that, because I—they think I'm on the Fish and Game side, or Fish and Wildlife side, and try to change ah, rules for villages to survive ah, I mean the subsistence way of life. Interviewer: You mean people in the communities? Clark Turner: Yeah, people don't like me for that. Interviewer: Wow. Clark Turner: Ah, me, but I have nothing against Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife, or the people, subsistence users. They're, they're just like ah, they're my friends. I don't hide stuff on them, because I don't do bad stuff myself, and try to catch illegal stuff, like moose season, we have seasons. And I don't shoot, or kill a moose, even I seen 'em. Ah, that's the way, ah, the Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game should do: inform people in the village what the regulations are. And when they learn, they'd be relaxed, and ah, talk to, even talk to Fish and Game, or Fish and</p>

	Wildlife, or even the protection people, too. Interviewer: Uh-huh. So you think, you think it would be beneficial if those managers would come out and talk to people here? Clark Turner: Yep, uh-huh. Interviewer: They may not like to hear it, but in the end you'd think that there would be some sort of trust built from such visits. Clark Turner: Yep. Interviewer: Problems would be addressed, you know, by simply coming out and talking to people? Clark Turner: Yep. That—I, I would like that. I would. If I knew their goals, is what they want to talk about, as they're managers. They are ah, like Fish and Game managers. They, I would be more relaxed to those people, if I was ah, public I think. 8:38
16-8	Interviewer: Do you think that if we started to get to a point where we would bring, managers would come when there weren't necessarily problems to talk to people about, you know, future planning, or future goals that we'd like to see happen. Do you think that would go a long way to helping people to become more comfortable with working with managers? Clark Turner: Yeah, that would be, that would be the step there. And let me tell you what I, what happened to me. I was RIT member for ah, few years, maybe five, six years. RIT member, wearing uniform, going to the village, and one time, some people, some villages were really good to me. Ah, they want to learn more about Fish and Wildlife, because I was wearing, or working for Fish and Wildlife. And ah, I travel to different villages those years. And one time I travel to this one village, and a woman saw me wearing that Fish and Wildlife uniform and [laughter] she asked me, "When did you become commissioner, when did you become fish commissioner? All: [Laughter] Clark Turner: . . . and hated me for wearing that, she didn't want me to wear those kind of clothes, because I supposed to, I'm [Clark], they've heard about me, they know that, they knew that I was growing up being a good person, or trying to help the people. There I was trying to help them too to bring the information to those people, but thinking about ah, the like, law enforcement people I told you about. Thinking, they, they made that person think about that right away. And ah, she didn't know the name, or term, or ah, that's why they, these, a lot of these people, people's problems is they don't know the difference. If they knew the difference, ah, that, I think that would help. Because law enforcement is working to protect the game, the fish and game. To protect the law, or to keep the law alive. And these people like yourself, you're working for ah, ah Service, or Fish and Wildlife Service, and Fish and Game, you shouldn't be, ah, because people think you are the law [laughter]. But not me, I understand, because I been with the AC for long time, and RAC for long time, and I learned nobody's ah, trying to make us bad people. Even eating fish like this, it's not gonna hurt you, it's not gonna hurt me, it's gonna help ah, make us not be hungry, or something like that. So people think, ah, Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game are all bad people because of ah, the protection, law enforcement people. They think everybody has, they don't know the difference, that's what they gotta learn. 8:39
16-9	Interviewer: What are some of the reasons why you or others you know may not trust managers? John Griffon: We don't know them. We never see them, don't know them. Tommy Griffon: I don't know who the managers are. John Griffon: I have no idea. I never saw a face, never heard a voice. Tommy Griffon: never heard a name. John Griffon: To me it's the Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife, that's all I know. Tommy Griffon: When you know somebody . . . John Griffon: There's trust. Tommy Griffon: When you know them, there is trust. When you don't know them, simple as that, you don't know them. 10:41
16-10	Interviewer: How often do you see managers in your community? Tommy Griffon: I've never seen a manager before. These guys, the only reason I see them is because we work here as volunteers. Interviewer: You know, I call them managers, so I see what you—when I say managers before, obviously you're thinking of people from Anchorage. Tommy Griffon: Managers here too. Interviewer: Managers here too? Tommy Griffon: Never seen them in Kwethluk. Interviewer: Never? John Griffon: The only time I ever seen them was Science Camp, where young kids can—not young but like ah, eight Junior High, High School can apply to go up river and do some studies or basic things like helping biologists and seeing the fieldwork that they do, and stuff like that. That's the only time I ever seen them. Tommy Griffon: These past couple years, we haven't been here enough to see managers go to Kwethluk. But before that we've been here our whole lives and we haven't seen them before. Interviewer: That speaks a thousand words. Tommy Griffon: But you know, people that have been here and have been here longer in those other communities, maybe they've seen them, maybe not. I doubt that they've seen them in their village. John Griffon: This is the, their talking about all this stuff, this is the place they are talking about, why don't they come to the place? Interviewer: Okay say that again, so they can understand. John Griffon: . . . their job is—I don't know wildlife conservations and stuff like that. Interviewer: You mean scientists and things like that? John Griffon: Yeah, yeah. And, that's pretty much always the subject, you know, why don't they go out there, like to the villages and stuff? . . . it's more meaningful when you do that. And it'll mean more to the people; it just means more to everything. Fish and Game and. 10:40
16-11	George Sanders: Okay, there's another question I have. Why are we having all those meetings in Bethel. What's wrong with Aniak? Or what's wrong, without know, one of the other villages down below Bethel, or, you know I mean I think probably the reason the State doesn't want to do it is they know if you go to Aniak, or say down to Tuntululiak or something like there. You get a bunch of local people expressing local grievances, which would probably not be germane to the subject at hand. So what. Let em express themselves. Have a meeting there. Let em come together and say what they got to say. And, number one, it give a bunch of these guys who live in Anchorage, who are never gonna live out there. It give them a bit better understanding with what their dealing with, you know. 11:14
16-13	Interviewer: Do you have any suggestions that you would make to managers that would be helpful for you and other subsistence users that want to participate in these meetings? Mike Wallace: Well just they need—they need to give. . .they gotta do away with that time limit, you know. You know, to get ah, heard—everybody heard and heard. . .they've gotta, whenever they have those meetings but it—it's hard to do too because, you know, you have a hundred people that are gonna. . .it would take 'em a whole lot of time but, you know. They—in order for, I think the best way right now is

	since we're travelling we're on the council we should—you know, the program was set up where we could go out and meet in Villages instead of at Bethel. And that's what's cutting our coverage. . .ability to be able to go out to get the information from the pub—our public. You know, we don't care about those people living in Anchorage or Fairbanks or wherever it is but we want to make sure that our people, my people get that information. 16:3
16-14	Nick Larson: Families that have sons and grandchildren that can fish for them, they're a little, slightly better off. Interviewer: Ooh, right. Yeah I think it's hard for these managers to understand that people are not part of— Nick Larson: Even if you tell the ... [agencies] we didn't get enough fish, they wouldn't listen to you. They'd rather give you two, three openings, and the rest of the time, they'll try and get a commercial opening, that's when we lose out on our escapement. Interviewer: Do you ever see these—how often would you say you see these, either Fish and Wildlife or State, come to Kwethluk to talk to people? Nick Larson: Hardly. Only time they come in, they come in here is when they try to enforce their regulations or if they want a project going up on the river—they got a river project up there—they said they want to keep that as a tool up there to see how many fish go by. But this summer, it was useless to them most of the summer, because all that summer water was too high, they couldn't get no accurate counts up there. They said they had got no reading, no escapement on kings, reds, chums, only on silvers. It's not the only year they had a summer like that where they—because their means of surveying their fish counting, part of the time, they don't work. Interviewer: Hmm, so you would say that when you see 'em, it's only when there are problems, or when they want studies done? Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. Interviewer: But, do they ever come just to ask how people are doing, or what their concerns are, or anything like that? Nick Larson: Rarely. They can get on the phone and interview one to three people that have phones or cellphones. But they rarely interview the actual people that are in the fish camps. Like your friends grandparents, they don't ask them, or their aunts, 'cause some of them are people that rely on, their relatives go fish for them. But if they don't get enough to share with their relatives, they have a hard time. 17:36
16-15	Ms. Gregory: I like to go to villages, because if we meet in Bethel too much, then we deprive some of the people a chance to come and talk to us. And I like to go to the hub villages or to the villages and reach out to them as much as I can, and give them a chance to give us some things to talk about. Because when they come and testify or are before us, it gives us good incentives to go for things that they want. And yesterday when those two Williamses were giving testimonies, it reminded me that we still are a subsistence economy, Yup'ik people, that we are maintaining our lifestyle, which is good. Chairman Roczicka: <i>Quyana, Mary.</i> [Public Record] 20:25
16-16	Mr. Wilde: There was one time that I know they're having commercial fishing at Mountain Village. Four hours you can get nothing. Something. We need people that we call to Emmonak Fish and Game, sometime they don't answer. We would like to have some kind of help, Fishing boat all over come up from down Lower Yukon, sometime they don't get - they go up there for nothing, just burning gas, and gas is expensive. Like me, I try to obey best as I can what the law and regulation giving us like this year. But we would like to have maybe sometime that Fish and Game could come up to us in Mountain Village and St. Mary's and when we have a meeting together and talk with us what is the problem. There's some people that's --only one time people having to catch a lot of chums. They couldn't even have -- they're having a hard time and problem is there. I think when I was the one, I was negotiate with U.S./Canada negotiation, and we do our best, but when you cannot catch no king salmon, even in the chum fishing time, there must be something wrong in the Yukon. It does really bother us and some elders, they say, why you don't tell the Fish and Game once more. Well, we do. We do our best. Fish and Game have to do, they're then responsible with the whole Yukon, too, but there's some time I don't think they're on the right time and when you have only four hours commercial. I don't think that's the right time to open it peacefully when it's like four hours in fishing time. <i>Quyana.</i> [Public Record] 21:13

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E17. Working Together at Meetings.

17-1	Susan Carter: Yeah, we got—I—lot of our working group was really frustrated with...the unwillingness to work together to include the stake holders and put everything out on the table instead of the back room instead. Their [Federal and State managers] unwillingness to compromise. Interviewer: Could you clarify what you mean by the backroom? Susan Carter: Oh. Okay. . .when they leave ah, our conference room to ah, to come up with their decision as to their recommendations, they go back to the back office of Fish and Game—it's always been Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game, ah going to the back office and nobody, none of the stakeholders [rural subsistence users] are involved in that. And because we've had these big differences of opinion both the Feds the State and the stakeholders... even though I was frustrated and of course sometimes I express my frustration and I get sometimes emotional about it ah, it's really important that we learn to work together, we learn to make compromise, we learn decision making by consensus...for the good of the resource. And when I see grown men ah, with the kind of knowledge that they have, they get paid—they might not think they get paid good money, but they get paid pretty good money...to come...research here, do all sorts of studies on our fisheries here and then they make recommendations and not include the stakeholders in part of that decision making process. Ah, that's where I think the changes are going to happen. Some people want Tribal management and I say we could so easily have it within this working group if they'd only make us equal, all those working group members. That instead of them leaving the room this will be one of my suggestions this coming season. Instead of them leaving the room, ask anybody who is not a part of the working group to sign off or leave the room until
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	<p>we are done with the discussion—whatever we need to discuss. Now, to me that makes good sense you know, we're just sitting informally across the table from each other talking about recommendations... I thought a lot about it because if that had happened instead of them going to the backroom saying we're going to come back and say okay its closed for so many more days—the state took the brunt of the blame for that but it really was the feds pushing it. We all agreed to hundred and twenty-seven thousand um, escapement, goal for kings, it wasn't happening. All of a sudden we wanted a window of opportunity; the feds are pushing the state. And there's a lot you and I and other people will never understand what goes on behind closed doors between the big bosses and their research biologists, you know, as they discuss over the winter everything that happened—but, if it's going to work out here and we're going to continue to have a good working relationship... that they include the stake holders. And the stake holders on the working group are their voices. 1:5 and 1:6 and 1:18</p>
17-2	<p>Josh Owens: Ah, they were the villages were the ones that extended that moratorium, on their own; because they wanted to be able to see the numbers increase. On the migratory bird issue, the villages were willing to work with the Fish and Wildlife as long as people in the lower forty-eight would be willing to work with them, ah, to, to try and find ways to reduce the hunts down in Washington, California, and Oregon. Because it was a joint agreement with all those people working together to try and increase the numbers along the whole migratory route. On the fishery issues, it's very difficult to work with the State or the Feds because our, you know, locally here, as well as in the State program, they're only looking at the number of escapement to the spawning grounds. They don't look at any other thing, even though they may get subsistence harvest and all that, ah, the ultimate objective is to get numbers to go up to the spawning grounds, so that they can reproduce. And they say, "Well, our priority is to get them resource up to the spawning ground,"—that's the same priority that our people have. However, one of the things that we ask for, at that time that I met with the Governor is, you know, our people can work together with both the State and the Feds if you guys allowed them to have an alternative food source, like chums or red, or sockeye salmon, and not target the kings like they've had in the past. But the, they weren't willing to compromise. They dead set on allowing people to let their nets out, regardless of the size. However, they said, " Oh you can use a four inch mesh-size net, sixty feet long." But those are just as deadly for any salmon that, ah, gets caught-up with even the nose, or the mouth, or the teeth, and you can lose that fish. You can lose a lot of the fish that way. So, there's been times when I said to the State and the Feds, "You know you're willing to give to industry—at the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council Meeting—you're willing to give to industry, yet you're willing to make our people criminals, and bear the burden our conservation for things that ah, for resources that return to our lands." And, they don't have an answer to that. So there has been many times when I've said that to both the State and the Feds on different resource issues. Even on our own lands, out in the village of Hooper Bay, where Fish and Wildlife wants to come and do studies. And they always say, "Oh we got this money, but we got to spend this money this year, so we got to try and get out there and do this study." And we say to them, "Well, if you really want to do this study, just hire people from our village, and we'd be willing to work with you, and we're all ready to go on that." And we did that a few times, and they weren't willing to keep those project going. So we said, "Well, if you want information, fly ahead, take pictures, and count that way. 'Because we're not gonna allow—if you guys are complaining about our peoples leaving footprints on our lands, while they're gathering food. And they're saying that they shouldn't be doing that, then forget it. 12:47</p>
17-3	<p>Mr. David Bill: (In Yup'ik) There's some Native's there that talk Native, and I don't have very good English. (In Yup'ik) There's two kinds of trawlers. One is the mid water trawler, and the other one's a bottom trawler. We started talking about trawlers, bycatch back in 2009. 2009 (In Yup'ik). But we as a Native people never talk with one language. (In Yup'ik) We talk different languages. You know why the -- I'm going to say it, but I have to say it. You know why the industry and some citizen groups won that year? (In Yup'ik) They talk one language. One word. One number. We were talking three languages. Yukon was talking a different language, a different number. Kuskokwim was talking a different language. And we as a coastal people didn't talk the same language. That's why we lost. If we could talk one number (In Yup'ik) we would have stand neck-to-neck with them. (In Yup'ik) What I said was if we talk the same language and go to the Council, the people from Yukon, people from Kuskokwim, people from the coastal area, go to the Council and sit before them and talk one language, I think we will stand neck-and-neck with them. We have to learn how to talk one language if we want something. Nowadays we're talking about salmon, king salmon and all over the place. One of the elders a long time ago, they were passed away, they were one of the Nathans (ph) down on Nelson Island, and they passed away. He said, a long time ago when there used to be a lot of reindeer in this area, even Hooper Bay and Nelson Island, in this area. There were a lot of reindeer. But people started fighting over them. And we got to fighting over those -- because they were fighting over the reindeer, the Maker up there just had to say, oh, you kill a thing to do with them, and they're gone. They ain't no more reindeer now in the area. He said, the same thing with fish. If you talk different languages about the fish, it will get fewer and fewer. It's up to us Native people to stand up before the officials and talk one language to them. We will -- we might be standing neck-and-neck with them. Thank you. 20:38</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E18. Cultural Awareness.

18-1	<p>Interviewer: I was reading ANILCA one day, and I come across in the very beginning of that Act, in eight-O-one five, it says, "Congress shall enable rural residents with unique and traditional knowledge, with a meaningful involvement in the management of fish and wildlife and of subsistence uses." And when I read that, I said, "Why in thirty-two years have we never defined the word 'meaningful involvement'?" What did they mean of 'meaningful involvement of our subsistence users in those management process, why did they not define that? And so I said to my colleague, to my friend, I said, "I want to go and ask subsistence users, what they think is meant by that in the law? What is a meaningful involvement?" Because if the federal government will not define that, I will ask our subsistence users to define it, so we can move towards, how do we make that a reality? Andy Rollins: Let me give you something that I've fought over. If they were to exercise meaningful involvement, let's take Obama for an example. If he were to take meaningful involvement, he would leave everything he owned behind. Type-writer is one of the most important resources the United States has. Without it, we wouldn't get anywhere. Leave those behind, come here, live in the tent in the spring. Live in a mud house in the fall. Because of one friend(?), he's not used to all of this. Live in the plywood shed in the winter [laughter], maybe with insulation. Of course, without the monitor or woodstove. That is what I call meaningful involvement. Living off of what we live off of. And the time it's spring. The time is spring. He would have some knowledge, although it's not one hundred percent, it showed to him. But he would have some knowledge. He would then probably have walked the same mile I walk. Instead of saying, don't criticize, don't try to get yourself involved, until you have walked a mile with him, or two. [Laughter] Interviewer: Do you think that it would help for those managers like on the Federal Subsistence Board, that are with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife, the Bureau of Land Management, the U.S. Forest Service, the BIA—Andy Rollins: BIA is always there. Interviewer: Do you think that if those managers, who are decision-makers, were asked to go to a fish camp, ah, to go and participate in what is involved in subsistence, just even for a short window of a week or something. Would that help to give those people an understanding? Do you think that that would help? Andy Rollins: I will answer you in the most positive [way]. It would give them the knowledge. It would not give them the certificate like every place you go, like every place you go, you have to certified, and it would give them the knowledge. What they eat would also be sufficient, eat some raw fish, down to stink head. And they would probably understand. 4:17</p>
18-2	<p>Bobby Sterling: My work is primarily involved in subsistence advocacy and it has definitely been an uphill challenge. And we pedaled our bike as hard as we can in the [inaudible], like Board of Fish, Board of Game, the Federal Subsistence Board and the North Pacific Fishery Management Council. We try to give our positions and all the data associated along with it. But it seems like the people that are involved in the economic side, whether it be commercial fisheries or commercial data operations and other people that. . .that are not dependent on the food for. . .for its ah, nutritional value always seem to get the upper edge on us. And the board. . .the composition of the boards and councils and the. . .and the ah. . .and the ah, regulatory bodies are—seem like they are extremely heavy weighted towards ah. . .towards ah. . .commercial side. And we have several people that are involved in the systems that are—that really know the subsistence way of life. But the vast majority are people from the outside. Interviewer: Ah-huh. Do you think these guys sitting on these agency boards ah, when they don't have a good grasp of ah, subsistence and what it means to live in remote areas that it affects your ability to make decisions that are effective for rural and remote areas? Bobby Sterling: Ah, most of the people on the boards and councils they ah. . .they have a very limited exposure to the true subsistence way of life. I mean, they have their own ah. . .they have their own understanding and a lot of the people are from the urban areas and have never actually participated in—in the harvest of salmon resources or other fishery resources, never seen the processing, the traditions of ah. . .the first catch, the community celebrations, . . . instruction that we receive from our Elders and the proper way of processing, the proper way of harvesting and what to do after harvesting—harvesting the resources in respect to the animal, and so it's—it's not—for our subsistence purposes or food security purposes, it's not just necessarily for the food alone, it's also paying respect to the animal, ah, paying respect to the creator. Then we participate in a subsistence ah, activity. And the vast majority of the people that sit on these boards are not aware of all that—all that goes into it. . . it's—the feeding the family is just a portion of it. There's a huge cultural and traditional and perhaps ah, spiritual portion, that ah, that is poorly understood. Interviewer: Okay, . . . if you had maybe offer a suggestion . . . maybe some of these agencies on ways that they could improve this understanding of . . . cultural practices and values . . . what suggestions would you might offer to these agencies on that? Bobby Sterling: It all depends on what their comfort—comfort level is. Ah, perhaps ah, trying to participate in a—in a customary traditional hunt . . . somebody that does that practices the ah. . .the harvesting and the spiritual and the cultural tradition, then follow it. 6:11</p>
18-3	<p>Bob Riley: I mean that's what those CDQ's are for. They're there to provide revenue for people who live in rural places or people that live in these tiny little Villages that otherwise don't have any opportunity. Interviewer: Ah-huh. Yeah, don't get me wrong, I think that CDQ, I mean Ted Stevens did a pretty—pretty awesome thing when he did that. And I'm sure that there are generations of Alaskans that were—that are ah. . .benefitting extremely from it. Bob Riley: The decision is whether or not these things do more harm than good or more good than harm. And—and—and determining that is an open question at this point, but for people on the Kuskokwim, some of them realize that connection and some of them don't. And—and some of them care and some of them don't. And so you can't just—you can't just point to even one Village, much less a group—a larger group of people and say this is the opinion. I mean, because it's not. It's—it's a—it's a mosaic and the working group itself is evolving and as part of its evolution it is both benefitting from all the information</p>

	<p>it receives and it's ah... it's understanding has grown to encompass these management strategies, management information as well as the—as well as the local knowledge. But even though it doesn't necessarily agree with the management agencies, it may no longer completely agree with the other stakeholders, the other ones that have not benefitted from—from those close collaborations that increase and improve each other's understandings. You know, us taking in their point of view, them taking in our point of view you know, the rest of the stakeholders have different opinions and they don't necessarily agree anymore with the working group. 7:27</p>
18-4	<p>George Sanders: I don't know how to go about this. And, I feel a little bit awkward even saying it. We need some goddamn local managers [stressed]. Somebody who lives out there, who's gotta vested interest. You know. Do you think that. I mean, I was the principal at the school in Aniak for 18 years. I, you know, I worked two years up there. I worked at the university. I worked all over out there in education. But, do you think when I raised my kids in Aniak that I was not a butt, much better educator and principal because I raised my kids there, and I had something to lose. You follow me. Interviewer: Oh yeah. George Sanders: You know. I had a vested interest. I still own my home out there. If I had a place that I would, would never want to leave if I knew I was gonna die that's where I'd kinda like to die is right there, you know. I mean that's where my heart is. Well I'd love to have a manager out there, that that's where their heart was. Their heart wasn't here in Anchorage, or somewhere else you know. Interviewer: When you say that. Just so we can be clear for the record because I think this is an excellent point. Are you referring to the need for local managers from the State side of this thing. George Sanders: Yeah, yeah [stressed]. Interviewer: And, and involved in this Kusko George Sanders: Yeah, yeah, yeah. We got. I mean see that's the genius or the great thing about [Federal Manager—Name Removed] and [Federal Manager—Name Removed]. They are from the area. Interviewer: Yeah George Sanders: They got a damn vested interest. That's why they were willing to shut that damn thing down this summer and the State wasn't I think. Interviewer: I wanna jump on this because I think you make an excellent point. You were talking about the need for local managers. You'd like to see more local managers. George Sanders: That's why I say. That's why I'm glad [Federal Manager—Name Removed] and [Federal Manager—Name Removed], and even [Federal Manager—Name Removed] are much more local in his thinking than most of these managers we got here in Anchorage. 11:15</p>
18-5	<p>Josh Owens: One of the other things that I've noticed over the years is that, you know the regional manager of Fish and Game biologist who works here in Bethel... fishery biologist, he's only here like from April to end of September, or something to that effect. And he's in Anchorage for the rest of the year. He doesn't know what's going on during the wintertime, the seasonal changes, and seasonal experiences of the winter, compared to last winter, this winters wet, and there's a lot more moisture in the air then we've noticed before. It's something that Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game will not—unless they're here—will not notice... But a lot of decisions are made based on, 'Oh, this is our forecast. And this is what we think is gonna become it.' When other environmental factors were not even considered... Like ah, you know I'm from the village of Hooper Bay, sometimes we don't get king salmon or chum salmon in large numbers because of the prevailing winds during the wintertime... If the wind is blowing from northwest most of the winter, then we can say, 'Oh we anticipate there's gonna be a good run of salmon in Hooper Bay. Because of the Yukon River, ah, the water coming out of the Yukon is being blown south.' I mean, towards south, towards Hooper Bay. If it was, prevailing wind was from the south, of east, it blows it out away from the land, so there wouldn't be as much salmon that people will anticipate during the summertime. So it's those things. It's not just, ah, the numbers that people are saying, oh this is what we had; this is what we had a few years ago in terms of numbers of fish return to the river. But in terms of both north and south of the Yukon, and even on the Kuskokwim River, for that matter, it depends on which, what the prevailing wind has been during the wintertime. And if you're going to be seeing some of these resources being made available to you. And then we plan accordingly. And it's something that you won't necessarily hear from Fish and Wildlife, or Fish and Game, except for some of the people that have been working for Fish and Game in Emmonak for quite a long time. They hear that, and they start to understand and realize that. But, people in Anchorage just don't, if they're not there, and never been there, they never understand what's going on. They may be a biometrician. They may be a chief research biologist or something like that, but if they've never been there, they're not going to understand it. And I think that's one of the issues with ah, with [Federal Manager—Name Removed], he's never been here in Western Alaska. He spends most of his time down in Kodiak. 12:6</p>
18-6	<p>Mike Wallace: We could have done this over the phone it would have been as easy. Interviewer: Yeah, but I wanted to—I wanted to and see—and sit with you. You know, I—I couldn't do that but I'm out here learning too. You know what I did yesterday? For the first time? I ah, we travelled 'bout fifty, sixty miles up the, up the [inaudible] river on snow machine. I never done anything like that. Mike Wallace: Yeah, yeah. Interviewer: And we trapped—we trapped a land otter. Mike Wallace: Ah-huh. Interviewer: And we got a land otter and ah, I watched, watched my friend's father snare that animal. And then they brought in a caribou rib cage and stuck it on—on a kitchen table. Took a sawzall, cut that thing in half and I got to watch. Mike Wallace: Oh, I'm glad you did it, yeah. You know we—we could describe all this to you but you won't know exactly what's going on unless you're there to see it right? Interviewer: Yeah. Mike Wallace: That's what we need those managers to go out. Actually come out and visit our area and stay and, you know take—see what it, what it's like to live out there. It's not easy, it's not easy as going'. . . well you [inaudible], you might know that. Interviewer: This is a special time, you know, this is a special time for me, you know, I—I went down there and we were driving out across the snow machine, middle of night, my first night here and I was a little nervous. We were doing about fifty miles an hour which I heard is slow, and I was holding on to my friend and ah, and he stopped and he said, you see that fox? And I said ah, I said no. And he—he scooted up about three hundred yards and there were the trail—or the tracks of the fox. Mike Wallace: Ah-huh. Interviewer: And I said, man how did he see that? Fifty miles an hour, middle</p>

	<p>of the night, he saw that fox and ah, being out on that river in the middle of the night and just driving off into what, to me, was a nervous situation you know and ah, but, it was a special, special moment . . . and I think, you know I agree, I think we need managers to come out so that they can see and experience these things. Mike Wallace: Exactly. Interviewer: Because I would never understand a relationship between people and animals, the natural world unless I could see those through the eyes of my friend. You know? Mike Wallace: You need to go out on a moose hunt now. 16:6</p>
18-7	<p>Nick Larson: We usually have two meetings [Council meetings], one in fall where they introduce regulatory proposals [that] they want to introduce. And if you can't do it yourself, you have someone that are knowledgeable in writing regulatory proposals. If you do it in a common language and present it to, like . . . like all those proposals. The idea of all those four proposals was to eliminate all the other user—one, for Kwethluk they were trying to knock out sport fishermen's inside the river for king salmon. The idea is try to allow escapement. Because you are sport fishing with sport fishing gear, fish don't ah, when you use ah, some kind of lure like spinners, or they rarely use bait on this river, unless you're going after whitefish or grayling. The idea is to try to eliminate, or ask them not to fish on the river, so the kings can go by up there to spawn. But it got shot down by the board over in Anchorage. At the RAC level, it was accepted, because the makeup of the RAC are mostly Elders from this area, or people that are actually users. By the time they get to Anchorage, the RAC, if it's under the State, they don't know us, they don't know how we live, how our lifestyle is, and none of the State board members are from our area. The Board of Fish one, you can say rural user is way up the Yukon, half-breed Indian. Part Athabascan, part white. Interviewer: Do you think that it's because this breakup of—or this lack of subsistence users on the Board of Fish, versus what we have on the Federal Subsistence Board? Even though it's minimal, three to five, or so, that—Nick Larson: Ah, Alaska's Board of Fish, but on the Federal Subsistence Board it's a much more, we're almost right about even right now, I think. Just last year, I think they introduced two more members that are for rural area. For a long time, it used to be one man against four. Interviewer: Ooh. But do you think if you want to get business done, local business done, and proposals through, that the Federal Board is easier to? Nick Larson: Of course, because they have three members that are from rural area, even though four of them are from urban areas. Interviewer: Do you think when those RAC meetings are made part of the public record, versus the advisory committees, the State Advisory Committees, do you think the RAC meetings being public, part of a public process, it helps ah, to get subsistence users, concerns, and proposals heard better than the State? Nick Larson: I think they could be. The problem is, if their staff, whoever makes, writes up the staff analysis that's under the Federal Subsistence Board is more knowledgeable about rural areas, if they do a good presentation, the chance of that proposal passing is much higher. But if it's an outsider doing that, he'll have a different presentation, or different picture, and your chance of getting that proposal through is very slim. Interviewer: Ooh, uh-huh, because of the lack of knowledge they have about these areas, and these? Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, not knowing the area that it's coming from. 17:18 and 17:54</p>
18-8	<p>Interviewer: Do you think if the Fish and Wildlife, for instance, had some kind of a, an educational thing set-up to where, if you're going to be on those Board of decision-making panels, that we make it mandatory to attend culture camps, or attend a fish camp for a week. Or get some instruction of what it is like to live and be out here. Do you think that would help? Nick Larson: Yeah, it would be very helpful, 'cause one time I had one young guy out of ah, he was Fish and Wildlife biologist staff over from Anchorage. He wanted to know, find out how we lived at a fish camp. I let him stay at my fish camp for, almost a week, three, four days. I let him go out fishing with me, get slimy and bloody, and let him sleep on the beach. I asked him to bring your own pop tent, and you eat what we eat. And he, he agreed with that. He said he learned something that college never taught him. . . . Interviewer: That's what this whole experience has been for me. Nick Larson: Give them a real solid orientation . . . Go out before day break, stay out there, come back at night fall. Interviewer: Eight o'clock at night you know. And what, how much gas that costs, too, you know. Nick Larson: Yeah. When I used to go out and trap on the trap line, I was working out of Bethel, come here and my trap line here from evening, and sometimes I come back at two, three in the morning. Still, I had to go back to Bethel by six o'clock in the morning, go back to my desk job. 17:34</p>
18-9	<p>Mr. Lorrigan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I got part of that. We hope that it is a step in the right direction. The response we've been getting is that it is positive. We anticipate consultation if a regulatory proposal appears to be restrictive and not so much if a proposal were to liberalize harvest. So it falls in line with human nature to make sure that they're as free to do their subsistence activities as possible. We also -- I want to point out in the implementation guidelines that there's training requirements for the Board and the Federal Staff. And one of the high points of that is that we're encouraging the Federal Subsistence Board to participate in subsistence activities with tribal groups in their fish camps or hunting camps, to actually get on the ground and experience the lifestyle with them. Granted, most of the Board members are non-rurally-qualified, but they can help pack a hind quarter or cut meat or, you know, hang fish strips or something, but give them an opportunity to experience what you guys do all the time. 20:11</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E19. Process.

19-1	<p>Interviewer: Whenever you're calling in on those teleconferences, and you're listening and discussing some of these issues, are there ever times when you want to say something to managers to, that you just feel like you're unable to say, or it becomes difficult? Adam Cooper: Yeah, yeah. A lot of times too, there's so many people in the teleconference, you don't even have time to say what you want to say; there are a lot of people are on the teleconference. 3:4</p>
19-2	<p>Interviewer: What do you think would have been, what has been helpful about the Regional Advisory Council since you've been on it? And what do you think has been most challenging? In whatever way that you would want to put it. Andy Rollins: The most helpful? Interviewer: The most helpful about it. Andy Rollins: The most helpful is when they, the Council themselves, report, one by one, because they're dealing with what we're facing right now, the current and later on, we'd be able to do something about it, everybody trying to get something done to that effect. Working together. Like earlier [in the conversation], they were in the same boat, paddling the same speed, and getting to that same target, hit that target. And with all of us together, there's something's that the ... [agencies] need to do themselves, needs to accomplish themselves. But we all need to bring in our share of thoughts, our share of solutions in our mind, and put that together. <i>Yup'ik</i> Eskimo women make ice cream. They use the shortening, and then they use the berries, cranberries, and blueberries, whatever. Interviewer: Yum-yum. Andy Rollins: And then you mix them together. It doesn't finish the job until they mix everything and it becomes <i>agutak</i>. For each council, each participant, each entity, organization, the traditional council, the corporations, words that were said in there, at that meeting, at the end could be put into the bowl and mixed into to finish that job together. Everything that is said in there, is put in there to make it, to produce it, to finish it. When it's done, it's ready to eat, it's done. You're writing down all of those things that are said together. Together, they accomplish it. 4:15</p>
19-3	<p>Interviewer: What would be less intimidating, but be meaningful for the people of these communities, in your opinion? What would be a better way than having them come in front of those mics? Tommy Griffon: Just like how they used to do it back in the old days, in the <i>qasgi</i>, you know, in the men's house. They sit around like this and they talk. You know, some of them are real quite the whole time, and at the end they say something good. John Griffon: It's not interrupting somebody, you let them finish, and everybody gets equal time to talk. Tommy Griffon: A lot of people in these [formal meetings], they say, "Oh, the times up, we need to keep moving, you know. In the <i>qasgi</i>, what they used to do is probably sit all night talking sometimes. I don't have no idea how they used to do it. But if there was an issue, and one person didn't agree with it, then they'd all sit down and talk. But out here, there has to be a certain number of people to disagree and to sit down and talk about it. You know, I don't know. Interviewer: You know, this is no easy thing to answer, you know. And—John Griffon: I think in the school in every community, that's when you get your best results, that's when things are going to work. Tommy Griffon: Not come to Bethel or Anchorage and sitting in front of a mic in front of people you don't know. John Griffon: Like how many managers are there? How many Elders are there? There are a lot more Elders than managers here. Ten to one, probably, or hundred to one, who knows. And the government says that it costs too much money to go out there. Tommy Griffon: These guys out there buying brand new machines. John Griffon: Out here it costs an arm and a leg to buy a machine. Interviewer: You just hit the nail on the head. This is what I am going to recommend, it's come out a hundred times, more realistically, about nine times on tape, but enough times. The point is that for effective results, managers must be willing to go to communities. It's not happening enough. John Griffon: They get paid to do it. Interviewer: They're getting paid. John Griffon: What are they complaining about? Interviewer: So why is it not happening, you know? And if there is some kind financial ah, issue that's keeping them from doing it. If that be the case, then it's time to work on that issue and make it happen. Tommy Griffon: It's time to quit buying these brand new Etec's. Two thousand thirteen models. Interviewer: You're right, and I cannot overlook what you just said right there, because it is the truth, because if you open that garage out there, there are thousands of dollars in vehicles. Tommy Griffon: Tens of thousands. Interviewer: Tens of thousands, the amount of money—Tommy Griffon: Two snow-go's make twenty-four thousand dollars, only two of them. Interviewer: And for the record, let's just, I mean we've been here the entire time, and nobody knows more than the three of us. But I'm just going to ask you guys, you know not my remembrance, but how often would you say those snow machines would be used in the last three months. Tommy Griffon: Rarely, very rarely. John Griffon: Half a dozen times. Interviewer: Half a dozen times, and I believe that. Tommy Griffon: And there's more than a, maybe a dozen or more snow machines in there. I could be wrong. Interviewer: As many snow machines, or more, then there are workers up there. You're right. And that is reality. Tommy Griffon: Plus the snow machines out there, not in the garage should have a couple thousand miles, those are still brand new. John Griffon: I could just tune them up. Tune them up and they're ready to go. Interviewer: And so the point is valid. We have all these machines, we have all the ability, all the gas, all these things—but it's not happening. Tommy Griffon: They want the top. They're lazy and greedy. Tommy Griffon: If you think about it, they don't want to go drive to the village; they just want everybody to come here. And they're greedy, because they want top of the line machines. John Griffon: They want top of the line shit for their stuff, but they're not willing to do top of the line work, you know, going out there. This is where their money is going. This is where it needs to go. Interviewer: Okay. You know I'm just gonna, just to clarify what John just said, he just said, this is where their money is going, and he points to his one finger and he means the machines and equipment. And this is where it needs to go, and he points to his other finger. And he means, and I'm guessing, putting people to work, out in the land. John Griffon: Mmm hmm. Out in the schools with Elders. Interviewer: Out in the schools with Elders. I want to put that on the record, because it is an</p>

	<p>extremely important point. And it's ah, and you know, who better to even answer that question than the three of us and [US Fish and Wildlife Refuge Information Technician], because nobody spent more time inside of this bunkhouse this winter, than us. And we have seen it with our own two eyes, observed it every day. And I think that is an accurate statement to say that those machines have left that garage six times. John Griffon: And the only ones they take out are them Etec's, too. Tommy Griffon: Them brand new ones. Them other ones are just fine, I bet one new spark plug and just fine. Interviewer: Yeah, and half the time it's more—I've heard it said by the new biologist, "Let's just go out and take a spin and train." John Griffon: Yep, I remember that. Interviewer: The point is not, yeah you remember that. The point that I'm making right now is that those machines are rarely being used to actually go to communities and seeing people. John Griffon: Why don't they actually use those for a good purpose? Interviewer: In fact, I bet if we went out there and asked Joe how many times he took a truck to Oscarville and not a machine. I mean hell you don't need a truck to go to Oscarville. John Griffon: They leave those things [he is referring to the Feds leaving the trucks out in the parking lot and rarely using them] out here. Interviewer: You don't need a truck to go to Oscarville. John Griffon: All those cars and trucks out there, those minivan, or SUV's or whatever. Tommy Griffon: Suburban's. John Griffon: . . . suburban's, what they can do is fill those [vehicles] . . . up and go to villages. There's a plowed road to every village out here, plowed. 10:55</p>
19-4	<p>George Sanders: Alright. Now, I tell ya I came up here in 1967. You know, it's like I work with my community school groups. And I've always worked for boards since I've been up here. I've [always] worked for boards. And, I think that these guys. I think the organization as it setup right now is very patient with the communication process. I think they're very patient. We violate Roberts Rules of Order every time [chuckle] we have a meeting. I promise you. And, I tell you that I believe that it's the way that it should be. We get people in there that get wild hairs up there you know what. Absolutely, they're being, being relaxed about Roberts Rules of Order is helpful. You know when it gets right down to crunch time. I know, know, the parliamentary procedure as well as anybody, but, they kinda look the other way. They don't worry about too much. It seems like sometimes the members of the group like me, we worry more about parliamentary procedures. And, if we get down to where we gotta split a hair then we look literally at Roberts Rules of Order and we go by that. But I think they're pretty patient. They, I think the whole group, us, all of us are, are pretty patient with everybody's wanting to express themselves at this meeting. That's not saying that even though we're that open with Roberts Rules of order, letting everybody express their opinions that everybody's opinion is expressed. There's a natural reticence on the part of those people. You know to get involved in that process. And they have different levels of understanding of the process, and different levels of understanding of the biology of the fish and all that kind of stuff to. So, I'm not saying that everybody gets a chance to get their two cents worth in just because it, uh, uh the disparity in the ability to communicate and understand what's actually going on out there. 11:2</p>
19-5	<p>George Sanders: I think that part of what the State is pushing here is, uh. And I said this at one of their meetings, and boy [Upper Level State manager] really got pissed off about it. It's a matter of administrative convenience. Because it's really inconvenient administratively when you get a bunch of Native people out there pissed off because you're shutting the season down. And the lower they can make that escapement rate. That escapement number. The less they'll ever have to shut the fishery down there to protect the resource. Interviewer: That makes sense. George Sanders: And that's, that's just the way I see it right there. . . . Interviewer: And, I don't know a whole lot about it. George Sanders: It is, it is risky. Well, and if they could just wait two or three more years. If they didn't try to just jam this damn thing down our throat like they're doing. If they can wait two or three more years and let their theory play out. Then they could turn around at a meeting three years from now and say look we told you this back then. We thought this was the way it was gonna, and now we've established that this is the way it's gonna be. Let's plan from here on based on our model there. And everybody in that group is gonna be eating out of their hands if they do that because you're gonna be able to show em something on paper. I mean we're all. Particularly those of us who are educated in western ways you know, we, we believe evidence. The whole scientific methodology is built on presented evidence, proven evidence you know. Interviewer: And historical evidence. George Sanders: Yeah exactly right you know. 11:10</p>
19-6	<p>Interviewer: If you could decide the level of your involvement with managers in the management of fish and wildlife how would your role be different. Like, if you could. Maybe I could rephrase that. If the level of involvement. Let's just say from the Kuskokwim Working Group. If that could be different how would you see your level of involvement? George Sanders: There should be one person designated and paid. Full time employee to work for us. You know, I'm a volunteer. [Working group member] is a volunteer. [Working group member] is a volunteer. We're all volunteers. We don't get a damn penny for any of this stuff. . . . and uh, consequently things fall between the cracks. If you got one person who's working there 40 hours a week who's . . . answerable to me or [working group member], or [working group], or all three of us. You know the minutes would be taken. Things would not fall between the cracks. We would meet deadlines. You would take all of the pressure off of [State manager—name removed]. Poor [State manager—name removed] he's not a secretary. He's a trained fisheries biologist. He's no better at being a secretary than I would be. You know, and I'm not worth a damn at it. I know because I depended on secretaries all my life. From principal to every job I've had, you know. But we just need one person designated to work with [stressed] and for [stressed] us. [State manager—name removed] works for [State manager—name removed]. You know you can. When you read the minutes and you read the observations from our meetings. Its skewed [stressed] . . . You know, it's skewed. It's not necessarily reflective of subsistence interests or sports fish interest, or something like that. And, so that's the one thing that they could change right there. Which I think would put us on a much more. Equal footing is probably not the right way to say it. . . . But, if I, we had just one person working for us than I wouldn't have to explain that to [Name Removed--</p>

	<p>Upper Level State Manager] first, [Name Removed—State manager] second. Uh, [Name Removed—State manager] over there third. [Name Removed—State manager], or [Name Removed—State manager]. You know because there's not one person there. Not one centrally located place where all this information could be funneled into. It puts those of us who are volunteers, kinda of in, or volunteers in kind of an awkward position many times, and it makes us spend a lot of time. Interviewer: Just to be clear for the record. When you said this person. If there were such a person would best be...if they were somehow detached from the Fish and Game in the sense of, if their meeting notes, uh, there wouldn't be this fear of reprisal for writing the meeting notes in any other way than to reflect the opinions perceptions of the meetings and the users. George Sanders: Yeah, yeah. I, you know your notes in a meeting as you know from your training too. You're only actually making notes usually on your action items. All of the opinions that everybody expresses. You don't want to be writing all that stuff down anyhow. But, when it comes up to an action item like something about. Are you gonna write this letter, who wrote the letter, why didn't you write the letter. And all these kind of things which actually require some clear action you know, that would be clearly reflected. ... I would hope that whoever that person was would avoid putting opinion and stuff like that there anyhow. So they wouldn't have to worry about pissing [Upper Level State Manager] off, or pissing me off because maybe I was on the other side of the issue from John or something like that. But, I, uh professional person like that who was hired. They'd be able to deal with that anyhow. But the point is. Then when John wanted to know what's happened on such and such. He can just go, call right to that person. There's the answer right there. This has been done you know. And then, he doesn't have to call me, or he doesn't have to tell [State manager] to call me. And then [State manager] tells me to call [State manager] back and tell him what I've done. Well there's four or five people involved there. It's just inefficient [stressed]... That person then also could make all the travel arrangements, and do all these other things you know. And we could without appearing that we don't appreciate all that the Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game does for us. We could complain about the communication problem that we've got with this teleconferencing you know. We could complain without having to, uh, well that guy complains all the time anyhow. At least it's just coming from the one person who is designated [stressed] to be a complainer. So, it just kinda, it depersonalizes the situation. 11:13</p>
19-7	<p>Interviewer: To deal with the communication between managers and subsistence users at these formal meetings, the way they do. I'm sure you've been into a RAC before, you know, more times than you can count. In those formal settings in those meetings what could we be doing differently? Josh Owens: I think the ways to improve it, is the way that we did it back in eighty-four with the migratory birds that we had one formal meeting, and then that information was shared with each and every one of the villages. Either by cluster of villages or by individual villages. And ah, what Fish and Wildlife did was they had ah, refuge information technicians that they sent out to the villages to help convey that information, convey that concern. And there's less refuge information technician's nowadays than before, even though there's a few of them. But when that issue came up, they found ways to have local people work with that information and shared it with each and every one of the villages. And so that worked, as well as good communications between AVCP, Fish and Wildlife, and the Waterfowl Conservation Committee. I think ... that Kuskokwim Salmon Management working group is okay, but ... you know, they're picked by the State of Alaska, who is going to be sitting there, but they don't have the people in the villages be the ones to decide who's going to be sitting there. 12:19</p>
19-8	<p>Mr. Adulocob: My name Joe Adulocob (ph). I'm kind of nervous, because I never testify in front of groups like this. You know, all those years that we've been talking about the fish going down and down and down. Not only the king salmon is happening that. Also the halibut, what we fish down there now from island, they're getting smaller and smaller. And not only have I known that, also David Bill knows that, because he's the long line fisherman. You know, there is law, it says wanton waste. And I work for Fish and Wildlife, and I'm a refuge information technician, and here's what we always presented to the hunters. If you leave a certain amount of birds or the meat, that's the wanton waste, and there's a charge on that. What about the trawlers? They throw abundance, thousands of pounds. What about those? And, Alex, (In Yup'ik). When you throw five meter (ph) apiece, we get citations and we fined. What about those people out there who are trawling, throwing the bycatch. (In Yup'ik) I've gone hungry because my dad was too poor. David Bill knows that, probably many of you knows him, too. I don't want my grandchildren to go through that, what I go through. It's not fun. Somebody should start act and support our subsistence way of life, not giving us a hard time. I was there. And today some people, they laughed about it, that we eat -- us Eskimo people eat seal blubber and they laughed about that. It's not funny. It's not funny. I was there. David Bill knows that. I was there. It's not good when you're hungry. And I don't want my grandchildren and their children to go hungry like I did. I don't want them to go through what I went through. So do something to those (In Yup'ik) trawlers. Do something about that, because they are the one, not us subsistence fishermen or hunters. The trawler was the one that's causing this problems. <i>Quyana</i>. [Public Record] 20:6</p>
19-9	<p>Secretary Aloysius: I, the first Federal Subsistence Board meeting I went to, I don't know, four, five years ago maybe, and when I walked into the room and I saw all these people from up there, up there, and when it was my turn to speak, I said, you know, when I first came in here, I was overwhelmed. And it just -- you know, something came over me, and I said, if I had anything to do with it, all of you people wouldn't be up there. We have 13 regions in the State of Alaska representing 13 different diverse Native peoples. I said, every one of those 13 nations would be represented up there as the Federal Subsistence Board, because they are the ones who live that life. And they should be the ones up there listening to the public and expressing to the public what their concerns are from their region, and bring that to D.C. and not have it come down from D.C. through the departments and you appoint this and you're appointed this, you're appointed that, and ... it doesn't make sense because it has to come from the people, ... and I'm always of that mind, that someday that Federal Subsistence Board is going to be all Native people, men and women. [Public Record] 21:32</p>

19-10	<p>Jennifer Yuhás: The language that you see before you is what we agreed to in our Staff working group, and that is the language the Department would like to circulate for comment for this go around. I do need to make a note that the Department is evaluating the value of the MOU based on more than the language. And a couple of those items are that as Steve pointed out, until 2008 we only had an MOA, a memorandum of agreement with initials, and we didn't have an MOU under 2008. That's also the point in time when the Office of Subsistence Management began funding the liaison office at Fish and Game, so that added an extra layer of obligation for us. We have been informed very courteously that if there is a cut from the Federal budget to the Office of Subsistence Management, that this program would also be cut. So that does affect whether or not that obligation would remain if our funding is cut. We also have been asked how the Memorandum of Understanding is functioning for us, and it's very difficult for me, because I have some very good colleagues over at the Office of Subsistence Management who I don't believe have ever had an ill-intention or done anything maliciously, but we have had several missteps over the course of the last eight months where the State has been excluded from meetings, not purposefully, we've been forgotten on lists when Staff have changed positions, or people have been acting for other people. But it has affected our ability to participate, and we've had to follow up meetings with letters saying, actually we didn't participate in that meeting, and we have a different opinion. That's not really the way the Board [Federal Subsistence Board] designed this to work. They designed the collaboration between the State and the Federal agencies to give them one correspondence so they could understand what happened at the meeting. And the liaison office has had to play some catch up in those meetings, because we've been excluded. And that's not a reflection on anybody's ill-intent, but we do have to report that that has been a hardship. [Public Record] 21:23</p>
19-11	<p>Bobby Sterling: And the other thing about the Federal Subsistence Board...I think if they were to take the Federal Subsistence Board and probably revamp that and make it a citizen appointed—appointed citizens on the Federal Subsistence Board that it would truly begin to reflect the cultural, the traditional, the spiritual values in subsistence...A lot of the Federal Subsistence Board members never lived in the Village. They've never participated culturally, traditionally or spiritually in a hunt or fishing. You know, but when you have a . . .Federal Subsistence Board with board members who grew up and that have done that then they can really begin to understand. Interviewer: So do you think that the way that board sits now with the members that are on it, there is an unequal representation of true subsistence values? Bobby Sterling: Yes...It improved some by the additional two public members. But, you know, that's only two out of . . .probably over seven...I really don't mind the managers being there...Serving dual purpose making regulation...It should be a citizen appointed board. Period. Because all of those people that sit on the Federal Subsistence Board, they all answer to somebody, and they all answer to people in DC. Whatever DC wants will be...through that majority...And if you have a citizen appointed board they will make a decision whether a person in DC likes it or not. And it'd be more based on Alaska . . . is totally different than the rest of America...I don't know what's the big fear about having a whole bunch of rural people making up—making their own decisions versus decisions being made from DC handed down to these management heads. Now, I think that's a dangerous system for me, I mean with the stroke of a pen they'd easily wipe out my cultural, my traditional, my spiritual ties to the resource. 6:15</p>
19-12	<p>Josh Owens: So, I raised that up as an issue at the last Federal Subsistence Board meeting in Anchorage a couple of weeks ago, and said, "You know if you have a MOA or MOU with the State of Alaska for them to be managers of our resources. And you are pretty-much not fulfilling your responsibility, you should also consider having an MOA or MOU with Alaska Native Lands, which is about forty-four million acres within the State of Alaska." So...meaningful is...pretty-much defined by people in D.C. or elsewhere. And I know that the local refuges office would like to have a meaningful working relationship with the people, who live in the villages within the National Wildlife Refuge, but they get directives from Washington, D.C. and they say, 'You kiss ass to the State of Alaska, don't piss them off.' 12:22</p>

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E20. How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation.

20-1	<p>Susan Carter: I sat on the Federal RAC Board and I can't even remember the years ... Several years in the early two-thousands. And I didn't like that process as much as I like the working group process. I felt like—I still feel like in both processes your hand are tied but, that's all I had been involved and your other question was management decisions? Well, you know, we always want to be a part of management decisions. They just don't always take our advice, which is to me not a good situation. 1:2</p>
20-2	<p>Bobby Sterling: My work is primarily involved in subsistence advocacy and it has definitely been an uphill challenge. And we pedaled our bike as hard as we can in the [inaudible], like Board of Fish, Board of Game, the Federal Subsistence Board and the North Pacific Fishery Management Council. We try to give our positions and all the data associated along with it. But it seems like the people that are involved in the economic side, whether it be commercial fisheries or commercial data operations and other people that . . .that are not dependent on the food for . . .for its ah, nutritional value always seem to get the upper edge on us. And the board. . .the composition of the boards and councils and the . . .and the ah. . .and the ah, regulatory bodies are—seem like they are extremely heavy weighted towards ah. . .towards ah. . .commercial side. And we have several people that are involved in the systems that are—that really know the subsistence way of life. But the vast majority are people from the outside. 6:25</p>
20-3	<p>Bobby Sterling: In the North Pacific Fishery management process, we went down to Juneau for a meeting with the</p>

	<p>Governor's assistant—special assistant for fisheries, at that time it was Cora Campbell [inaudible] and Ben [inaudible] was the Commissioner of Fish and Game. There were a number of us that went down and we met with them and we were advocating for a much lower bycatch limit, thirty thousand at maximum cap. We cited ah. . . the Yukon River situation, the direction that it's headed. We cited the inability for the subsistence harvest to—to meet the amount that's necessary for subsistence. We cited our commercial fishery totally out the door, the local economy totally out the door. Ah. . . but the Commissioner's office and Cora at that time, who was working for Governor Palin, told us that they had coastal economies to consider. So, ah. . . at the Council meeting, there was a groups that was advocating for higher bycatch river, we were advocating for a much lower bycatch. So they kind of went in between us sixteen thousand maximum cap, forty-seven thousand five hundred seventy, or something like that as a performance cap. Ah. . . but that statement of saying, "We have coastal economies to consider." You know, "Screw your way of life. Screw your commercial fishery." It kills me that the ten billion dollar . . . troll fishery primarily out of Washington State. 6:24</p>
20-4	<p>Josh Owens: I went to one of the Federal Subsistence Board meetings in the past and made a comment, "You know it's pretty, it's, I feel pretty bad that, you know, when I live out in rural Alaska, and I have to survive off the land, and the rivers and the resources throughout the year, that most of the decisions that are for the management for these resources that we live off of, is being made by grocery shoppers. And the current chair of the Federal Subsistence Board has used that comment more than once. Because he heard me make that comment, that ah, most decisions that are, that effect my livelihood of living off the rivers and lakes, and ah, the land resources, the decisions are being made, are being effected by decisions made by grocery shoppers. So that, that, that gets me angry and frustrated. That's why we need our own people to manage our own resource out here. And the problem, also, is that, you know, whenever they have a resource issue, guess who they blame? The people that live on those resources, on the lands and on the resource system. But it's okay for them to allow for wastage out in the Bering Sea by some of these other harvesters that don't take in the resource for anything, they just throw it over. 12:7</p>
20-5	<p>Josh Owens: And ah, and you know in the past when I participated with the migratory issues like the YK Delta goose management plan. They stated it was a, a co-management structure, but in essence, according to the State and federal government, they are to manage and we are to cooperate. And it still seems to be that way. Today we're dealing with the migratory bird protocol amendment that was adopted back in nineteen ninety-seven. And we have what we call the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-management Council. But still at the same time, it all, ah, there's ah, what we call a two-to-one vote, where the Native community have one vote, the Fish and Wildlife has one vote, and the State of Alaska have one vote. And in the past what has been going on is that, whenever we sit down for a meeting, every time we bring an issue, the representatives of the State, as well as Fish and Wildlife are always saying that we don't have the authority to support this, so therefore we are going to vote no on a proposal that comes from the Native community. And what we have stated, or what I have stated here at AVCP is that, why make rules and regulations that will further reduce your customary and traditional use of subsistence harvest. If you have an issue, deal with it only when you have shortages or in conservation concern. Don't make rules and regulations when you don't have a conservation concern. 12:31</p>
20-6	<p>Josh Owens: But I know that I've had a lot of concerns and I've expressed my concerns to [Upper Level Federal Manager] and to other people. And the other day we had a meeting of the ah, Native caucus. Which I chair of the Alaska Migratory Birds Co-management Council, and I raised the concern saying that you know, seems like every time we have a project that can't be worked out by villages, the State of Alaska is the one who gets the contract. And when it comes to advocating on behalf of our people, with the subsistence uses, ah, the State of Alaska Subsistence division never has the power to have whoever makes the votes do it in favor of our subsistence hunting and fishing. So, I know how this, how their system works. So it gets ah, very frustrating. And I walked out of ah, a couple of the Migratory Bird Co-management Council meetings, because every time we raised an issue, the State of Alaska and Fish and Wildlife would say, "We don't have the authority to support this proposal, therefore we'll have to vote no." And I said, "You know, if you keep, if you guys keep using that as an excuse, when we have a conservation concern out within our region, I'm going to say, "I don't have the authority to vote to support the proposal that you're coming up with." Because I'll have to leave it up to the people in the villages. We're not going to make rules and regulations that would out, make them outlast for harvesting food. And so they had a meeting that Crystal helped put together, ah, a year ago, in April. And now the objective is to try and find a way to move to yes, instead of just constantly saying no to proposals coming from the Native community. 12:40</p>
20-7	<p>Interviewer: if you, if you had any questions that you wanted to ask, out of the Fish and Wildlife, or the State, what would, what would you ask? Josh Owens: I'd ask them, "When are you guys gonna be working more closely with people in the villages, and in what ways and what forms instead of trying to dictate to us what you think and what we should think and what we should not think. . . . and one of the major things is, "How are you willing to work with the people in the villages to allow them to work with you, instead of making them criminals?" So, you know, I think what happened last summer leaves a lot of bitterness towards the State and the Feds, even though the Feds did not necessarily enforce their rules, but they know that they're a player in all of this. And most of the things that went down is that the Feds have given away most of the responsibility to the State, which is causing a lot of animosity that is still being filtered in. So, you know, meaningful, what is meaningful? Interviewer: . . . if you're asking me—Josh Owens: No, I mean, ah, the question is, to them [Federal and State Mangers], is what is meaningful? 12:42</p>
20-8	<p>Josh Owens: And ah, one of the problems is that the former director of the office of subsistence management is a, was a former Fish and Game biologist, or fishery biologist. So, you know, he's allowed to put contracts together with Federal funds, and allow the State of Alaska to do the research for them. Yet when we, as a Native organization want</p>

	<p>to do some research under eight-o-nine (809) of ANILCA. You know, where they're allowed to be able to build capacity. They don't want to do that. And if we put that information together, we're not allowed to use that information that we've compiled to bring it up as issues of concern during the Board of, State of Alaska Board of Fish or Board of Game meetings. Interviewer: Wow. Josh Owens: So they're in essence, ah, I feel that we're always ah, trying to push forward to having a meaningful participation. You know people say that Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association and ah, the working group are there, it's their interpretation of saying that they have ah, meaningful participation. But it's not. One of the reasons that we pushed the Inter-tribal Fish Commission, is to have our villages have more of a role in fishery managers. Because ah, one of the things that happened back in nineteen eighty-four was an agreement between AVCP and the villages, as well as Fish and Wildlife, and other states. We worked together to try and conserve a waterfowl species. And it was agreed to by both the people in our region, as well as the ah, representatives from the wintering grounds of California, Washington, and Oregon. And we build that waterfowl population up, and we've been working together with them since then. Ah, every time there is a concern by the states in the wintering grounds, we sit down and talk to them. Ah, and if we say no on a proposal that they have, then they don't follow-up with that proposal. And it's, it's communicating with the people in the wintering grounds, because they know that it's, these migratory birds are our food source. But when you come to the State of Alaska, fisheries management, moose management, you know our people in the villages really don't have a say, except when there's a conservation concern. The burden of conservation is primarily placed on our people. So is that meaningful? You know, the State of Alaska and the Fed's would allow for people to get permits to bring in outside hunters to these lands, that they consider to be public lands, yet when our local people try and do that, they give them as much restrictions or limitation that they can, that don't allow our people with some of these things that can be done by other people who come from outside of the region or outside of the state. 12:44</p>
20-9	<p>Matt Conley: I used to think the Kuskokwim Salmon Management Working Group was you know, was the—was great, was local people in control of their resources. Wasn't really true last summer. Ultimately, I guess. 15:22</p>
20-10	<p>Nick Larson: Even with the local working, the Salmon Management Working Group, there are too many people on there that, couple of them are commercial guide operators, one of them is a commercial processor, fish buyer. And all these other people from the villages are more subsistence-oriented. They, they want people to have food on the table. And those people that are guide operators or commercial operators, they want money in their pocket. Yeah, then at the end, they always say the ... [agency] will make a decision, and staff will make a recommendation, and that cuts us right there. Even though they do it real nicely, but the thing they are saying is, "We manage, you cooperate." That's the bad part of it. Interviewer: Ooh, that's the message that they send to people? Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. But I've been one of the very few people that can go in there and sit and listen to them and I'll tell you what's wrong with this picture, and they never like it. Cause ah, one time, I got to the point I was almost cussing them out. It was something about not giving us enough time for subsistence open window. And they were listening to me, and the next time, when I sat before them, [someone] said, "Don't cuss them out this time." Okay, okay, I'll try to be subtle. All: [Laughter] Nick Larson: It's really frustrating, you want to fight for your people, and you've got nine other people looking down on you, "You're not in our world." [Laughter] 17:40</p>
20-11	<p>Mr. H. Wilde: Yeah. Mr. Chairman. (In Yup'ik) That's where we're going to get the Yukon River, Y-1, 2, and 3. (In Yup'ik) 100 chums drift -- or seine. When I was younger, (In Yup'ik), when the first came Federal subsistence, one old man told me, Harry, I think these people are going to help us. You guys should -- young people supporting them, what they do. Because he's an elder, I try to understand. I go up there in the area, work with them. But I tell you today, I am 83 years old. If I know that time, I would have never touched them or helped them. I tell you the truth. I've been doing that. Now that they're going to give us new subsistence way to get it. Seine, dipnet. We never done those before. I don't know how it's going to work. Even commercial, they want us to use that. That time when I were younger, instead of supporting the first people that came in, white people, down in the coast, I would have never supported. I tell you the truth. But they're not supporting us. They're not helping us. Go out there in Yukon -- ocean out there, people are -- white people, fishermen, they throw away the king salmon, chum salmon, throw them overboard. But they come to us, we're having a problem all the time. I hope that you understand that today we have no choice to do things. Our ancestors' land where they fish, they're no longer there. They take over, white people. They call them fish and game. So it's very hard for the elders. I don't know how many times elders tell me, Harry, why you do this? I'm not -- I never done nothing. <i>Quyana.</i> [Public Record] 20:1</p>
20-12	<p>Mr. Bill: Yeah. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I might be off the record or something by saying this. I was there at the Board of Fisheries meeting. I guess what I'm trying to say is it's the worst ever I've been to the meeting. I went home disappointed, really disappointed. Most or all of the proposal that came from Kuskokwim area, they all failed. And other proposal made it okay. What I mean by that is other areas, weren't from subsistence, they made it okay. But all of the subsistence proposals, they all failed from Kuskokwim. I just want to know, I guess I'm trying to -- what I'm trying to understand is how come is it like that this year. I've been going to Alaska Board of Meetings since 1980s. This is the first time I ever seen anything like this. That's my question, I think you know, and why did that happen. [Public Record] 20:30</p>
20-13	<p>Chairman Roczicka: I feel like sometimes I kind of run things a little bit too quick. This is a frustrating job in many ways. Sometimes I think we're sitting as more tokens, although I do see it as a role that has a lot of meaning. I could probably argue about how meaningful it is sometimes, or how I feel on that side. I think there's a lot of problems with the structure, but I don't believe in complaining about something unless I'm trying to get something to make it better. I</p>

	know one of the frustrations that I hear people express a lot about the regulations and things that we have to deal with, and one thing I'd like people to keep in mind is that one of the main reasons for regulations I think that are becoming more prevalent and harder for people to deal with is that we're using tools now that if we're not careful, we'll end up destroying the very things that we're trying to protect. I look at history of what happened in the Lower 48. I don't want to see it happen here. The 30/30 rifle killed off millions upon millions upon millions of buffalo. The snowmachine did it for our moose here before we had the moratorium and the regulation on the Kuskokwim. Those are the kind of things that we've got to look at, too, so it's really difficult. We're looking at just only one generation since all this came down. Early 1970s. 60s, 70s, early 80s even before regulation really came into play in this region. That's a very recent clash, and it's a major clash. Hopefully it will even itself out over time. Generational changes ... [Public Record] 20:31
20-14	Mr. H. Wilde: Before you move from there, I'll show you something for Yukon River. Yukon River (In Yup'ik) for this summer, fishermen, order your gear, five-and-a-half gillnet, dip net, beach seine as soon as possible. It's not our fishermen, buyers, this is not there come from. This is coming from Federal subsistence fishermen. You could see and understand down in the ocean they throw them overboard, king salmon and chum salmon. In the Yukon here, we will have a hard time trying to have king salmon. It's going to be lot of problem this coming summer. It's going to what you call in <i>Gussack</i> way discriminating the Natives. And out in the ocean fishermen, they let them throw overboard king salmon and chum salmon. So me myself, I've sit here for I don't know how many years. I've been getting tired. When you get to 83 years old, I think before you learn something to satisfy your people. It's not even worth it to be sitting here. <i>Quyana</i> . [Public Record] 20:37
20-15	Nick Larson: Okay, hold on, I'll look for a newspaper where I put that Delta Discovery newspaper away. Okay, it was right where I was standing. Like, this was the refuge managers always come up with the financial studies in our region, and I think in here, somewhere, Alaska Board of Fisheries decision on the Kuskokwim area proposal—proposals that come in from our area—these are just an example. Ah, this year they come escapement goals for our river, Kwethluk River, Kogrukuk River and these are upriver. But the whole Kuskokwim stem drainage is about a hundred twenty-thousand. And that's their escapement goal. But the last, up to seven years, the rivers I know that never made their escapement goals are the Tuluksak, Kisaralik, Kasigluk, and Kwethluk River. And these four rivers, spawning rivers, produce fifty percent of the runs on the Kuskokwim. Kwethluk itself, the refuge manager of Fish and Wildlife went on record publicly and said, 'You're the sixth largest king salmon producing river.' But the last, probably I know, the last five years, better than five years, has never met their escapement goals. The problem we see is that, like I said, it's all those intercept fisheries out there, before they get into our river. And over here, after long extended subsistence closures, they open it up below our river, and they intercept the fish that are going in there to spawn, they open it too early. I think if they allow them to subsistence fish early in the season, and let the peak of the run go by, up to their spawning river, they'd have a better management. 17:30

Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E21. How Managers Perceive their Participation.

21-1	Bob Riley: It's not just the stakeholders that are suffering wondering whether or not this process is working for them. We're wondering whether or not it's working for us. And you know, I mean there's two sides to this whole story. Interviewer: No, yeah, yeah. Bob Riley: And so and—and right now at the end of this interview you've gotten to some of my more negative impressions about it, but that's not my normal impression. My normal impression is ... the positive one. Interviewer: No ... Bob you have said many important things in this interview ... Bob Riley: Well, that's very nice of you to say, but I probably was more candid with—with you than—than necessarily my supervisors would have liked me to be. 7:30
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E22. Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council.

22-1	Interviewer: Could you tell me about ah, an experience that you may remember ah, that—or when federal—with either federal or state managers or both, when it became difficult? This—any, any specific experience maybe you remember. Susan Carter: Well you were there. Interviewer: Yeah. Susan Carter: I mean it was ah. Yeah. I was chairing the meeting and they were wanting to add more closures and were going to the back room to talk and ah, and you could feel the frustration in the room from the stakeholders and they were really clueless as to ah. how difficult of a time people were having. Not so much in Bethel but in the Villages ah, getting ... out there and getting food on the table and for some of the Villages and it just was real frustrating that that's when I realized that they're biologists, they're researchers and they don't put emotions or the cultural or there's none of that involved in their decision making process. They're going by the books and I wanted them to understand that you need to bring that other piece in there and they didn't get it and added the additional closures so I guess that would be this summer and even last summer those moments when I realized that ah, that it's just black and white for them. And they—the compassion ah, just couldn't be there in their minds. They just—the emotion, the. . .just. . .they were mandated by law. And that was frustrating. Ah, it had to be that way. I thought we
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	<p>could still have a small window of opportunity and still achieve ah, our goals for this summer. ... Interviewer: Does that ever—does that ever, ah. . . lead to feelings of powerlessness when you're working with ... Susan Carter: Yeah. I wanted to leave. I wanted to quit. I wanted to not go on radio and not ah. . . I mean to be on radio with those guys too is really hard, taking calls and then having the federal representatives look at me like ah, I was the bad person for disagreeing with them. It is frustrating because you know that you're gonna—you're—I'm the one and [working group member] is the one and people up and down the river—the stakeholders, we're the ones that gonna have to go back from our meetings and say I'm sorry they didn't listen to us and, and it's frustrating. And yeah, there were times I just felt like, okay I had enough, I wanna quit and I can't. Interviewer: You know I heard this—I heard this in ah, in the, in the RAC and I was goin', going through the four hundred and some odd pages of the RAC transcript and Bob Aloysius had said ah, in the very beginning, he said something about ah, this process makes me feel powerless to my community. When they ask. . . especially when the young people ask me, you know, to go and talk with the managers and I have to tell them, I've tried. I've done this and ah, and he said I don't know what to say. Susan Carter: Ah-huh, and [working group member] really feels that. . . yeah. Frustration. All of us. Interviewer: It ah, you know, it kinda—it kinda hits home you know, to ah, to hear that at the RAC meeting, at the Kuskokwim meeting and ah, especially when the federal state managers like they did on the twentieth and the twenty-sixth just put their foot down and said we're not budging. Susan Carter: Ah-huh. Yeah. Yeah. And, and you kind of like, think, oh gosh, you know, maybe [subsistence harvester] is right. Let's just go for Tribal management like they. . . they have done in Washington. There's been some Tribal management and it's working, but this could work too, if they give the stakeholders equal say. I mean, our—our is as valid as theirs and has as much weight as ah—because I don't think we're ever unreasonable. We want the same thing. We want the same thing. Ah, the fish to return year after year. Some things are out of our hands with ah, environmental impacts and what's going on out there in the ocean but we all want the same thing. Even the people that are fishing in the ocean, I know. . . like here on the river we just want all [inaudible] catch to quit. Well, if there was a way that we could do it all, you know, let's work on that because ah, ah, there's greater needs too. It's not always just about us. It's about other people and other users and how can we achieve goals. And, and have it be fair to everyone. So it's gonna be interesting next ten years as we try to resolve some of the differences and the state and feds are less threatened if they empower us I guess, you know? I don't know why they feel that ah, right now we're just an advisory. It's silly, because if you give people equal say then you're all going out there together saying well, you come sit in this seat and you help make these decisions, you know, and you'll—we're—you know, you'll learn that these aren't bad people. Or they'll learn that we're not—we're not wanting just to go and ah, fish out the resource that's not our intent ah, in wanting to have a subsistence opening. Ah, we just. . . we—you know give us just don't close us down entirely. Let's figure this out, let's get a window of opportunity, close it down again and, and ah when one resource is not plentiful people have always looked to other things that were plentiful. . . if it's chum, silvers instead of ah—or like this year or last year, instead of fishing the kings. We're opening up chums and I was reminded by some Elders that ah, that's the way it always was. And they didn't always concentrate on kings 'cause the kings tore up the nets and kings ah, they made hand—made handmade nets and the kings would tear those handmade nets easier. Ah, so they put up more chum, 'cause that was still the most plentiful fish before the optimal—optimal drying weather was gone. And now with the changes just in weather patterns, you know we had good drying weather for our chums and, and maybe not so good for—I mean I've cut kings in rainy weather ... I don't know. Kevin, we'll just have to keep working on it. Interviewer: If you had to say what the intent—or what you would like to see happen if, ah—what I heard from what you were just saying is, is it's not just about having voices heard but it's about having input weighed. Susan Carter: Yeah. Interviewer: Your input weighed in the decision making, preferably equally as stakeholders of this river. Susan Carter: Yeah. I think that's the way the working—Interviewer: For consensus building. Susan Carter: Yeah, I think the working—that's the way the working group should—we should be moving towards that. That it should be ah, less us against them—ah, the biologists or your, your. . . you opinion as a biologist is ah—weighs more than my opinion as a stakeholder. And I think that's the way it should go, you know we're all. . . I would say all of the state and federal biologists will say about us that we're hard working group. That we are working too for the common good. That we ... that they respect us, I think they would say that. Ah, okay, now that you said all that then tell me that my vote is equal to your vote. ... Susan Carter: And that it counts. And let's go that route. Cause I think that's what needs to happen just don't ... I was trying to think of the word, just don't ah, you know, let us be your spokespeople and not have a. I—I'm not gonna, if it continues on like that then somebody else has to be that seat at the table because I want to be the stakeholder that is not a part of that group but comes and says—and gets adamant about the equal voice you know. 1:16</p>
22-2	<p>Susan Carter: If things don't change ah, over the next couple of years then I think that [working group member] and [working group member] and myself and some of these other people gonna say, nope, this working group is not working ah, and we're going to become the voice but we're not going to be a part of the working group. I mean, I'm not going to speak for them. . . [Working group member] wants Tribal management and I go [working group member], look at all the Tribal members on here. You know? We're not—we're never gonna—we're always gonna need biologists, we're always gonna need research, we're always gonna need that to help us make decisions. It's no longer just, you know just I know how many fish go up the river ... Interviewer: You just hit a good point. The amount of applicants that are applying for RAC membership has declined all over the state in every region since 2006. Susan Carter: Yeah. Interviewer: Every region. For the last seven years. If I were to ask you why that was—and you sat on the RAC. What would you say? Susan Carter: I—I didn't like the process of the decision making and that we were just advisory. Just advisory capacity and sorry. I want ah. . . if you want my opinion I want it to have some weight. If you want me to volunteer my time, you get paid to do what you do, you want me to volunteer my time I want it to have weight. My time to be meaningful my. .</p>

	<p>.and I—and that whole paperwork process you know, of RAC was a little over the top. Even when you travel and they were trying to tell me one time that I owed. . . I don't know that I owed some money back [laughter]. Interviewer: You owed money to volunteer? [Laughter] Susan Carter: I owed money back. And I thought, wait a minute, wait a minute, this was the per diem that you told me I had and I filled out the paperwork ah, breakfast, lunch and dinner [inaudible] and I thought ah. . . and, and it was just that whole paperwork process of the feds. Even just to even get on the RAC board it was a process. And I just didn't like it. I just didn't like the feel of the meetings. I didn't like ah, I just. . . when did—when did I quit the RAC board, bought five years ago Eddie? Yeah. It just—I couldn't do both the working group and the RAC, didn't want to do both, even though they. . . it might have been good because Bob does both and there's RAC representation on the working group. . . it was just too much for me. I just didn't feel like I was adding much. . . my voice wasn't ah. . . I just didn't feel that it was worth the time and effort. I just—I just think the working group concept is a good concept ah, and we have RAC members on there. They're part of—and, and I think the ah, the working group it is more fulfilling to me even though I have greater frustration—great frustration with it that—than I had with the RAC groups. I just, ah. . . Interviewer: Do you think that—some of that has to do with the informal nature of just being at the round table? Susan Carter: Yeah. Yeah. When you're sitting there? Yep, yeah. I—yeah, that's a good part of it. But yeah, they make those RAC groups or meetings were so. . . yes, felt so formal and you know, you had each man speaking into the microphone. . . anyway, I don't know which, if I—if I could say to any—all of those people again I just would say, if you're going to create these groups ah, ah, and not give the equality of the vote on decision making process. . . it's not about the compensation, you know it'd be nice if [Council member] would get compensated or [Council member] could get compensated for his gas. . . you know, I mean, I been on it for now ten, thirteen years ah, and you do it as a volunteer ah, never get compensated, but if. . . to me that's not even as important as just, you know give me. . . give my vote and my opinion a vote. You know, give our people ah, the opportunity to say, yeah we're all a part of this, this is our decision. We, you know, might not work in like say fish and game favor or fish and wildlife, but we work at it together and here it is, we're closing it but we're going to give everybody a one day opportunity and there it is. So, yeah, I don't know what to say about RAC it's been a while since I've been involved but I remember feeling like, [audible sigh] oh, another RAC meeting. And here they're less—the RAC meetings are less than the working group. . . Interviewer: Less—they occur less. Susan Carter: Yeah. Yeah, yeah. That might be some of it Interviewer: Like the fact that when you come in there every—you get to come in there every week with people that you know around that table. . . Susan Carter: Ah-huh. Interviewer: So you begin to, to form some working relationships with people like [Fish and Game fisheries scientist]. Susan Carter: Yeah, Yeah. 1:17</p>
22-3	<p>Bobby Sterling: Ah, for the RAC processes or the RAC itself that was developed out of the eyes and visions of probably the regional directors, people pretty high up in these management agencies. And they. . . and I believe they were done without consulting people in the villages, how they would like to see a meaningful. . . meaningful ah. . . process and participating in—in the ah. . . ah. . . ah with—what was that meaningful participation in the management of the resources? Interviewer: Yeah, ah, it doesn't say—I think it says—it says meaningful involvement in the management of fish and wildlife. Involvement, participation, same thing, pretty close to. Bobby Sterling: Yeah. Interviewer: But. . . yeah. Engaged. Bobby Sterling: Ah. . . and, you know, the current processes of the regional advisory councils. . . ah, selection of regional advisory council members ah, going from a broad solicitation process, they're filtered through the Regional Council Coordinator, they're sent into the Office of Subsistence Management. The Office of Subsistence Management lets them know we support this and says, send it off to the Regional Director. The Regional Director goes to DC with those decision processes. How I think that they can possibly ah. . . make it a true local participation in the management process would be through ah. . . Tribal consultation in the selection of the RAC members. Ah, there is no opportunity for the Tribes to come in and say, yes we support the nomination of so and so. Or, we do not support the nomination of so and so and these are the following reasons. I know it's. . . might be more of a pain in the butt for the people that are doing research on these people if they were to do Tribal consultation or Tribal—or at least provide the Tribe the opportunity to support or not support people on these regional advisory councils. . . seems to me that. . . it's really important to get the Tribal opinion on the selection of these people when somebody, either in the—the local Fish and Wildlife office makes that decision or somebody in Anchorage or somebody in DC makes that decision, just based on what's down—what's on paper, I don't know that they actually interview these people or not. . . just based on the paper side of it, ah, it just comes out to, you know, people that the Tribes may or may not support. Interviewer: How can the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior be the most qualified people for choosing those representatives? Bobby Sterling: Yeah. 6:33</p>
22-4	<p>Nick Larson: The problem we had with the RAC was the other problem I brought out too, is that they don't send our meeting materials on time to the village. And sometimes, twice I think, on my RAC materials, they come in after I come back from my meeting. Interviewer: Wow. Nick Larson: They never arrive in time for us to review them. I brought that up, because I sit with the tribal consultees and committee, too. And maybe once or twice a year, they'll send me over, but like I said, they still don't give you compensation like the RAC members. They don't give us enough money to spend on our needs, and yet they expect you to be in there, a whole day in there, spend a whole day with them, they'll expect you to be on top of all their materials they send in. Half the time, better than half the time, they don't send them early enough for us to review them. Yeah, I did that. [name removed] I told the working group the last time I was there, that's the part I never did, I, they always say, "You're too blunt and frank with, sometimes you shock us." But sometimes you need to know what's going on out there, they are unfair to us. 17:45</p>
22-5	<p>Mr. T. Andrew: Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman. Members of the Council. For the record, my name is Timothy Andrew. I'm the director of natural resources for AVCP. And my apologies for not attending yesterday. I was trying to get on live</p>

	<p>streaming with the Area M meeting that's occurring in Anchorage at this time. But there are several issues that I'd like to bring before the Council. Number 1 is the Council meetings that used to occur in the villages were extremely valuable to people as we travelled to various communities. And it encouraged citizen involvement, not only from people from Bethel or from close proximity villages, but also a broad cross section of people in the outlying areas. I remember meeting out there in Hooper Bay where were had local testimony provided by local subsistence users. We had a meeting in Alaknuk, in Emmonak, in Aniak and various other villages. Unfortunately this level of bureaucracy that came in upon us to where we have to meet here in Bethel or in other approved communities, I think it's working against the Federal subsistence management system. I think it discourages a lot of people in our villages from applying for these RAC positions, because they're not involved any more. The only opportunity that they have to be involved is to travel to Bethel, and traveling to Bethel, as you know, is extremely important. But, you know, hopefully at some point this level of bureaucracy that is upon us will be removed and allow us to once again meet in the villages. I think to bring the management to the villages is more important than bringing the villages to the management process. [Public Record] 20:27</p>
22-6	<p>Nick Larson: I think the other thing I had in mind was, when those RAC members, I think the coordinators are supposed to help them on their logistics, and their lodgings. But the thing is, they always treat them—like they're regular employees, ah, they says if their gonna be on travel, their gonna call them, "Here's your T.R.(?)". They say, "No you can go with what we recommend, you can't change it." 'Cause a lot of times, if they send us a T.R. to go with a certain outfit that we usually work well with us. Like over here, you have three little small air carriers. You've got Era, which they have an agent with one little tiny car. Same with Grant, they have a four-wheeler, or a snow machine. The only carrier that has a good worker is Yute Air. They have Peterson that has a small vehicle. It's no fun waiting at the airport for an hour, hour and a half for your flight in the cold. One time I was waiting to go out to a meeting somewhere else, maybe down to Hooper Bay or Toksook, I waited at airport almost two hours for my flight. And by the time I got down there, I was sick, shivering cold. Then I told our current coordinator, "This doesn't work well." [The director said], "No, our office says we got to travel. Those other airlines are not certified." [I said], "What you mean not certified? They have better service though." And then if they let you travel on your own, they'll call you when you go and make all the efforts to go and make it. The other one is that they don't compensate you enough. You'd be here for a few days to a week; they only give you a hundred something, or two hundred something, two hundred-ten for the whole week. You're still hurting. You've got to pay for your lodging, meals, you have no spending money. Interviewer: What do you think about RAC members not being compensated, you know, for their work? Nick Larson: They don't give them enough money. But if you travel for, like a small village tribe, if they fund, they'll give you Federal rate to cover your lodging and meals, that's good enough. But if you travel for AVCP or Fish and Wildlife, maybe they'll only allow you forty bucks a day. I've done that with AVCP, they always give me like forty bucks a day if I travel with them. But they said they'll cover my lodging and airfare. And if you go with Fish and Game, they'll let you go with the cheapest possible route, or carrier, even if you had to go into Anchorage, they'll send you with Era, or ah, Grant. Mostly with Era, those little twin-otters, whatever you call them. Cramped, you just stay in there, stay cold for an hour and a half. Then if they let you over in Anchorage, they says you've got to stay in that, whether you like it or not, wherever they put you, you have to stay with them. And if the working group sends you over, it'll hold you prisoner from morning to evening. You only get one hour off for lunch. And if not, they'll provide you with sandwich and juice or pop. They'll let you stay in there all day long. They'll let you go out at four thirty or five, or sometimes as late as six in the evening. 17:44</p>
22-7	<p>Interviewer: Do you have any input on why you think we're not getting as many applications for the RAC membership as we used to? Nick Larson: I always tell the staff over in Anchorage, during the RAC meetings, I tell them we're not going to stay enough, because it's time consuming and it's very hard to attract younger participants out in the villages. Because I tried recruiting people from this village. They'll ask me, "How much they pay you for, how much stipend do they give you for attending meetings for a whole week?" Maybe hundred something I say for a whole week from Monday to Friday might be about two hundred." And they say, "Na, that's not enough to live for a day or two at the current rates we have to pay for services nowadays. Because they're used to getting stipends from the other agencies, like Federal aid, or State Aid, or if they go with a village agency, if they have their own funds, they might go Federal rate, and hundred eighty-something a day. And if you go on a, what they call an administrative level, they'll give you three hundred a day. And if you go for big corporate rate, maybe five hundred a day. That's what they're looking at, but they'll say if they don't pay you enough to attend that meeting there, money is a big factor in, nowadays. Interviewer: Uh-huh, that makes sense. Nick Larson: Yeah. Because they're spending that whole time away from their family, well away from their family for a week, a few days to a week. And their families want something, when they go back, they expect their dad or grandpa to come back with groceries or goodies from the town, they don't give us that much money to spend. You'd be darn lucky if you get a small-sized box for a hundred-something bucks from the store. Money is one big factor that we're not attracting younger participants. And they're, these types of meetings, they're time consuming. And they're all like I, I'll sometimes they'll go there in the morning all day long, well into eight, nine in the evening, twelve, thirteen, fourteen hours. Because sometimes I used to see them go to nine or ten o'clock at night...It's just kinda frustrating—you know by, like between three and four, three, four, five in the evening, people start to walk out losing interest, tired. They're brain-washed all day. Interviewer: Right. All: [Laughter] Interviewer: Yeah, it's exhausting, it is exhausting. Nick Larson: Especially you've seen our RAC, all the Elders. It's very tiresome for them to sit all day long. Interviewer: Mm-hmm, right. Nick Larson: I always ah, respect those Elder people that are in there. They can, well if they can hang on in there, maybe I can last through all day...It's the major complaint I get from these younger guys around here. If they don't pay you enough to stay in there, they want to go to some other, like they want to sit in the IRA or the Corporation boards where they get better</p>

	compensation for their time. And a lot of them are, they're not working. Especially the ones that sit with the RAC, because they're all Elders. And some of them, I know they live on a fixed income, ah, low income rates. 17:48
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

Table E23. Why Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating.

23-1	Bobby Sterling: Ah. . .and for a lot of people, for a lot of our people in our villages out here, the entire federal and state management system is just totally foreign. It's like a foreign government invaded our home community. Ah. . .you know, there's some. . .there's some understanding of the court system. There's some understanding of law enforcement. There's some understanding of—of the ah. . .you know, the forces that need to make the regulations but if they don't see it how are they going to learn about it? Ah, even RAC meetings in the villages, the AC meetings in the villages ah, give them a little bit of exposure to that. Ah, in many of my years that I've held this position we've always seen a very small amount of people from the villages actually travel to the regulatory meetings. 6:27
23-2	Nick Larson: you have fifty-eight villages right in this area. Hardly, better than ninety percent of them don't know how to make regulatory procedures, or be involved in the regulatory process. They don't even make one simple regulatory proposal. Because their staff, I think by law, or by their work, are supposed to go and help the people out there, or meet the people out there, which they don't do. It should hold to the . . . [agency]. Because most of the time, like I said, those proposals, whenever there is proposals that come in from a small community, chances are better than nine out of ten that it'll be denied; which always holds true. If you could instruct and educate people that can, that do attend meetings, ah, how to write-up a good regulatory proposal, and they may have a better chance. Like in those, that last Board of Fish that we had in Anchorage, people like myself and [Council member] out of Tuntutuliak and [Council member] out of Eek, they're veterans of all these regional advisory council meetings, they usually know what's in there, but their proposal that comes out of Eek, Quinhagak, or Bethel, and one from here, they were shot down, they lost by the vote of zero to six. And they need to learn how to work together. And there were new players from Akiachak and Akiak, they never address proposals directly. It's a, they never did like how the Fish and Game managed the species on our river, or they don't like the four-inch proposal is in there, but they don't know how to address which proposal, which specific proposal. There is no cooperation between those other villages and ours. But people that do have experience in attending meetings, they'll understand it. But the first time, stakeholders that are first time involved, usually are confused, or not knowingly—if we try to testify on one proposal, they come with something. They say, "We don't like the portion of that four-inch, you're proposal, we're against it." They're not addressing the whole intent of the proposal. And the board listens to them, "Oh they don't like it, we're not gonna go for it. Interviewer: Hmm. So you think we should, you think maybe we can do a better job from the state and feds, both— Nick Larson: Educating. The other one is ah, traditional and environmental knowledge. Too many times they always wave that one off. They can listen to you, but they cannot hear you—they can hear you, but won't listen. Interviewer: So when you say that, would you think that, would you say that traditional and local knowledge that it's given to managers by the subsistence users, that, so you believe that often times . . . it's meaningless to them maybe? Nick Larson: Too often they disregard it, yeah. But if it comes from their own biologists or scientists, they said, 'Here's good valuable data'. But if you give them what you have, they'll call it 'folklore', or something else, there's another word for it, that they always describe it. 17:22 and 17:23
23-3	Ron Gables: And this is why people interpret ah. . .us as not listening to the working group. So the working group passes a resolution that does not support, say, a decision. That the State is proposing. Okay, so they disagree with the state and its unanimous nobody likes it, the State goes ahead and vetoes it and implements whatever it's gonna do. Anyway. Ah. . .that—that smacks—I think people out here are on two different fronts, one. . .it—what you hear all—what you hear is why they're—they're inept because their vote didn't matter. It was vetoed by the State or the Feds. Regardless. And two, they're just not listening to what the working group is saying. And you hear that from working group members. Any time we—I mean, ninety percent of the time we agree, you know, we all agree. It's fine, okay we gotta do this, and we gotta do that. It's this other ten percent—it's probably less than that, ten percent of the time when we don't agree, which is. . .you know, we don't agree. . .Yeah, for whatever reason. Ah. . .they—and I heard this a lot last year from the chair. . .chairwoman and herself is that we're not listening. You're not listening to us or that we don't agree with them or when they disagree with us and that's actually not the case. We listen, we listen to everybody's point of view, took it all into consideration, however we don't agree with it. And ultimately that authority lies with the State and with the Feds. So, I mean if there were reasons why we didn't do. . .why we didn't agree with the State, we tried to articulate that back to ah. . .or agreeing with the working group, we tried to articulate back to them ah. . .but sometimes they just, you know, once we disagree and we move ahead, the blinders go up and you hear the, well, you didn't listen to us. Why are we here? If you're not going to listen to us, why are we here? Well, that's unfortunate because we do listen ah. . .but sometimes they make the wrong decision, you know? Based on the numbers, you know, based on what's legal, based on, you know, what's the best thing for the long-term sustainability of the fishery, you know, it's just. . .we can't—we can't . . . it's unfortunate when that happens because it does, it causes everyone to get very, you know ah. . .tense with each other and—and that's not what the—we don't want that, we're not trying to create conflict. We're actually trying to do the opposite of that by discussing it. 19:20
23-4	Bob Aloysius: For me, there's only one thing that has come up over and over again this summer. Where is the Council

	<p>and the Federal Subsistence Board, because we are dealing with subsistence. Where are they? Where are they? They're here to help us and they're not here. I hear that everywhere I go. And a lot of times I'm ashamed to admit that I'm on the RAC Council, because we're helpless. Everybody else is doing things to dictate to us what we can eat and when we can eat it. And yet the Federal Subsistence Board is there supposedly to protect us and help us get the subsistence food that we need. We've been there for 30,000 years. The Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game are new entities. The only education they have is based on paper. And I'll say this loud and clear, time and time again, our people say, the people who run Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife do not know what the subsistence way of life is. They don't live in a village, they don't live in a fish camp. It's very hard for people like me to stop what I've been taught to do ever since I can remember. And it's very frustrating for elders, and especially the young people who look up to the elders to say, what can we do? And the elders' response is, we can't do anything. Our hands are tied. Very frustrating. So, you know, there has to be something done. And the other thing, you know, we get the subsistence hunters, fishers, trappers, gatherers are always dictated without their input. They have no input. That's what they say, that we have no input. How come they never come and ask us what we need? How come they never ask us, you know, how we can help them, because we know, we live here. This is our way of life. We depend on the four seasons. We don't have a lifestyle that we do every day, every day, every day. We have a way of life dictated to us by the seasons. There's a hunting season. There's a fishing season. There's a gathering season. And a season to prepare. And that's our way of life. And it's dictated to us by nature. We have no control over nature. Nature controls what we do. And this is something that has to be understood by the Federal Subsistence Board and the people who make that Board. Our people live on this land. And we live on this land, because it offers us food to survive. And all of our elders, our real elders, tell us, when the food is there, you gather it, because it's only there for a very short time. Right in the peak of whole salmon season up there in the Tuluksak, Kalskag area, we were shut down for 12 days. Twelve days. We couldn't do what we're entitled to do, because of paper. Numbers on paper saying that there is not enough fish going up the river. So again the philosophy of the working people is the pen is mightier than the sword. And the pen that rights on paper is mightier than the way of life of the people that live here. There has to be some kind of a solution to make sure that the people that depend on the fish and the game of this land have the opportunity year after year to harvest what they need, because the window of opportunity is only three months long at the longest, because we have three other seasons that we have to prepare for. And, you know, that's our way of life and that's the way we think. It's in our mind, our hearts and our spirits. The land provides for us at only a certain time of the year, and we have to be able to harvest those foods at those times of the year. It's hard for people to understand that that do not live that way. And this is what I get from the people at home. My elders. The young people who are anxious to practice what they see the adults and the elders doing. They want to be involved. And yet we have to stop it, no, we can't do that, we can't do that. Why can't we? Well, it's on paper. The federal government and the state government said you can't fish, and our hands are tied. And if we go out and do that, we're breaking the law like the people in Akiak. They went out to harvest what they needed, and they had to suffer the consequences of that. The thing that really caught me was I went out -- the water was so high all -- even this spring. I went out, I made two efforts to fish. I caught one king in one drift in one place, and one red salmon in another, and that was the harvest I got for the whole summer. One king and one red. And because I have gear, I have boat, engine, nets, I was able to let the able-bodied relatives of mine use my boat, engine, and nets when it was open, because I wasn't going to go out there, you know, because gasoline up there is \$7 a gallon. Even the fish are right in the river right across the river from us, upriver from us, when they're not there, we have to travel upriver or downriver in the area that's open, and it costs a lot of money to buy gas just so you can put food on the table, or put food in the freezer, or put fish in the smokehouse to dry for the fall, winter and spring seasons. So that's my personal report. And take it for what it's worth. You know, we, the people who live on whole Yukon and the Kuskokwim Rivers depend on the food that comes to us. We didn't go chasing after it like our brothers and sisters in the Lower 48 where they had to follow the migratory bison. We wait in our fish camp for the fish to come to us. And if we don't have the opportunity to gather that, it's not good. It's not good mentally, emotionally and spiritually. It's not good for our young people. And they wonder why. You taught us how to do this, now we can't do it. [Public Record] 21:1</p>
23-5	<p>Chairman Wilde: The proposal passes unanimously support. One comment I wanted to make. This is a good time I think to do it since we've been asking for comments from the villages and we haven't had anybody from the village show up. I think one of the reasons might be that we've held the last I don't know how many meetings here in Bethel. And we haven't been able to go out to the villages where some of these proposals affect those villages. And that is the reason why we haven't had any village comments or anybody coming in from the villages for any of these proposals. Prior to this, when we were able to travel to the villages, we had a lot of input from the villages, but now that we seem to be stuck here in Bethel, it seems like all the people that are usually interested in coming to our meetings have just decided not to come or they're unable to at this time, because this time of the year is kind of important to the gathering of our winter supplies, so that might be one of the reasons we haven't been ... we're not seeing any people from the villages. [Public Record] 21:28</p>
23-6	<p>Mr. Adulocob: My name Joe Adulocob (ph). I'm kind of nervous, because I never testify in front of groups like this. You know, all those years that we've been talking about the fish going down and down and down. Not only the king salmon is happening that. Also the halibut, what we fish down there now from island, they're getting smaller and smaller. And not only me know that, also David Bill knows that, because he's the longline fisherman. You know, there is law, it says wanton waste. And I work for Fish and Wildlife Service, and I'm a refuge information technician, and here's what we always presented to the hunters. If you leave a certain amount of birds or the meat, that's the wanton waste, and there's a charge on that. What about the trawlers? They throw abundance, thousands of pounds. What about those? And, Alex, (In Yup'ik). When you throw five meter (ph) apiece, we get citations and we fined. What about those people out there who</p>

	<p>are trawling, throwing the bycatch. (In Yup'ik) I've gone hungry because my dad was too poor. David Bill knows that, probably many of you knows him, too. I don't want my grandchildren to go through that, what I go through. It's not fun. Somebody should start act and support our subsistence way of life, not giving us a hard time. I was there. And today some people, they laughed about it, that we eat—us Eskimo people eat seal blubber and they laughed about that. It's not funny. It's not funny. I was there. David Bill knows that. I was there. It's not good when you're hungry. And I don't want my grandchildren and their children to go hungry like I did. I don't want them to go through what I went through. So do something to those (In Yup'ik) trawlers. Do something about that, because they are the one, not us subsistence fishermen or hunters. The trawler was the one that's causing this problem. <i>Quyana</i>. [Public Record] 20:6</p>
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Note: Numbers after each excerpt represent coding call numbers in Atlas.ti.

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