

“THEY DON’T KNOW HOW WE LIVE”:
UNDERSTANDING COLLABORATIVE MANAGEMENT IN WESTERN ALASKA

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By

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Abstract

This research focused on three primary objectives: 1) identify barriers and facilitators to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation in collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska, 2) define subsistence harvesters' perceptions of a meaningful role in management, and 3) understand why subsistence harvesters' participation at collaborative management meetings has declined as indicated by a decline in applications to serve on regional advisory councils. I conducted semi-structured interviews with seventeen subsistence harvesters and three agency managers in Western Alaska. I also analyzed two public record transcripts of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council. Results indicate that subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska defined their meaningful role as the ability to work together and participate equally in management planning and regulatory decision making on management of fish and wildlife. Challenges to communication between subsistence harvesters and agency managers include language differences, use of technical jargon by managers at meetings, lack of flow of information between stakeholders, and the value stakeholders assign to one and others' knowledge. Interaction between stakeholders remains infrequent contributing to the lack of cultural awareness and understanding between stakeholders. Furthermore, factors which influence the timing of stakeholder engagement and where and how collaborative management occurs have affected subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation.

Subsistence harvesters' participation and applications for membership on the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council are declining at least in part due to subsistence harvesters' perceptions that their participation is meaningless and their role does not allow for their equal participation in decision making on fish and wildlife management related issues. Secondly, the lack of informal and formal meetings between stakeholders in Western Alaskan communities has resulted in subsistence harvesters' lack of exposure to the Federal Subsistence Management Program. To better understand subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation, I recommend that managers focus on how and why the differences between stakeholders' cultures, worldviews on land and animals, approaches to management, and perceptions of a meaningful role are interrelated to and influence the observable outcomes of collaborative management in Western Alaska.

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I never would have imagined that my master's thesis project would change my life. Rather than being the end symbol of a long journey hanging in the form of a diploma on my wall, this project marked a rebirthing. My eyes were opened to new and fascinating things, and my soul began to ponder many of the philosophical questions long held across the world about the true meaning of life. Following a fishing trip in 2013, I entered the door of my Yup'ik family's house to see the Yup'ik women swarming the fish we had caught with faces aglow and smiles all around. My heart felt so happy I wanted to cry. The richness of life that is obtained through a communal act of harvesting and sharing brings unimaginable joy that cannot be replaced. Last winter I left Anchorage, Alaska to complete a checkpoint in my long and arduous educational career. When I returned from the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, I was re-born inside. My childhood memories of helping my aunts to can green beans collected from our family farm were reawakened inside of me. The happiness I felt harvesting salmon with my Yup'ik family brought a moment of *déjà vu* I have longed to revisit for so many years. There is a certain and unique joy felt that is indescribable in words when engaging in a familial act of sharing and unselfish commitment towards others. 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.

Finally, I am reminded of the words of Barbara Took from Marshall. Mrs. Took warned me that “I needed to be careful what I wrote 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” (Field Journal Notes, Barbara Took 2013). Knowledge, I later learned is passed on exactly as it was told to Yup’ik peoples by their elders to ensure among other things that customs and knowledge are retained by the future generations of Yup’ik people. For myself, 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 many avenues of exploration to achieve a holistic understanding of stakeholders’ participation in collaborative management. I went beyond the meetings and into the homes and lives of participants. They entrusted me with their knowledge, and I have labored tirelessly to relay the information provided to me as accurately as possible. *Quyana*. Thank you.

Chapter One: Introduction

Justification

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

Congress found and declared 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 that largely led to my research objectives. 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 rural residents in the management of fish and wildlife during the past 34 years? Third, if Section 801(5) expressed that rural residents would have a meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife and of subsistence uses, then why are the regional advisory councils to the Federal Subsistence Board often referred to as *subsistence* regional advisory councils by the Office of Subsistence Management? Referring to the regional advisory councils in such a way may be interpreted by some as limiting discussion and planning conducted at regional advisory council meetings to only subsistence related issues at the exclusion of other important matters related to fish and wildlife management.

Although the U.S. Congress has expressed its commitment to implementing Title VIII of the ANILCA and involving rural residents of 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 rural residents of Alaska in state and federal management of fish and wildlife. Gallagher (1988) found that Alaska Native peoples were heavily burdened by the overload of work involved in their

participation in the planning and management processes used by the state and federal governments. Gallagher (1988) observed communication challenges between Alaska Native peoples and land managers. It has also been observed that Alaska Native worldviews do not intertwine with agency managers' conceptions of natural resource management and conservation planning (Easton 2008; Gallagher 1988; Kawagley 1995). The public meeting process used by the state and federal agencies was inadequate and inappropriate for optimal participation by Alaska Native peoples in conservation planning and land management (Gallagher 1988).

David Case (1989) later examined the ability of both the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission to recognize Alaska Natives' subsistence needs while also providing opportunities for co-management. While the Marine Mammal Protection Act granted Alaska Natives exclusive rights to hunt sea mammals, opportunities for co-management were not provided for 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 participatory approach (Case 1989). Since Case's study in 1989, an amendment to the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1994 made some key changes. Most importantly, the 1994 amendment provided the National Marine Fisheries Service and the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service with the authority to directly enter into cooperative agreements with Alaska Native organizations (Buck 1994). Since Case's initial work, questions remain as to what in fact constitutes co-management, whether or not specific management frameworks represent co-produced and/or co-managed institutions, and what changes in current management structures would represent positive steps towards the creation of more effective co-managed systems for natural resource management.

More recently, Jacobs and Brooks (2011) identified factors affecting the meaningful role of Alaska Native peoples in agency conservation programs and projects. They interviewed subsistence managers from the National Parks Service, United States Fish and Wildlife Service, and scholars from the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Some of the factors Jacobs and Brooks (2011) identified as detrimental to meaningful participation included: 1) The reliance upon formal public meetings by regulatory agencies to identify Alaska Native concerns (which may

actually reduce participation due to its overly formal nature); 2) A continual lack of trust among Alaska Natives with regulatory agents due to their historical mistreatment further complicated by communication issues; and 3) The failure of agencies to reform employment policies which currently make it extremely difficult for placing Alaska Natives in professional positions. These are examples of barriers to meaningful participation for Alaska Native peoples. The findings

	SE	SC	KA	BB	YK	WI	SP	NW	EI	NS	TOTAL
1995											104
1996	13	18	11	10	19	11	20	11	10	5	128
1997	18	11	11	7	8	7	7	4	11	4	88
1998	13	10	15	8	18	11	9	9	7	8	108
1999	17	15	7	12	16	7	7	5	7	6	99
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
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*
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

Average 14.88

Average 104.22

Average 10.63

Average 70.88

Figure 1. Number of Regional Advisory Council Applications Received Between 1995 and 2012 (adopted from the Office of Subsistence Management 2014:60). *Too few applications were received in the initial application period so a second call for applications was published. This number is the total of both application periods open that cycle.

of Gallagher (1988), Jacobs and Brooks (2011), and others indicate a need for further investigation of how state and federal agencies may promote greater quality participation among rural residents and improve collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Alaska.

The number of applications submitted by rural residents in Alaska for membership on federal regional advisory councils has been declining since 2005. Figure 1 contains information on the number of regional advisory council applications received between 1995 and 2012. Between 1996 and 2004, an average of 14.88 people applied annually for membership on the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council). Between 2005 and 2012, the average number of applications submitted annually declined to 10.63. What is more concerning is the fact that the number of applications submitted during these same two periods declined statewide in all ten Federal management regions of Alaska. For the period between 1996 and 2004, 104.22 applications, on average, were received annually by the Office of Subsistence Management. That average declined to 70.88 applications submitted annually from all ten management regions of Alaska between 2005 and 2012 (Figure 1).

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 (ANCSA). During this Congressional hearing, Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska questioned the outcomes of the meaningful role of rural residents in fish and wildlife management in the past 33 years as provided for under the ANILCA. Murkowski stated:

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? How do you actually 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'm fearful that often times what we get is 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've got 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, rural residents of Alaska who participate in the federal regional advisory councils seem to possess very little decision-making authority in the management of fish and wildlife. Social science research that explores rural residents' involvement in collaborative management is vital to understanding what factors are affecting their participation, how they define a meaningful role, and why their participation has been declining. My overall goal is to shed much needed light on these important issues related to collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska.

Objectives

Building upon the investigations of Gallagher (1988) and Jacobs and Brooks (2011), this research seeks to expand our knowledge and understanding of the challenges and opportunities that are currently affecting meaningful participation of rural residents in collaborative management in Western Alaska. My research objectives were: 1) identify what barriers and facilitators affect rural residents' meaningful participation in collaborative management of fish and wildlife, 2) define a meaningful role as it is perceived by both rural residents and state and federal natural resource managers, and 3) identify factors that are contributing to an observed decline in participation by rural residents in the management of fish and wildlife.

In addition, I empirically examined a proposition adapted from Hall (1976): Unseen cultural and epistemological drivers of human behavior substantially affect the outcomes of real-time negotiations between rural residents and agency managers during collaboration and other formal interactions between the two groups. I propose that incompatible worldviews on land and animals and approaches to fish and wildlife management exist between rural residents and agency managers. These differences oftentimes are not perceivable or are unconsciously overlooked during the course of collaborative management engagements. In this thesis, I attempt to understand how cultural differences impact meaningful participation in collaborative management in Western Alaska.

Subsistence Management in Western Alaska

Critical elements of subsistence management in Alaska are discussed to provide a historical context. I focus on subsistence, identifying who is a rural subsistence harvester, and what the outcomes of fish and wildlife management mean to those who have a subsistence way of life in Western Alaska. Then, I describe five collaborative management groups currently working in Western Alaska.

Subsistence, What Does That Mean?

Because the ability and the right of the Yup'ik people to continue practicing their way of life in the best way they see fit for their children and future generations of Yup'ik people is at the heart of the Yup'ik peoples' concerns, I believe it only fitting to begin by discussing the ambiguous definition of subsistence itself. In Alaska, a subsistence priority is given to all rural residents on Federal public lands. The term "subsistence" has been used to define a great many different groups of peoples' ways of life, and primarily by persons who are unfamiliar at best with the ways of life which they seek to define and thus describe by applying the word subsistence. The word subsistence held no meaning to the Yup'ik people or to any other Alaska Native peoples prior to the arrival of Federal and State land managers and their conservation policies. Agency managers often use the word subsistence to describe the hunting and fishing practices and activities of Alaska Native cultures and peoples. Consequently, Alaska Native peoples have been labeled subsistence users. What the term subsistence attempts to define as interpreted by Alaska Native peoples is entirely something different.

The Merriam-Webster (2012) Dictionary defines subsistence as "The condition of remaining in existence". Such a definition seems to suggest that subsistence is the practice of obtaining the minimal requirements for survival. For Alaska Native peoples, the use of the Euro-American derived definition of the act of subsistence to define their way of life is deplorable and serves only to marginalize and belittle their cultures and identities. Chase Hensel and Phyllis Morrow (1992:42) suggested that for the Yupiit people, subsistence represents "a way of life; a complex set of practices and beliefs". Understood as "a way of life", subsistence goes beyond the act of surviving and moves towards describing behavior and thought in a holistic sense

emphasizing an entirety of existence. In reference to what subsistence means, John Active explained:

It is our tradition. It is a part of what makes me 'genuine Yup'ik. I thank my grandmother who taught me these things, who taught me to appreciate our subsistence lifestyle, to not waste, but share; to not steal, but provide for myself; to remember my elders, those living and dead and share with them; to be watchful at all times that I do not offend the spirits of the fish and animals; to give the beaver or seal that I caught a drink of water so its spirit would not be thirsty; to take from the land only what I can use; and to give to the needy if I have enough to share. Today, Yup'ik elders shake their heads and say we Yupiit are losing our culture. Our subsistence lifestyle is our culture. Without subsistence we will not survive as a people. If our culture, our subsistence lifestyle should disappear, we will be no more (Active 1998:4).

Tommy Griffon of Kwethluk explained:

I guess basically, the word 'subsistence'... 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 (Appendix H:7).

The words, "it's my life" drive the point home that subsistence for Yup'ik peoples is their life, culture, and being. Throughout the thesis, I identify people who have a subsistence way of life in Western Alaska as subsistence harvesters. In my opinion, using the phrase subsistence user mistakenly implies a commodity relationship between rural Alaskans and the land and is devoid of culture and identity. I use the term subsistence harvester to demonstrate that subsistence practitioners of Western Alaska are living breathing peoples who belong to unique cultures and possess cultural values that guide their daily behaviors. Their values and identities can be understood by examining their relationships to each other, the land, and all its beings.

How the Yup'ik Perceive Living a Quality Life

Alan Boraas and Catherine Knott studied the meaning of wealth among both the Yup'ik and Denaina people in communities throughout the Bristol Bay region. They explained:

When asked their perception of wealth, only 3 of 53 interviewees, all from the same village, indicated that they measure at least part of their wealth in terms of money, material items, and potentially high-paying jobs. The remaining interviewees who commented responded that wealth is measured in terms of one, or more, of three themes: food in the freezer, family, and/or freedom (Boraas and Knott 2012:133).

Food, family, and freedom are important for understanding the true significance of a subsistence way of life for rural residents of Western Alaska. During field work, I noticed that freedom was perceived as being strongly connected to the *nunapik*, or the real land, and peoples' perceptions of home. For example, pointing to a map of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta, John and Tommy Griffon told me, "Home is not a single place; it's freedom; it's the land, the whole land" (September 26, 2012 field notes). I observed for some that the concept of freedom is directly linked to their perceptions of home, which may be perceived as the entirety of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta:

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 or all that factory shit, that chicken, hormones and steroids; that stuff's no good. And when you're out there, it's like [our] home ... (Appendix L:4).

A subsistence way of life is a quality way of life for many rural residents and/or Yup'ik peoples in Western Alaska. It is linked to both the freedom and capacity to engage with the land and maintain strong familial and communal bonds. I presume that understanding how the Yup'ik people and other rural residents perceive their ways of life and how their lives are valued will aid us in better understanding how cultural differences affect communication and relationship building as these pertain to collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska.

Understanding Subsistence Management in Alaska

The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) ushered forth broad and impactful changes for Alaska Native peoples. In 1971, the ANCSA was passed to settle the land dispute held by the indigenous Alaska Native populations for over a century since the U.S. purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. The four major outcomes directly resulting from the passage of the ANCSA included: 1) 44 million acres of land were granted to Alaska Native peoples of which land titles were to be issued after the conclusion of a selection process; 2) 962.5 million dollars was to be distributed to newly created Alaska Native Regional Corporations of which 400 million dollars would be distributed over an 11-year period, while the remaining 562.5 million would be distributed after the completion of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, beginning in 1977; 3) 13 regional corporations and 203 village corporations were created; 4) aboriginal land claims were abolished; and 5) aboriginal hunting and fishing rights were extinguished (U.S.C. 1971). For a more in-depth understanding of the implications and ramifications of this congressional act, it is worth further examining ANCSA in its entirety (U.S.C. 1971). Following this momentous congressional act, the foreign process of subsistence management began its march into the backyards of Alaska Native peoples; many of whom were living in remote areas of Alaska and until then, largely remained unscathed by U.S. regulatory processes and scientifically-oriented natural resources management. For many Alaskans affected by the results of ANCSA, this act marked the presence of new and unfamiliar bureaucratic processes directed at managing the natural resources on lands that many considered their homes since time immemorial.

Following the passage of the ANCSA, the State of Alaska was charged with the duty of protecting the subsistence needs of Alaska Native peoples. However, for nearly a decade, the vague promise of the United States Government in the ANCSA to protect the subsistence needs of Alaska Native peoples was not fully realized. In 1980, the U.S. Congress enacted the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). To avoid the creation of an ethnically discriminatory policy, the U.S. Congress ultimately decided to protect and provide for a subsistence priority based upon one's rural residency. "This federal subsistence law gave allocation priority to subsistence uses of wild resources over other consumptive resources uses, such as recreational hunting and commercial fishing, in times of shortage ... The law made no

attempt to define subsistence itself but only subsistence uses” (Thornton 2001:85). The U.S. Congress’s decision to provide the subsistence priority to rural residents of the state rather than to Alaska Native peoples led to ongoing challenges and disagreements over how rural residency should be defined. Moreover, many scholars interpreted the passage of ANILCA as compounding the problem of subsistence for rural and indigenous claimants.

While some would consider the legal recognition of subsistence values a victory for subsistence users, there will be greater pressure on individuals to work with managers in justifying their claims. At best, we are entering a paperwork maze of permits and tight control of subsistence options (Schneider 1982:176).

Following several contentious legislative battles during the 1980’s (e.g., *Madison vs. Alaska* in 1985, *McDowell vs. Alaska* in 1989, the landmark *Katie John vs. the United States*), federal managers assumed control over subsistence hunting on federal public lands in 1990 and fisheries on all waters in and adjacent to federal public lands in 1999. For a more comprehensive understanding of these legislative issues, see Holen (2004). Initially, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game identified traditional and customary use by the following eight criteria: “1) length of use, 2) seasonality of use, 3) means and methods of harvest, 4) geography of harvest, 5) means of handling, preparing, preserving, and storing, 6) intergenerational transmission of knowledge, 7) distribution, exchange, barter and trade, and 8) diversity and reliance” (Wolfe 1989:1). When the United States Government assumed control over subsistence hunting practices in 1990 they adopted with few changes the language of customary and traditional use developed by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, known locally by Western Alaskans as Fish and Game.

Dual Management in Alaska

Since 1990, a tug of war for authority and control over fish and wildlife management between the State of Alaska and the U.S. Government has remained ongoing with little sign of resolution. In 1995, “the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, in ruling on *State of Alaska v. Babbitt and Katie John v. U.S.*, reversed and remanded the March 30, 1994 Federal District Court decision. The Ninth Circuit Court ruled that federal public lands included navigable waters in which the U.S. has an interest by virtue of the reserved water rights doctrine” (United

Fishermen of Alaska 2007:2). Ultimately, the ruling in the Katie John case in 1994 opened the door for the Federal management of fisheries on Federal public lands in Alaska. The State of Alaska was granted a moratorium on the implementation of the Katie John decision until 1998 (State of Alaska 1998). Then, a one-year extension to the moratorium was negotiated by Senator Ted Stevens in 1998 (United Fishermen of Alaska 2007). During this four-year moratorium, tensions between the State of Alaska and the U.S. Government were especially heightened as it became clear that the State of Alaska was in jeopardy of losing its authority to manage subsistence hunting and fishing on federal public lands and waters in Alaska. The State of Alaska was clearly concerned about the implications of the 1994 Katie John decision and what it perceived as an unwanted shift in management control:

A Congressional moratorium on implementation of the Katie John decision has delayed the federal takeover. The current moratorium will expire on December 1, 1998 and, absent positive action by Alaska to solve the subsistence impasse, the federal government will assume subsistence management on federal lands and reserved navigable water. The first step in the federal takeover of subsistence fisheries management will be for the Department of the Interior to publish regulations that define which waters in the state are reserved navigable waters. Under the terms of the latest moratorium, draft regulations for federal management of subsistence fisheries were published in mid-December of 1997. Federal agencies are now expected to schedule public hearings around the state. However, prior to December 1, 1998, no funds from the Department of the Interior can be expended to issue or implement final regulations, rules, or policies. The impact of federal management of subsistence fisheries on other types of fishing is uncertain and unpredictable, but potentially dramatic. It is not known what methods the federal government will use to manage the fisheries ...It is unclear whether the federal government will use ADF&G [Fish and Game] management regimes or whether it will gather its own data and apply its own knowledge in different ways. What is known is that if the federal government takes over management of these fisheries, it will be increasingly hard to regain state management ... Federal managers will develop an

established management system, and some will have a vested interest in seeing it continue. Dual management will be expensive and confusing, and will cause litigation among different users (State of Alaska 1998:3).

Tensions between the United States Government and the State of Alaska continue. My observations of dozens of regulatory meetings, interagency staff meetings, and regional advisory council meetings between 2012 and 2014 made it clear to me that tensions between the United States Government and the State of Alaska exacerbate the many challenges surrounding the dual system of subsistence management in all parts of Alaska.

Understanding Collaboration between Managers and Subsistence Harvesters

I discuss five public collaborative management bodies currently working in Western Alaska: 1) The Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council), 2) The Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group (working group), 3) The Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, 4) The Alaska Migratory Bird Co-management Council, and 5) the State of Alaska Local Advisory Committees. The people interviewed in this research primarily participated in one or more of these collaborative groups.

Before describing the collaborative bodies, I provide some context and a brief overview of the Federal Subsistence Board and its duties. When the ANILCA passed in 1980, it directed the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture to establish and empower a Federal Subsistence Board in Alaska to manage subsistence harvest on federal public lands. The Federal Subsistence Board is the decision-making authority for the Federal Subsistence Management Program in Alaska. Initially, the Federal Subsistence Board was made up of the regional directors of the National Park Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (Fish and Wildlife), U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a chairperson appointed by the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture. I use the abbreviation, Fish and Wildlife in place of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service because this is how residents of the Delta refer to this federal agency. Although it was not made explicit in the ANILCA, the Federal Subsistence Board chairperson was to be a rural resident of the state. Recently in 2010, a review of the Federal Subsistence Management Program led to the appointment of two additional rural residents to increase public representation on the Federal Subsistence Board.

The Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council

Section 805 (a) (3) of the ANILCA directed the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture in consultation with the State of Alaska to establish regional advisory councils in each of the subsistence regions (OSM 2007:62). Ten federal subsistence management regions were identified, one of which was the region of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. These regional advisory councils, often called RACs, are authorized to perform several duties, including 1) hold public meetings, 2) elect officers, 3) review and make recommendations to the Federal Subsistence Board on regulatory proposals, and 4) make recommendations on the determination of rural status and customary and traditional uses (OSM 2007:78). Instead of using the acronym, RAC, I use regional advisory councils or the Council when writing about the specific regional advisory council that serves the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. Currently, the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council) meets twice annually. As of 2013, there are 13 members from throughout Western Alaska volunteering their service on the Council. Due to the large number of villages in Western Alaska and the limited number of seats on the Council, many villages do not have a representative. While the selection committee in charge of determining membership on the Council attempts to select members to best represent the demography of the region, the tundra villages of Nunapitchuk, Atmauthluak, and Kasigluk, and the coastal villages of Chefornek, Kipnuk, Kongiganek, Kwigillingok, Nightmute, and Newtok in Western Alaska have had little representation on the Council now or in the past.

Regional advisory council members, according to 50 CFR 100.11, must be knowledgeable about the region and subsistence uses of the federal public lands in the region to which he or she is appointed (OSM 2007:77). There is no similar requirement for the five regional directors of the federal agencies who serve as voting members on the Federal Subsistence Board. This is not to say that the five regional directors that comprise the Federal Subsistence Board are not professional managers. However, this may lead some subsistence harvesters to question the knowledge of the Federal Subsistence Board regarding traditional, customary, and cultural harvesting practices conducted by Alaska's Native peoples and other rural residents who reside in remote places in Alaska far from urban centers.

The Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group

During the 1980's Chinook salmon returns began plummeting on the Kuskokwim River (ADF&G 1988a cited in Albrecht 1990:33). In response, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (Fish and Game) began to increase restrictions on commercial fishing for Chinook salmon in an effort to avert a population disaster. Residents of the Delta refer to this state agency as Fish and Game. In 1984, the Alaska Board of Fish at the request of the Fish and Game decreased the commercial harvest limit of Chinook salmon to 17,000 down from 32,000 fish the year before (ADF&G 1988b:7 cited in Albrecht 1990:33). Relations between subsistence harvesters and agency managers continued to deteriorate until 1987 when the conflict reached a crescendo requiring an alternative action. In 1987, the cap on the Chinook salmon commercial fishery was decreased further to 14,000 fish by the Fish and Game (Albrecht 1990:36). Later that year there was a joint agreement reached between the Fish and Game and the residents of the Yukon Kuskokwim drainage, who were represented by a smaller group of subsistence harvesters. This group of subsistence harvesters and Fish and Game managers negotiated in hotel rooms in Anchorage while attending a Board of Fish meeting in 1987 to create a joint agreement and the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group. One member recalled: "All these years that we fought with [Fish and Game] ... but [we had] to determine what would make sense ... in favor of the resource: it would have to be a working relationship ... that was the mission" (Albrecht 1990:42). The working group was born out of a desire from subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska to have a "working relationship" with agency resource managers and an officially funded collaborative management effort. Some expected a cooperative management arrangement in addition to healthier working relationships.

The working group has one seat for commercial fishermen, one for sport fishing, one for a fish processor, one member at large, and the remaining six seats are held by subsistence harvesters living in the Kuskokwim River drainage. Fish and Game is also a member of the working group, but they do not vote on the recommendations made by the working group. The process for conducting meetings is guided by Roberts Rules of Order; a process for communication implemented by the British Parliament. During the summer months, meetings in Bethel are held on teleconference throughout Western Alaska. Anyone may call in and listen and participate at the meetings. The primary purpose of the working group is to provide

recommendations to Fish and Game to assist in the development of sound management plans for salmon on the Kuskokwim River. Although the focus of the working group was initially centered upon Chinook salmon, the working group has recently begun to focus its efforts more broadly on assessing and discussing management plans and strategies for sustainable yield of all salmon species in the Kuskokwim River drainage.

The Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association

By 1990, concerns over declining Yukon Chinook salmon returns led to the creation of the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association. For a more in-depth statistical and quantitative understanding of Chinook salmon monitoring on the Yukon River see ADF&G (2012). The Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association board of directors has 16 voting members and 14 alternates. Teleconferences are held each week during the summer months to discuss summer and fall management of salmon resources on the Yukon River. These teleconferences are orchestrated remotely from an Anchorage office by the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association staff in contrast to how the teleconferences are conducted at a more local level for the working group.

The Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council

The Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Goose Management Plan was developed in 1985 in consultation with many communities in the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta region; especially those coastal Western Alaska communities most affected due to their increased reliance upon migratory bird species (Zavaleta 1999). Managers and stakeholders developed the plan in response to a continued decline of all four protected species of geese between the 1960s and the mid-1980s (Chandler 1985 in Zavaleta 1999) and extreme challenges to enforcement of the 1916 Migratory Bird Treaty Act (MBTA). The Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council was created in 2000. The Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council includes representatives of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, State of Alaska, and subsistence harvesters living in affected communities along the coast of Western Alaska. Essentially, each of the stakeholder groups has one vote towards decision making on regulatory policies concerning

migratory birds in Western Alaska. Whether or not the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council is an example of co-management as its name implies has been questioned, and will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

State of Alaska Local Advisory Committees

The Alaska Boards of Fish (BOF) and Game (BOG) are state operated boards that are in charge of regulatory decision making for take of fish and game in the state. According to the Fish and Game website, the BOF's primary role is to conserve and develop the fishery resources of the state. This involves setting seasons, bag limits, and methods and means for the state's subsistence, commercial, sport, guided sport, and personal use fisheries. The BOF also sets policy and direction for the management of the state's fishery resources. The BOF is charged with allocation of fishery resources, and the Fish and Game is responsible for management of those resources based on the BOF's allocations (ADF&G 2013a). The BOG's primary roles and duties in respect to wildlife mirror the BOF's duties. At present, there is one Alaska Native subsistence harvester represented on each of these two State regulatory Boards. Each of the members of these two boards are appointed by the Governor of Alaska, and they are "appointed on the basis of interest in public affairs, good judgment, knowledge, and ability in the field of action of the board, with a view to providing diversity of interest and points of view in the membership" (ADF&G 2013a:1).

Eighty-two advisory committees were established by the Alaska Joint Board of Fisheries and Game pursuant with Alaska Statute 16.05.260 (ADF&G 2013b). According to the Fish and Game's website, these advisory committees were established "for the purpose of providing a local forum for the collection and expression of opinions and recommendations on matters related to the management of fish and wildlife resources"(ADF&G 2013b:1).

Understanding Public Participation

Federal and state agencies, private sector employers, and other organizations use participatory processes for different reasons. The federal agencies in Alaska and elsewhere in this country are directed by laws and policies to conduct public participation when taking

actions that will affect or could potentially impact people, communities, and the environment. Federal actions that require a public participatory process include management plans and making regulations through the federal rule-making process and many others. In general, participatory processes that involve public planning and involvement are examples of “social, ethical, and political practices” in which individuals or groups of citizens take part and engage in planning and decision-making cycles directed by agencies or other authorities; the expectation is that the participatory process will “bring forth outcomes that may be congruent with the needs and interests of the participants” (Hofelli 2002:611).

Public participatory processes and the outcomes of such are not equally designed or realized but instead lie along continuums of formalness, meaningfulness, and power. Sometimes committees are formed to gather information from the public concerning any number of goals or actions (e.g., determining where to erect a public memorial, managing cultural and natural resources). In some cases, binding agreements may be forged between the public and federal, state, and/or private industries. In such cases, the public may be afforded some ability to be part of the decision-making process. To what degree the public is afforded a meaningful role in the processes used by agencies can vary quite dramatically from case to case.

Researchers and agencies frequently employ certain terms and definitions in the language they use to describe and discuss public participatory processes. First, who is the *public*? Dewey (1927) broadly defined the public as all people who “would be interested or affected by a decision” (Dewey 1927 cited in Dietz and Stern 2008:15). Since then, scholars of several disciplines, including natural resource management, environmental management, human ecology, political ecology, and other disciplines devoted to studying the nexus of humans and ecology have sought to break apart the “who” in “public” to achieve a clearer understanding of the differences between public participants. Some distinctions include: stakeholders are organized groups that are or will be affected by or that have a strong interest in the outcomes of a decision (Dietz and Stern 2008). Some individuals and non-organized groups are directly affected by the outcomes of management decisions in positive or negative ways; these are labeled by Dietz and Stern (2008) as the directly affected public. The observing public includes the media, cultural elites, and opinion leaders who may comment on the issue or influence public opinion; and the general public is all individuals who are not directly affected by

the issue, but may be part of public opinion on it (Dietz and Stern 2008; Renn and Walker 2008; USEPA 2001).

In this research, I use the term stakeholder and focus on interactions between subsistence harvesters and agency managers, both federal and state, engaged in collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. While federal and state managers could certainly be treated as separate stakeholder groups, I have treated them as one group in this study because the two share relatively similar goals and interests in fish and wildlife management (e.g., conservation, subsistence opportunities, and other public uses). I define stakeholder group as “a collection of people sharing a common interest, activity, way of life, or relationship relative to the outcome of an issue or management decision” (Champ et al. 2012; Findley et al. 2001). This definition goes beyond interpreting stakeholder groups as “organized groups” (Ren and Walker 2008) and demonstrates that such groups are defined by their shared meanings, interests, and goals pertaining to desired outcomes of collaborative management (Champ et al. 2012).

Secondly, what does *participation* mean? This has been a topic of much debate. Creighton (2005:8) has suggested,

Some people use participation as if it were synonymous with public information programs—getting the word out to the public. It is frequently used to describe public hearings at which the public comments on what an agency proposes to do. It has also been used to imply that an agreement is reached with the public that will be affected by it. Participation is best understood as a continuum.

Since it is a continuum, there are really an infinite number of points along the scale.

Where a public participatory process falls along the continuum varies considerably case by case. Figure 2 is a continuum of participation developed by Arnstein (1969) that demonstrates her understanding of the different types of participatory processes and the levels of meaningful participation each process is capable of providing citizens. Arnstein suggested that types of public participatory processes can range from “manipulation” to “citizen control”, representing examples that reflect “non-participation” to “degrees of citizen power” (Arnstein 1969:217).

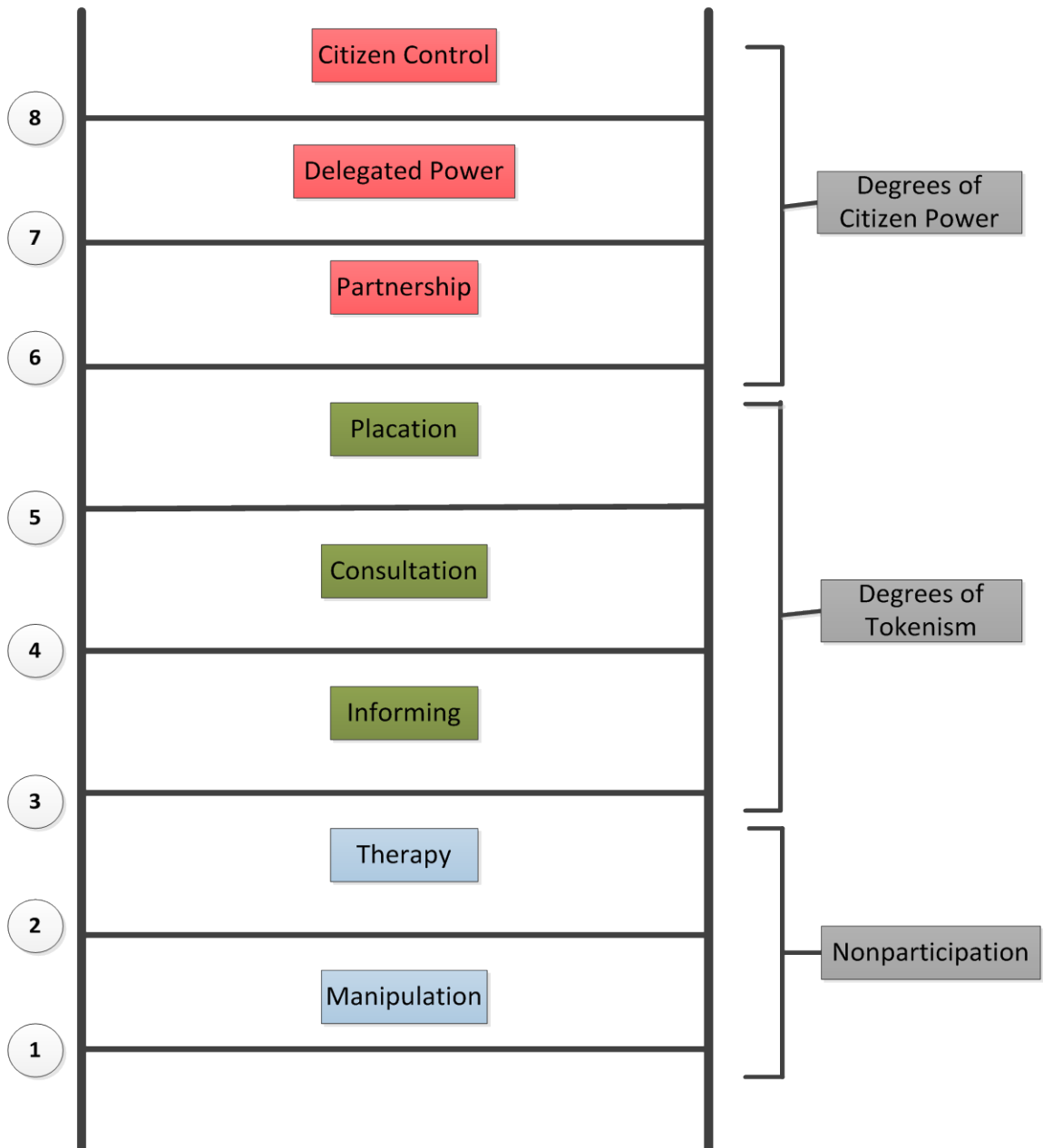


Figure 2. A Ladder of Participation (adapted from Arnstein 1969:217).

Natural resource managers have discussed participatory processes at great length. Natural resources may be managed either through a “centralized government, exchanged using a system of private property, and/or managed through collaborative action” (Ostrom 1990 cited in Plummer and Fitzgibbon 2004:63). Approaches characterized by command and control and a

centralized government have been commonly applied by many federal and state agencies for managing natural resources. Some researchers have explored how command and control strategies for managing natural resources have impacted the way agencies perceive management. For example, “adoption of command and control [managerial processes] has resulted in a pathology that permeates much of natural resource management and precludes long-term sustainability” (Holling and Meffe 1996:329). According to Plummer and Fitzgibbon (2004), recognition for the management of natural resources through collaborative processes has been increasing (e.g., Pinkerton 1989; Selin and Chavez 1995; Daniels and Walker 1996; Berkes 1997; Mitchell 1997; Stankey et al. 1999; Ingles and Hoffman 1999; Pretty and Ward, 2001; Champ et al. 2012). Federal and state agencies increasingly adopt and apply collaborative strategies for natural resources management. Many scholars of natural resource management have studied collaborative management processes between public stakeholders and agency managers in an effort to better understand how collaborative management is working to meet the needs of stakeholder groups (Armitage et al. 2011; Zurba et al. 2012; Davis 2010; Metcalf and Robards 2008; Nadasdy 1999; 2003a; 2005; Goldman 2011).

In *The Public Participation Handbook*, Creighton, having assessed many public participatory processes, argued that public participation includes the following core elements:

Public participation applies to administrative decisions—that is, those typically made by agencies (and sometimes by private organizations), not elected officials or judges. Public participation is not just providing information to the public. There is interaction between the organization making the decision and people who want to participate. There is an organized process for involving the public. It is not something that happens accidentally or coincidentally. The participants have some level of impact or influence on the decisions being made (Creighton 2005:7).

Some of the terminology that has been used to describe participatory management includes partnerships, collaboration, and co-management. What is meant by each of these terms can vary greatly. For example, partnership has been defined as:

A dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational

division of [labor] based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Partnership encompasses mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision making, mutual accountability and transparency (Brinkerhoff 2002:21).

Often the specific terms used in legislation and management plans to define the participation and engagement of the public in various collaborative management efforts are vague, ambiguous, and lack clear definition. Moreover, many people engaged in some version of public participation question what in fact their participation means. This is especially the case pertaining to stakeholders' decision-making authority and ability to influence the outcomes of management. This is explicitly apparent in the failure of the Congress to define the phrase "meaningful role" in section 801 (5) of the ANILCA since its inception over 34 years ago (U.S.C. 1980).

The term collaboration, while "strongly linked to and frequently used interchangeably with partnership" (Plummer and Fitzgibbon 2004:65), defines "the process of interaction" among stakeholders (Hall 1999 cited in Plummer and Fitzgibbon 2004:65). How, when, and where collaboration occurs is important and includes "issues of inclusion, power, and decision making" (Plummer and Fitzgibbon 2004:65). Paul Nadasdy's book, *Hunters and Bureaucrats* (2003a) examines how knowledge and power intersect in the discourse of natural resources management between the Kluane peoples of Canada and Canadian government officials engaged in the Ruby Range Sheep Steering Committee.

Creighton (2005:10-11) identified four types of public participation commonly used by federal and state agencies. These include: 1) public information programs, 2) procedural or checklist participation, 3) collaborative-based participation, and 4) the agreement approach. The first three in this list focus on information. Public information programs focus on informing the public about specific matters using one-way communication techniques. Procedural or checklist public participation provides the public with a forum to make comments on proposals. Procedural public participation seeks to increase access to information for the public. A collaborative-based approach to participation seeks to gain a consensus from the public. However, if consensus is not obtained, the stakeholder group holding the largest amount of

power or authority (i.e., agency) retains the right to make the final decision (Champ et al. 2012). Arnstein (1969) refers to such stakeholders as *powerholders*. Finally, an agreement approach seeks unanimous agreement, or at least overwhelming agreement from signatory parties (Creighton 2005). For example, the federal and state governments have signed a memorandum of understanding in which they have agreed to and defined mutual roles and responsibilities for the management of fish and wildlife in Alaska. Although desired, no such agreement exists between subsistence harvesters and federal and/or state agencies in Alaska (Appendix S:3).

Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter begins with a description of my observations of meetings and those noted during participant observation before and during interviewing rural residents in Western Alaska. The study area and population are described. Then, I describe the specific methods used to sample key respondents and collect data. I end the chapter with a detailed description of the interpretive analysis.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a key tool utilized by cultural anthropologists to collect information (Bernard 1994). In my journal notes, I recorded over 200 pages either by hand or digitally. All notes from participant observation were transcribed and saved as digital copies. These notes added an additional source of information that has enriched the thesis by providing illustrative examples of key features of Yup'ik culture and collaborative resource management.

Prior to visiting communities and interviewing residents in Western Alaska, I observed meetings of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council), Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group (working group), and Yukon River Drainages Fisheries Association during summer and fall 2012. I also observed the Council meetings held in Bethel February 2013 and March 2014. During fieldwork January through March 2013, I engaged in many different activities with residents of Western Alaska. Due to my exploratory spirit, eagerness to learn, and anthropological training and background, I desired to do more than just collect interviews. I observed many activities by invitation, including attending and participating in meetings between subsistence harvesters and agency managers, hunting, trapping, collecting wood, steaming in the *maqivik*, and visiting schools. I spent a large amount of time travelling by snow machine on the land and by airplane over the land. If asked to accurately and concisely explain my time in Western Alaska, I would use the title of James Barker's book, *Always Getting Ready* (Barker 1993). In the Yup'ik world, one is certainly always preparing for some activity in which he or she is either moving or preparing to move.

I became aware of several cultural, political, and procedural factors that can substantially affect the outcomes of public participation in collaborative management while

listening with others via teleconference to the meeting of the working group on June 20, 2012. After observing that meeting with managers, scientists, and law enforcement personnel and listening to Yup'ik people and other residents call in from around the Delta 500 miles away, I had many questions and a firm conviction that I would propose a Master's thesis project that would attempt to formulate solutions to what I perceived as an inadequate process for meaningfully involving subsistence harvesters in fish and wildlife management. From the moment that meeting began, there was an air of frustration. One man from Akiak 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
(Field 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 (Field 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 a biologist in the room in response to what he perceived to be a long-winded tirade from a Yup'ik man in Western Alaska.

Over the course of the next three months while attending meetings of the Council, working group, and Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, I observed a number of factors affecting these three public participatory processes. I observed substantial challenges to meaningful participation related to communication styles, language differences, levels of comprehension, and flow of information between stakeholders. I noticed that how stakeholder groups talked about issues related to fish and wildlife were different. I observed problems with the process related to how information was shared; when, where, and how often meetings were held; and the timing of stakeholder involvement. For example, a man from Aniak on the Upper Kuskokwim River remarked,

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 (Field Journal Notes, September 27, 2012).

Confounded with communication problems, I also observed larger political and economic factors affecting the meaningful participation of subsistence harvesters. For example, on the Yukon River where Chinook salmon escapement has been of particular concern, subsistence harvesters have become increasingly distraught with the ways in which Chinook salmon are being managed. I observed a large number of comments made during the summer of 2012 at the meetings of the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association that reflected peoples' perception that the commercial Pollock fishery is having detrimental effects on Chinook 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] (Field Journal Notes, August 14, 2012).

In response, the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association coordinator asked for the discussion to remain focused on in-river management issues only. In reply, the man from Numanaq 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 (Field Journal Notes, August 14, 2012).

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

During these meetings, I observe many people express the importance of being able to practice their way of life and continue to engage in doing 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. Chinook 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 (Field Journal Notes from July 10, 2012).

This statement references a commercial fishery on the Yukon River that has offered to fly bycatch Chinook salmon to villages along the Yukon River to provide relief to those unable to fish for Chinook salmon due to restrictions. For some if not most subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska, and elsewhere in the state, 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 Western Alaska. These observations ultimately influenced the creation of the first interview guide and my decision to use a purposive sampling strategy.

Study Area

This research was conducted in Western Alaska within the region of the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. People who call this area home often refer to it as "the Delta." More specifically, I travelled to and interviewed respondents in Hooper Bay, Marshall, Russian Mission, Tuntutuliak, Bethel, Kwethluk, and Tuluksak. Respondents living in Aniak and Napaimute were interviewed in Bethel.

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 travelled to by plane unless one possesses

or has hired someone who is knowledgeable of the many braided waterways throughout the Delta. The Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers are the two major rivers within the Delta. These two rivers are habitats for five species of Pacific salmon including Chinook, 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. Also, the Mulchatna and Killbuck caribou herds migrate throughout Western Alaska during the fall and winter months. In addition, a number of fur bearing animals including beaver, muskrat, land otters, wolverine, marten, lynx, wolves, and foxes rely upon the habitats or ecosystems of these two major rivers. Timber is not abundant in the lower sections of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers or near the coast of Western Alaska, and 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. Along 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 walruses travel along the coast of Western Alaska 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. Interestingly, seal oil is also ingested by hunters to keep warm on long hunting or fishing trips during the winter months.

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 have 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 practice among Yup'ik peoples and other residents of the Delta. When my Yup'ik friends travel, they almost always bring Yup'ik foods with them to share with others.

Weather patterns can be extremely variable in the various regions 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. Moose hunting and berry picking are two activities many Yup'ik peoples and other rural residents engage in 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 months 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. Also, dog mushing races are held in many places throughout the Delta.

Study Population

The study population is rural residents of Western Alaska of which there are an estimated 24,467 people according to the 2010 U.S. Census information (State of Alaska 2010). Of these, an estimated 21,194 people are of Alaska Native or American Indian descent (State of Alaska 2010). Table 1 in Appendix AK shows total population, number of Alaska Native peoples living in target communities, and local government organizations in each community.

Figure 3 shows where each of the target communities is located and illustrates the vast area that is Western Alaska. The yellow arrows indicate villages that I visited while interviewing. According to Krauss (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 that Yup'ik is widely spoken by people in Western Alaska 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



Figure 3. Map of Western Alaskan communities.

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, 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).

While only 1.1 percent of fish and game resources are harvested by subsistence harvesters in Alaska (ADF&G 2010:2), 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. At the February 2013 meeting of the Council, a resident of Akiak stated:

Our older elders need, critically need to eat dry fish that's from king salmon ...
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 (Public Record, OSM 2013:27).

Sampling Technique and Goals

A nonprobability purposive sample was used to target participants who were either knowledgeable leaders or elders in Western Alaska communities and/or subsistence harvesters who are actively engaged in collaborative management of fish and wildlife. I targeted members of the regional advisory council, rural residents who had participated in agency meetings via telephone, residents who had participated in the working group, members of local advisory committees, knowledgeable community leaders and elders, and natural resource managers and fisheries scientists. Additionally, I interviewed two young subsistence harvesters to capture any observable differences between generational age groups regarding the reasons why subsistence harvesters were participating less in fish and wildlife management. A purposive and targeted sampling strategy is appropriate because the goal is to understand and improve communications, collaboration, and public participation for fish and wildlife management in the Delta. A probability sample would be necessary in research that sought to predict generalized behaviors across the State of Alaska, but this was not part of my research objectives.

Key Respondents

Two main groups of respondents were identified according to their relation to public participatory processes in Western Alaska. Figure 4 provides a breakdown of the representative cohorts within the groups. Respondents were identified by pseudonyms to protect their identity. Age was considered when selecting key respondents. In Yup'ik culture, elders are held

in high respect, and their knowledge and experience are highly valued. Elders are often looked to for advice, direction, and guidance. The leadership role of elders is based on achieved status that is derived from accomplishments and experience, not a result of an ascribed or inherited status. For these reasons, it was necessary to choose key respondents based upon their age, experience, and knowledge.

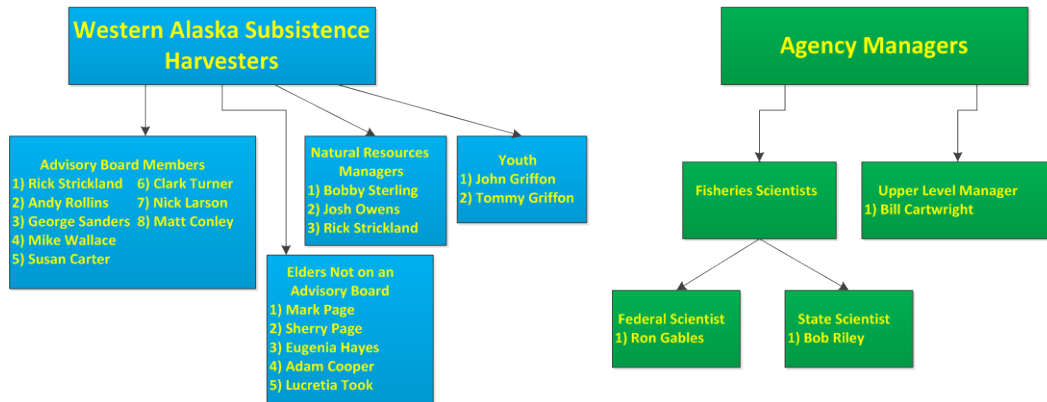


Figure 4. Study groups.

Gender was an important factor in selecting key respondents. In Yup'ik culture, men generally are the primary decision makers in political matters that could benefit or adversely affect the family, communal group, and subsistence way of life. There are exceptions where females play a more direct role in political decision-making, and many Yup'ik women influence the men in their lives after hours and behind political decision-making scenes on a day-to-day-basis. Yup'ik women do make critical decisions in the context of determining when to fish and how wild caught foods should be processed, stored, and distributed. Women in Western Alaska also conduct important social and ceremonial events and play key roles in daily family and community life. However, because Yup'ik women are generally not involved in making overt political or other decisions regarding agency-sponsored collaborative management, I primarily selected male Yup'ik elders for the interviews. Although male elders represent the dominant portion of the sample, four women and two young males were interviewed to account for

exceptions to traditional gender roles and represent the voice of the youth in the region, respectively (Figure 4).

Study groups were also identified and defined according to political roles and professional affiliations. For example, I split state (Fish and Game) and federal (Fish and Wildlife) fisheries scientists into sub groups (Figure 4). 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 I believe was due in part to the differing political affiliations between the fisheries scientists I interviewed, 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 resource managers represented a distinct group due to their agency affiliations and/or roles as natural resource managers (Figure 4). In addition, elders who were leaders in their communities, but who were not on advisory groups were defined as a separate subgroup from the elders who were advisory group members (Figure 4). I assumed that perceptions of the public participatory processes varied between those who were directly involved and those who were indirectly involved in collaborative management. Finally, I purposely traveled in several areas throughout the Delta to gather views and concerns of subsistence harvesters, representing multiple places. My intent was to capture a range of perceptions of peoples' engagements in public participatory processes used in management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska.

Semi-structured Interviews and Public Transcripts

Between January and March of 2013, I conducted a total of 19 interviews with a total of 20 people, identified by pseudonyms. Prior to conducting each interview, respondents signed a consent form (Appendix T) and were offered a small incentive. The total audio runtime collected was 31 hours and 14 minutes and 24 seconds. Interview runtimes ranged from 19 minutes and 20 seconds to 3 hours and 37 minutes and 27 seconds in length. Average interview

runtime was roughly one hour and 39 minutes in length. Interview transcripts were constructed from the audio files with the help of two professional transcribers. The total number of pages of transcripts was 636. 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 admit to having 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, I was only able to acquire the assistance of a translator when it was absolutely critical to do so because of substantial language barriers. A Yup'ik translator was employed to assist in conducting three interviews. Because 16 of the 19 interviews were conducted without the services of a translator, we were unable to transcribe some text in which Yup'ik was spoken by interviewees when they did not know how to express the English equivalent. After reviewing the transcripts multiple times, I am confident there are few if any instances where substantial information was lost due to language barriers.

Several interview guides were created throughout data collection (Appendix A). Initially, I created an interview guide which attempted to capture information about what affects subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation in collaborative management. Initial questions and probes were based on observations from participant observation during the working group, Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, and Council meetings I attended. As I began learning more about peoples' perceptions of their involvement in the management process, I 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 better understand the many meanings and issues surrounding collaborative management in Western Alaska. After a dozen or more interviews, I rarely consulted the interview guides. It became my experience that often the interviews that provided the most and concise information concerning peoples' participation in collaborative management processes came when I asked very few questions and sat silently, and listened carefully. In contrast, during two interviews where I asked several complex questions and talked too much, I received less information than those two respondents might have shared. In addition, 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,

respondents' real names are associated with their comments provided in Chapter 3. These texts provided two recorded events which documented collaboration and interactions between stakeholders involved in the collaborative management process used for the Council. The public record transcripts provided substantial information about highly visible participatory outcomes that occurred during actual collaborations and negotiations between stakeholders and were used to triangulate observations.

Analysis

Paradigmatic Principles and Assumptions

For this analysis, I used productive hermeneutics adapted from Gadamer (1975), Patterson and Williams (2002), and Brooks (2003). Productive hermeneutics is a qualitative interpretive approach used to understand meaning. In Appendix A1, I present a detailed explanation of the approach to analysis and my research assumptions.

Analytical Guide: The Iceberg Model of Culture

Following extensive reading and observations of collaborative management meetings, I 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" used to represent, in part, one's pre-understandings of a phenomenon or an issue prior to beginning research. While *a priori* models are often utilized in the natural sciences to discover "cause and effect relationships," these can also be used to guide qualitative interpretive research focused on developing 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 we must actively participate in or engage with that culture. I assumed that to understand why subsistence harvesters' participation was declining, I 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, I would need to learn if and how these parts are connected to each other and to collaborative management as a whole.

Figure 5 is a visualization (based on the iceberg model of culture) of my pre-understandings of collaborative management in Western Alaska. Specifically, what I knew about collaborative management of fish and wildlife before analyzing the data was heavily influenced by my experiences observing fisheries management meetings for the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers drainages during the summer of 2012. This understanding was also influenced by my formal training in anthropology and political ecology. Hall's (1976) model of culture in conjunction with my pre-understandings of collaborative management led to a proposition: Often unseen features of Yup'ik culture in Western Alaska are located below the cultural waterline of visibility (Figure 5). These unseen features are closely related to a people's system of values and beliefs and their collective worldviews and epistemologies. The unseen features in Figure 5 are quite fluid and connected to one and other, and these are linked to and affect the visible outcomes of collaborative management. In other words, unseen cultural features

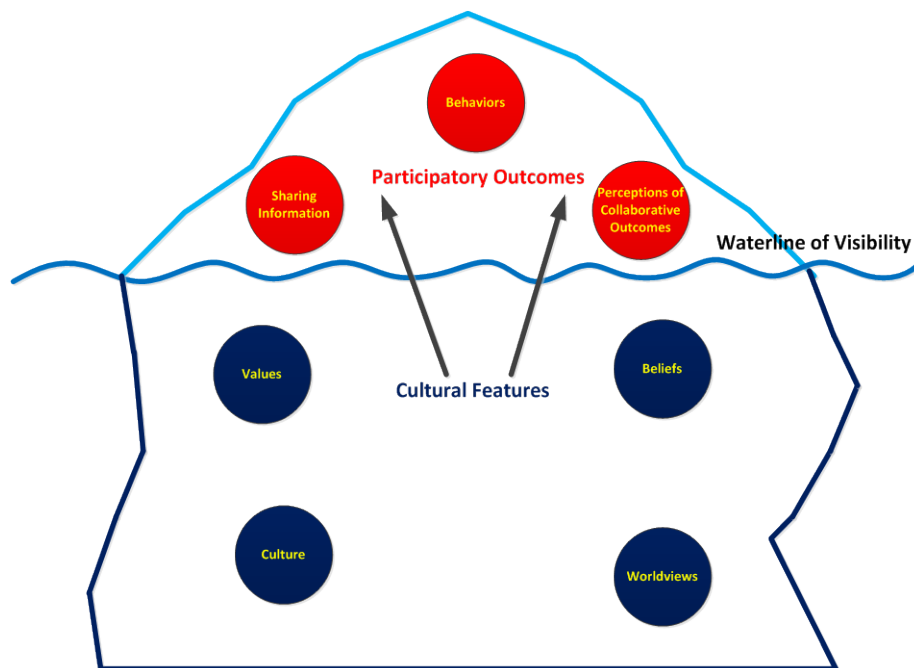


Figure 5. Iceberg Model of Culture (adapted from Hall 1976).

below the waterline essentially drive the more visible outcomes at the tip of the iceberg. My goal for the analysis was to better understand collaborative management in Western Alaska as a foundation on which to base recommendations for how agency managers may improve the situation for all stakeholders.

Phase One: Within Transcript Analysis

As transcriptions were returned to me by the transcribers, I began the analysis by reading through each of the interviews multiple times. In doing so, I identified within each interview what Patterson and Williams (2002:103) have referred to as *meaning units*:

In hermeneutic analysis, this refers to the smallest units of an interview narrative that are comprehensible on their own (Tesch 1990:17). The suggestion that portions of text are comprehensible on their own is not meant to imply that they can be fully understood independent of the context in which they are embedded. Rather, what is implied is a concept similar to Altman and Rogoff's (1987:37) term, "aspects" which they defined as referring to *features of a system* that may be focused on separately but that require consideration of other features of a system for their definition and for understanding of their functioning. Meaning units are typically not words or phrases, but groups of sentences (emphasis added).

I adapted this approach by first identifying meaningful groups of sentences, which encapsulated only what was said inside a specific passage within the transcript. The purpose of each summarized meaning unit was to provide the researcher with a shortened, concise, and descriptive statement that indicated what had transpired inside the larger passage of text within the transcript. As I identified these distinct meaning units within the text of each interview and the two public record transcripts from the fall 2012 and spring 2013 Council meetings, I did two things that played a key role for later stages of analysis. First, I recorded meaning units as comments in track changes in Microsoft Word. Secondly, I separated theoretical notes and memos pertaining to groups of meaning units inside the comments of track changes using brackets.

After all meaning units had been identified, I copied them into 21 separate files, one for each transcript. The purpose of this step was to create an understanding of what was contained in each of the interviews. Each of the 19 interview transcripts represents co-produced meaning in that the key respondent and the interviewer were engaged collaboratively in making meaning during the interview conversations. The same is also true of the two Council transcripts. Rather than simply trying to understand what each speaker said, the purpose was to gain an understanding of the co-produced meaning contained within each of these meeting transcripts, containing multiple speakers.

Using several iterations, I created synopses for each interview transcript. For the initial synopses, I wrote a list of meaning units in sequence of occurrence. Once the initial compiling of meaning units in each of the first iterations of the synopses had occurred, I began reading each of the synopses iterations in sequence. Because my understandings of the meaning units contained within each of the transcript synopses had begun to influence how I reorganized the meaning units during subsequent iterations, I made a critical shift at the start of the second iteration from a within transcript analysis to an across transcript analysis.

Phase Two: Across Transcript Analysis

Synopses iterations

Each of the six synopses iterations following the first synopsis iteration represented a singular hermeneutic cycling of the meaning units into emerging themes. I define a *hermeneutic cycle* as a single reading of all meaning units within each transcript resulting in the reorganization or transformation of the meaning units into emergent themes. I define *emergent theme* as a compilation of interrelated meaning units within a singular transcript which represent a part of the transcript. During the second iteration of synopsis writing I organized meaning units according to emergent themes related to the three research objectives: identifying barriers and facilitators to participation, defining a meaningful role, and factors contributing to declining participation in collaborative management.

While I instantly understood some of the meaning units to be relevant to the objectives of this research, it was not yet clear to me how other meaning units related to these aspects of collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. The meaning units that did not clearly relate to the research objectives were later re-organized in subsequent synopsis iterations into emergent themes as it became clear to me that these meaning units were evidence of some of the unseen cultural features below the waterline (Figure 5). When I began to better understand the unseen cultural features below the waterline, I started to get a better picture of public participatory management in Western Alaska. Moreover, I began to understand that the three research objectives I identified in chapter one could be understood as indicators of more visible outcomes and behaviors located above the waterline in Figure 5.

During the next three hermeneutic cycles that resulted in a new iteration of each synopsis, I observed additional emergent themes and began placing these themes under sectional titles related to both the research objectives and the unseen cultural features. After the fourth revision of the interview synopses (Appendices B and C), I began to observe that three of the emergent themes were dominant focal points of many of the interviews, including dimensions of Yup'ik culture, worldviews on land and animals, and approach to management. I began to understand these three themes to be unseen cultural drivers linked to barriers and facilitators of meaningful participation and affecting observed outcomes of public participatory processes in Western Alaska (Figure 6). Figure 6 represents the early organizing system for the analysis at the point of the fourth synopsis iterations and the observation of the three common emergent themes across interviews.

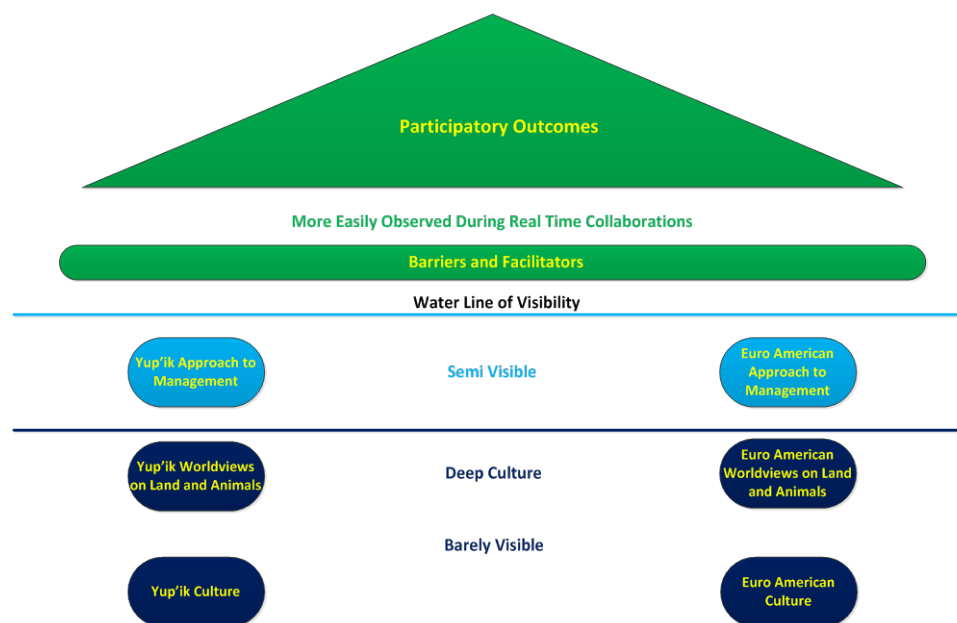


Figure 6. Early Organizing System.

Understanding interrelationships between emergent themes

To better capture patterns in the data and interrelationships (i.e., linkages) between meaning units and themes, I developed a coding framework with the help of a qualitative software program called Atlas Ti. Seventy-two thematic codes were created in Atlas Ti, using the labels of each emergent theme contained in the seventh iteration of each synopsis (Appendix D). I systematically located and applied thematic codes in Atlas Ti to each of the 1776 total meaning units I had identified in the transcripts. Once the 21 transcripts were coded, I created various output files of data, one of which included a co-occurrence chart. The co-occurrence chart identified all co-occurrences between individual codes, citing a reference number for each of the quotations that contained co-occurrences. The co-occurrence chart represented an empirical tool to verify the existence of particular relationships between emergent themes. It became an important tool for identifying and illustrating the interrelations between features of the final organizing system.

Using the list of 72 thematic codes represented by emergent themes and the co-occurrence chart, I began to draw a schematic model to illustrate the parts of the collaborative

management processes I observed in Western Alaska. At this point, I understood that some thematic codes represented often unseen cultural features linked to collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska and placed them below the waterline of the iceberg model. I located other thematic codes above the waterline. After comparing my first attempt to illustrate the iceberg model with the co-occurrence chart, I removed some thematic codes and combined others into what became the features of the final organizing system. I define 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, I created dimensions to illustrate the various subcomponents of larger features. I define dimensions as sub parts of features (Appendix AJ).

Figure 7 illustrates the relationship between meaning units, thematic codes, and features (with their dimensions where necessary). Figure 7 also illustrates the analytical process used in phase two. While working on the synopses iterations, I conducted six hermeneutic cycles in total for each of the transcripts resulting in seven synopses 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 hermeneutic cycles was then used to create 72 thematic codes in Atlas Ti, corresponding with the labels used for each emergent theme.

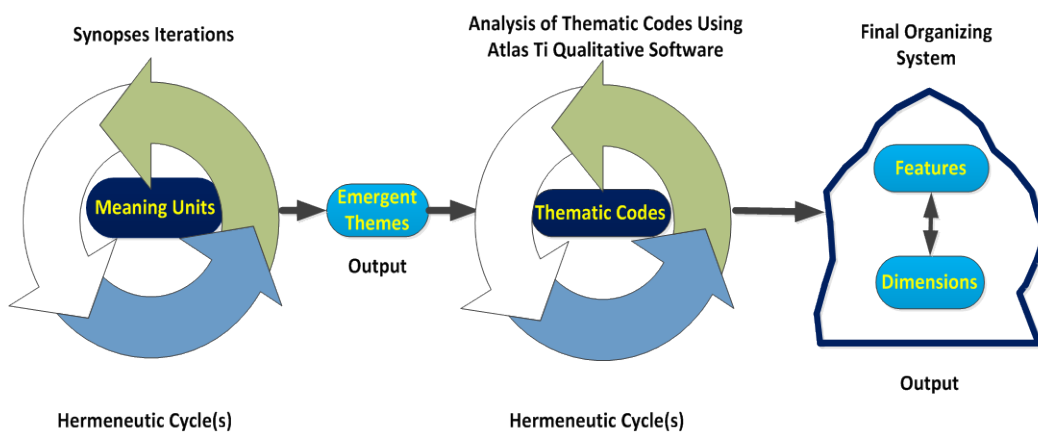


Figure 7. A Process for Understanding.

Once the coding process was complete, I 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 could be understood as its limits specified by the meaning units observed in the data. A second output file, the co-occurrence chart, allowed me to compare what I 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 that I developed to illustrate the results of the interpretive analysis across transcripts.

Understanding interrelationships between features

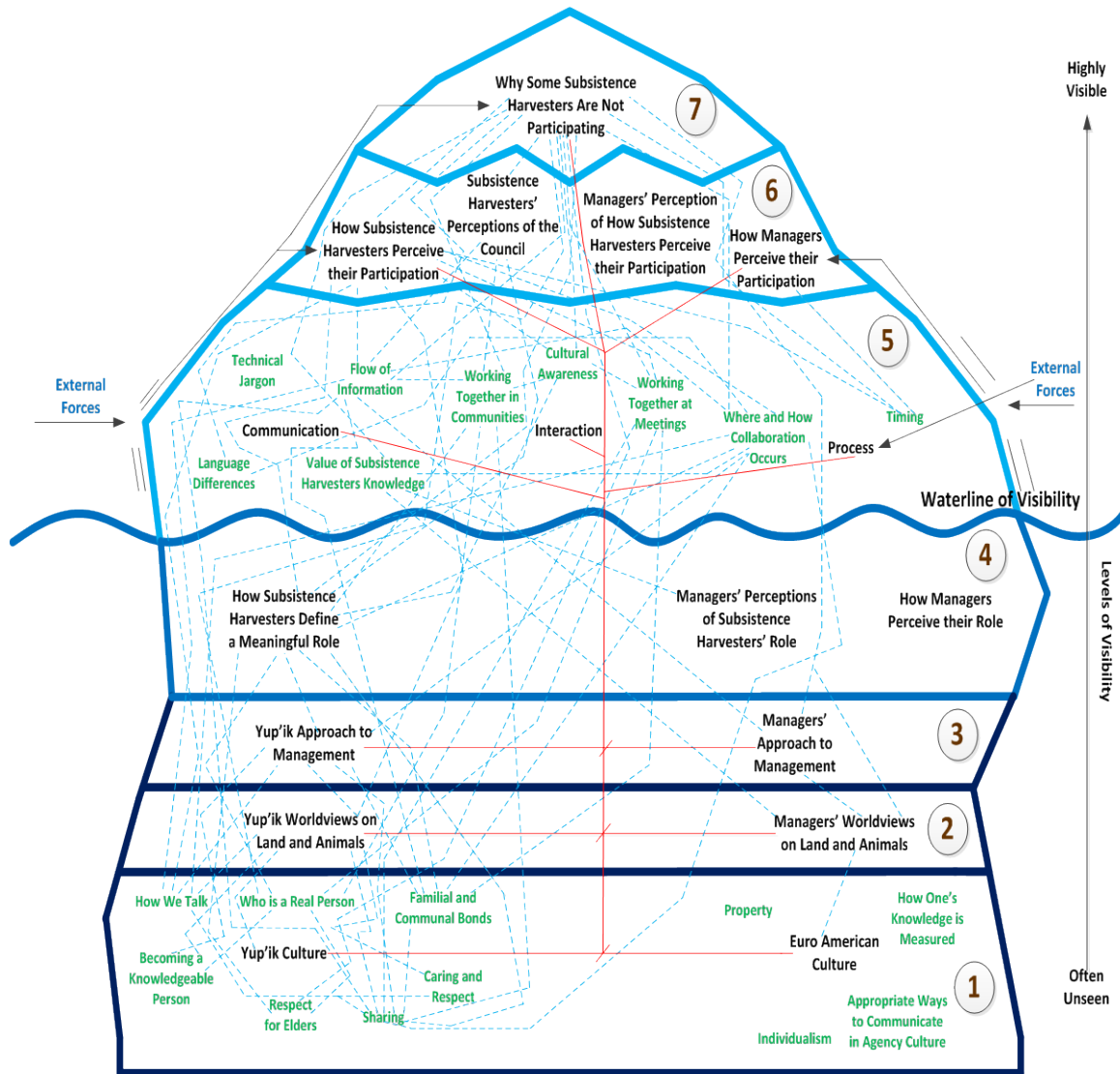
To effectively understand collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska, managers are required to consider how multiple features of collaborative management affect each other. I observed a number of important interrelationships, or linkages, between features and dimensions of features. The dashed blue lines in Figure 8 show these linkages. I found special meaning units in the data that indicate and illustrate these important interrelationships. I coded and labelled these meaning units *penetrators*. These codes penetrate through multiple levels of visibility, linking unseen features at lower levels to more visible participatory outcomes observed near the tip of the iceberg. I reference these codes in chapter three while explaining key linkages between features.

Chapter Three: Discussion of Findings

In this chapter, I use the words of the Yup'ik people and agency managers to present the results. I present numerous excerpts from the data to illustrate findings as they are discussed. I also cite appendices to provide the reader with more empirical evidence from the interviews and public record transcripts. First, I introduce the final organizing system (Figure 8). Then, I organize the presentation of results around Figure 8, beginning with the features and interrelationships that I observed under the cultural waterline of visibility. I start with Level One and work up level by level, ending with Level Seven at the tip of the iceberg.

Final Organizing System

Figure 8 illustrates the final organizing system represented as an iceberg model. The final organizing system is the result of phase two of the analysis (Tesch 1990; Patterson and Williams 2002). The final organizing system provides a visual aid to help the reader understand the findings of the study. I explain Figure 8 in chapter three with a detailed discussion of empirical results (Patterson and Williams 2002). Figure 8 shows several features and interrelations between them that help us to understand collaborative management in Western Alaska. When reading chapter three, I recommend having the final organizing system at hand to better understand the relationships between features.



1 - 7	Levels of visibility
Black Font	Features
Green Font	Dimensions
-----	Empirical interrelationships/linkages
—————	Driving forces originating from cultural differences
—————>	External forces (e.g., social, political, economic)
Council	Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council

Figure 8. Final Organizing System.

Below the Waterline

Level One: Unseen Cultural Drivers

In level one of the iceberg, I discuss seven dimensions of the feature Yup'ik Culture, including 1) Becoming a Knowledgeable Person, 2) Sharing, 3) Caring, and Respect, 4) How we Talk, 5) Respect for Elders, 6) Familial and Communal Bonds, and 7) Who is a Real Person.

Becoming a Knowledgeable Person

For many if not most Yup'ik peoples, how one becomes a knowledgeable person is linked to the importance of listening, observing, and doing. I observed that Yup'ik peoples rarely claim expertise on anything. I learned that "if you want to know something about that ask my elder. He or she would know more than I about that." This confused me in the beginning because the person telling me this was often times a person whom I had perceived to be an elder (i.e., over the age of 65). I cannot recall a time when an older Yup'ik person referred to themselves as an elder. Later, I learned that titles such as elder and *nukalpiaq*, or great hunter, are more frequently bestowed upon a person rather than used to describe self. Rather than claiming to be an expert or an elder, many Yup'ik peoples, even older Yup'ik peoples over the age of 65 seemed to freely accept that they were still and always learning. For example, Andy Rollins of Tuluksak stated:

I am now over 65, 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 ... 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 (Appendix E:1).

More than simply understanding oneself to be constantly learning, there seems to be a keen awareness among the Yup'ik people for the importance of observing that Andy's words above illustrate when he talks about the importance of focusing the eyes upon the lips.

Yup'ik elders spent hours telling me about the "way it was in those years", and then referring to the present with the words "nowadays". During these moments of listening, I often tried imagining that I was in the "way it was" to understand the differences between then and now. One theme that continued to surface about those years was how quiet it used to be. Clark Turner of Tuntutuliak, Alaska stated:

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 mostly by dog teams when we travel in the winter time because there were no snow machines 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 (Appendix E:2).

In these quiet moments, stories were often told by the elders. These presented opportunities for learning. Not simply through listening, but also through doing. Matt Conley of Napaimute stated:

I've spent countless hours just sitting like this listening to elders tell stories in my life ... 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 ... like making rawhide or splitting spruce shoots for tying ... stuff like that (Appendix E:5).

The Yup'ik peoples abilities to observe are sharpened in comparison to many urban peoples due to their close connection with the lands of which they are a part. Based upon my own observations and engaging in hunting, wood collecting, trapping and other Yup'ik subsistence activities with Yup'ik men, I believe that this keen sense of not only observation, but also awareness for one's surroundings is highly developed among most Yup'ik peoples due to their close connection with the land and being comfortable with long periods of silence and watching or observing the land and animals. Because of their close connection to and even

reliance upon the *nunapik* or the real land, Yup'ik peoples spend a large amount of time travelling and/or preparing to travel. In *Always Getting Ready*, Barker stated:

I am told that being ever prepared, *upterrlainarluta*, is a common caution from Yup'ik elders to young people, whether they are preparing for fishing or a trip into the city. Implicit is the understanding that one must be wise in knowing what to prepare for and equally wise in being prepared for the unknowable (Barker 1993:13).

Never was this keen and heightened sense of awareness among the Yup'ik more apparent to me than when I was out travelling on the land with my Yup'ik friends. When the snow machine is turned off things grow eerily quiet. The land stretches for miles almost like an open prairie. For myself, as a *kassaq* or white man, initially this silence and open landscape brought forth a feeling of fear and a sense of being lost with no directions for it often appears to the foreigner that there are no visible landmarks anywhere in sight. However, to the Yup'ik hunter, there are utterly thousands of features on the land and in the sky as well as a great many signs that are shared with them by animals that are constantly guiding their every step home. Nick Larson of Kwethluk, Alaska recalled:

Up in the hills, that's what my dad used to teach me a lot. Just by observing the surroundings, 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 ... 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 (Appendix E:7).

To understand the people of the Delta, one must understand the Yup'ik people's connection to the land and how this relationship between the two shapes the way Yup'ik peoples perceive the transmission of knowledge. The words of Matt Conley drove this point home to me one late night in March. "You want to know the people, know the land, you know. Know the land, you can't separate them you know" (Appendix E:6).

Becoming a Knowledgeable Person in the Yup'ik worldview is understood to occur with the collecting of many different sources of information much like scientists build their understanding through observation and reading various sources of information. However, rather than reading through tomes of literature written by others one has likely never met, the

Yup'ik give deference to one's ability to be a qualified source of information on a subject when one has displayed that they have listened to what many other knowledgeable people have had to say upon a subject, and when they can demonstrate that they have been engaged in experiential activities concerning a particular subject matter. Mark Page of Marshall, Alaska explained to me that when someone is trying to understand something they will not understand right away, but after they go around and talk to many other people they will begin to understand the meaning of something (Appendix E:3; 4). Listening, observing, and doing are closely linked with and related to the dimension, Becoming a Knowledgeable Person within the feature Yup'ik Culture in Level One. Listening, observing, and doing are also linked to the feature Yup'ik Approach to Management in Level Three (Figure 8). In the Yup'ik context, the concept of management translates to care of their world. The dimensions Becoming a Knowledgeable Person and Who is a Real Person (discussed below) are also closely linked (Figure 8).

Caring and Respect

The importance of caring and respect in the Yup'ik culture was constantly emphasized and explained to me by Yup'ik key respondents across the Delta from the coast of Western Alaska in Hooper Bay to Russian Mission along the Lower Yukon River to Tuntutuliak near the mouth of the Kuskokwim Bay. Two weeks into my research in Western Alaska, I arrived in Marshall after dinner one night, and sitting with a gentleman in his 50's I listened to him talk about the importance of caring. He stated:

Here in Marshall we have no Village Police Safety Officer. We are trying to teach our young kids caring, an old Yupik tradition (Field Journal Notes, January 15, 2013).

Initially, I understood the importance of caring to be limited to showing care and affection to other human beings. Later, I realized that caring and respect were linked together, and they were not limited to interactions between human beings, but included Yup'ik people's interactions with animals and the *nunapik*, translated the real land. Furthermore, I began to realize that there was likely no word in the Yup'ik language that came close to the western

understanding of managing or management. It is my understanding that managing for the Yup'ik most closely resembles the words caring for and respecting the land, animals, and human beings.

At the center of Yup'ik identity and culture is the importance of sharing, not only one's resources but also one's information. Closely tied to the importance of sharing is the importance of caring for and respecting others, and this includes all the beings of this world that walk, crawl, swim, and fly. By respecting others, the world around us, and all of its beings, one demonstrates that he or she is deserving of receiving gifts. To demonstrate this point, John Active (1998:1-2) has shared an important lesson with many young Yup'ik people:

Once there was a little blackfish swimming up a stream. Every so often he would swim up to the surface and look around. The first time he surfaced he saw a camp where people were living. The people were very careless. Their camp was unkempt and their belongings were strewn around. He noticed that when the people ate, they ate very carelessly. Bits of whatever they were eating would drop from their hands or out of their mouths onto the ground as they talked. The little blackfish heard much wailing and crying at this camp. Those cries were the weeping and wailing of the bits of food that had fallen to the ground. The dogs were given the leftover scraps of food and these dogs would also leave uneaten bone and bits of food around the ground. These bits of food and bones were also crying. The little blackfish said to himself, I'll not swim into this man's fish trap. He's too careless with his food. I don't want my bones stepped on underfoot. The blackfish swam on. By and by little blackfish came to another camp and there he also saw people eating. These people also were very unkempt, and just as at the first camp, people were dropping bits of food onto the ground and throwing their bones to the dogs ... Little blackfish also noticed that the children were playing with their food, throwing bones at one another as in a game. He thought to himself, I'll not swim into this man's fish trap. They are also too careless with their food. ... I am not game to be played with. Blackfish swam on and soon he came to another camp. The next camp seemed to be deserted. There were no dogs about or people. But again

little blackfish heard much wailing and weeping. These cries were coming from the stores of many fish rotting in the first cache. ... Little blackfish said, I'll not swim into this man's trap. He must be greedy for all those poor fish are crying and not being eaten. I don't want to be wasted. I'd rather be shared with others in need. Soon blackfish came to another camp. He listened and there were no cries to be heard. A man, his wife, and two children lived there. Their father also had many dogs which were tied around the camp. Blackfish noticed there were no bones or bits of food lying about and the family ate, they ate very quietly being careful not to drop bits of food on the ground. He also saw that they set the edible bones aside for the dogs and those bones which they knew the dogs wouldn't eat went into a separate pile. ... father took the leftovers for the dogs to them and placed them in their bowl. The other un-edibles were taken aside where people never walked and were buried. There was no carelessness ... Little blackfish said to himself, At last, a family which appreciates their food. ... there is no crying and wailing at this camp. Blackfish was overjoyed. He swam about immediately looking for the man's fish trap and upon finding it, swam into it because he knew he would be eaten very carefully and his bones would not be strewn about on the ground (Active 1998:1-2).

People often spoke about how animals and food should be treated with respect. In Marshall, I was told the importance of never leaving food crumbs on the floor. My translator stated:

She said she try to take care of this ... her residence, try to keep it clean, and especially not letting crumbs ... and food particles that are on the floor, remain on the floor and be trampled on because that's against the Yup'ik rule. We've been told ... not to do that. Make sure that you don't trample on your food that's on the floor. She says that nowadays people are getting careless ... People are getting so careless that you would see food particles or fish laying on the ground out there, and everyone would be stepping on it. And the ... Yup'ik unwritten rule was that ... if you do that, the fishery, especially fishery resources will lead to decline (Appendix F:3).

Disrespect of food and animals can cause them to not return to be taken again. For many Yup'ik peoples, it is believed that being disrespectful to birds will cause them to not return in the future (Fienup-Riordan 1999). Being disrespectful to any and all animals is understood by the Yup'ik to negatively impact the return of animals. After learning that food is not to be trampled underfoot, I began to notice in the following weeks that whenever I entered a Yup'ik elders' home the floor was always spotless. While talking with an elder in Tuntutuliak, I noticed that he arose from his chair at least a half dozen times during our four hour conversation to mop what I perceived was a spotless floor (Field Journal Notes, February 12, 2013).

Demonstrating care and respect for animals begins while travelling out on the land and interacting with the animals and, it is carried forward to the dinner plate. Two young men from Kwethluk demonstrated the importance of showing care and respect to animals at the dinner table. It was explained to me by these young men that it is always important to *pukuk* or clean the bone when eating because this demonstrates care and respect for the gifts of *neqa'* (i.e., food) that animals provide. Yup'ik peoples are experts at pukuking the bones from years of practice. No matter where I ate, whether it was on the coast of Western Alaska, the Yukon, or Kuskokwim Rivers, I observed the Yup'ik people *pukuk* their food seemingly unconsciously as they ate.

Yup'ik peoples do not manage their world from a perspective that they are somehow in control of or able to manipulate their world. This is because their perceived relationship to the world is one that is on equal standing with the other beings within and a part of the world. Rather than understanding their roles as possessing the authority to manage or manipulate the land and other beings of the world, most Yup'ik people perceive their roles as caretakers of the land and its beings. For the Yup'ik, their relationships with the land and its beings are maintained through reciprocal acts of respect (Appendix L:5). The assumption that one has the ability to control the land and the animals is interpreted by Yup'ik peoples as an act of disrespect (Appendix L:5).

This demonstrates an interrelationship, or linkage, between often unseen dimensions of culture and our worldviews on land and animals, which are connected to and ultimately influence how we all approach the management and care of our worlds (Figure 8). Specifically, deeply engrained cultural beliefs about sharing, caring, respect, and the importance of listening,

observing, and doing to become knowledgeable are interrelated to and directly impact how the Yup'ik understand their world and ultimately guides their approach to caring for the world (Figure 8). This is an example of how culture shapes how we perceive our worlds and our relationships to the other beings in our worlds. Worldviews about land and animals and other components of the environment are rooted in and formed by culture and instruct us about how to engage the natural world, including caring for or managing fish and wildlife. This applies not only to Yup'ik subsistence harvesters but also agency managers and other peoples.

Sharing

When animals' gifts are refused by someone, it may result in those gifts not being offered again by animals or other peoples in the future because of the disrespect that is shown when that person refuses. Refusal of a gift is seen by the giver as the person or being saying your gifts are not good enough or unappreciated. Agnes Johnson, a Kluane Athabascan woman, explained to Nadasdy (2003a:87-88):

It's like at a potlatch. If someone gives you a gift at a potlatch, you must not refuse it, nor do you give it back, complain about it, or find fault with it in any way. It is disrespectful to imply or even think that there is some reason that the giver should not have given it to you. You just accept the gift and be thankful. To do otherwise—even in your thoughts—shows a lack of respect for the giver. It is the same with animals. They come to you as a gift. You must give thanks for that gift ... To think about the animals suffering is to find fault with that gift. To do so is to run the risk of giving offense and never receiving such a gift again.

Clark Turner of Tuntutuliak provided evidence that the act of sharing is reciprocal, both between humans and between humans and animals (Appendix G:3).

Working together ... helps, even resource like ... fish. When you're sharing something ... you get it back to you ... That's our old rule that we used to use years ago. Sharing something, that ... 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 [to] is good to you too, and do good stuff to you ... 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 ... years ago.

In reference to fish, Clark states that “when you share something you get it back.” I believe that Clark was referencing not only the gifts received from others in reward for sharing their own gifts, but also the gifts animals provide by returning to respectful people as demonstrated earlier in the story of the little blackfish (Active 1998:1-2). Clark also demonstrates that sharing with others is linked to positive feelings. Even unspoken intentions or “the wish” can have positive impacts on one’s relationship with either the giver or the receiver in future reciprocal transactions. Unspoken intentions can also have negative impacts on future transactions between beings (Appendix F:3; Nadasdy 2003a:87-88).

I was shocked by the level of sharing I saw and became part of in Western Alaska. To a high degree, people regularly share their resources and information in Western Alaskan communities (Appendix G). Sharing is strongly linked to one of the ways that trust is built between people. I acknowledged in a conversation with Nick Larson of Kwethluk that sharing with two men with whom I frequently hunted and interacted had resulted in reciprocal trust (Appendix G:9). Mr. Turner also acknowledged how sharing information enhances trust and improves relations between people.

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 ... share it with other people and let people understand, that's the best thing, and there would be nothing against you and I, or those other people too. *Interviewer: Sharing of information? Clark Turner: Uh-huh, sharing information. Interviewer: I'm thinking ... 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 (Appendix G:5).*

I learned that knowledge was meant to be shared with everyone and kept from no one. Eugenia Hayes’ daughter, Sally, told me that the elders use to say that it was the same as being a

“thief” to not share one’s knowledge with others. Sally stated, “We must share our knowledge” (Field Journal Notes, January 14, 2013). Because resources and information are meant to be shared, profiting from information that was given to you is frowned upon by many Yup’ik peoples (Appendix G:5; 6; 9). Although I offered people a \$50 stipend to talk with me for their time spent away from their own duties and families, more than a few Yup’ik people told me that they would not accept the money because knowledge is not for sale (Appendix G:7).

Sharing is a dimension of Yupi’k Culture and is linked to the dimension, Flow of Information, which is part of the feature, Communication. Sharing is also linked to the dimension, Working Together at Meetings, which is part of the feature, Interaction. These observed interrelationships demonstrate that sharing is a facilitator of meaningful participation, while lack of sharing is a barrier. For the Yup’ik people and others who participate in collaborative management efforts, sharing information is more than a common professional courtesy; it is an obligation mandated by culture.

How We Talk

During fieldwork, I began to learn many different phrases I had heard Yup’ik peoples speak. One of the most common phrases I heard was “That’s the way it is.” “That’s the way it is” is an example of the use of a definitive and certain style of speaking used to talk about something one knows about (Appendix G:5; H:4; L:5). One afternoon, I learned that the use of statements that express uncertainty on the part of the speaker often lead Yup’ik peoples to question whether that speaker truly understands the subject at hand. They would also question whether he or she had any ability to act in ways that would produce positive outcomes related to the issue at hand. For example, I told Andy Rollins of Tuluksak that I always try my best to comprehend and acknowledge what others are telling me. He quickly stopped me and said,

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. Maybe you can use the beginning terms as, our, ah, 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's some people ... in the audience that won't even listen. They'll do that too (Appendix H:2).

Some Yup'ik peoples spoke about the two sides in every person. According to the beliefs of at least some Yup'ik peoples, every person is said to have an evil side and a good side, and there are things that you can do to call on the evil side within you. The critical point here is that speaking with uncertainty by using words such as "try," "maybe," or "might" is the same as being negative and not positive. Andy provides a recommendation on how managers could speak differently at meetings to gain the attention and respect of Yup'ik peoples. This provides evidence of the interrelation between the dimension, How We Talk and the feature, Yup'ik Approach to Management in Level Three (Figure 8). Expressing uncertainty by using "guess words" to talk about something is not well received by many Yup'ik people because it may be perceived as incorrect and possibly untruthful.

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 ... 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 ... The truth reveals, the truth brings out the facts ... 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. The truth works out itself. If you give out the wrong information ... you're going to hit something and not be able to finish it, or not be able to put the finishing touch into it ... The facts normally come out strong at the end. If you or someone talks to you, and keep saying, I don't know, maybe ... Those are guessing words; I think ... maybe. This is how they do it over there [Federal and State agencies]. That's guessing, not giving you the right information (Appendix H:1; 3).

This provides evidence of the interrelation between the dimension, How We Talk and the dimension, Flow of Information within the feature Communication in Level Five (Figure 8).

Words are powerful; they define who a person is inside. Because words are powerful they can have negative impacts. Even negative thoughts are said to be dangerous. Communication in this sense is not simply limited to speaking, but it also incorporates one's thoughts and the power behind those thoughts. One cold day in early March, Tommy Griffon and I set out to do some caribou hunting. As with everything we did together whether it was hunting, trapping, chopping wood, or traveling, getting ready was a huge step. The importance of *upterrlainarluta* or being prepared or getting ready is not limited simply to gathering supplies or resources for a task. *Upterrlainarluta* is also about the importance of preparing oneself mentally and spiritually for a task. On this particular day, I was upset about something and my friend Tommy cautioned:

I need you to focus on what we are doing. Even though we are friends, things can get really hard out there today if you are not with me [he pointed at my eyes meaning your mind needs to be aware] (Field Journal Notes, March 2, 2013).

After about six hours of searching between the Akulikutak and Kwethluk Rivers on a vast plane of tundra, I began to take notice of just how far out on the *nunapik* (i.e., the real land) we really were. Finally, I made a comment to Tommy, "this place could be the *plu* if you didn't know that those two tree lines (about 50 miles apart) were the Akulikutak and Kwethluk Rivers". The *plu* was explained to me to be a place or space where one could find him or herself walking circles. It resembles a realm of existence where one is lost and may never return. Once you are in the *plu*, escaping the *plu* is not easy. Tommy responded, "Don't mention that while we are out here hunting; bad things can happen" (Field Journal Notes, March 2, 2013). About a week after our hunting trip for caribou, Tommy stated:

It's like that time we went caribou hunting, when you bring negative thoughts out into the tundra, out into the *nunapik*, the real land, if you're not prepared, you're asking for trouble. You're going to walk right into something ... You're going to say, Shit, I should have been ready for this. And then later on, you're

going to think, If I wasn't thinking like this, nothing would have happened (Appendix H:7).

The absence of certain words in a binding document or regulation can lead to disagreements. Mark Page of Marshall talked about the importance of reaching agreements by incorporating the right words into documents (Appendix H:5; 6). When something is resolved in the Yup'ik culture, it is often said to be “blown away”, and one will not hear it spoken of anymore (Appendix H:6). For many Yup'ik peoples, words are powerful, and words have the ability to cause outcomes. Words are carefully chosen, and when speaking, the speaker is most likely to speak about something using definitive statements, or not at all, for to guess is seen by many Yup'ik peoples as a negative action, even possibly a part of one's evil side, and best left unsaid. When the speaker does not know the answer, it is considered the correct course of action among the Yup'ik peoples to defer to a more knowledgeable person rather than to guess.

Commonly used phrases like “that's the way it is” (Appendix G:5; H:4; L:5); the common appearance in the Yup'ik language of the word “real” used to describe Yup'ik words such as *nunapik* (i.e., the real land); the word Yup'ik itself meaning “the real people;” and the use of the words “real” and “true” to describe the meaningful involvement and roles of others in their communities (Appendix K:1;4; l:3) provide evidence of the Yup'ik people's belief in the existence of truths. This means that there are many phenomena in Yup'ik life that can be defined, they are absolutes, they are “the way it is” (Appendix G:5; H:4; L:5). Yup'ik people's cultural beliefs and their worldviews mutually influence how they talk about their world, providing evidence that the dimension, How We Talk in Level One is linked to the feature, Yup'ik Worldviews on Land and Animals in Level Two (Figure 8).

Biologists and other scientists adhering to positivistic paradigms generally believe that truth exists as well, but it is not completely discoverable or obtainable through use of the scientific method. Because error, bias, data gaps, and other uncertainties commonly exist in scientific knowledge and data sets, scientists and managers often use “guess words” to express uncertainties and gaps in knowledge when talking about research results, population estimates, predictions, forecasts, and other trends or statistics. This may often be interpreted by their Yup'ik partners in a collaborative management setting as a problem because it appears as though scientists and managers do not know what they are talking about. This difference in

communication style and the misconceptions that arise from it among stakeholders leads to confusion and decreased satisfaction with the participatory process. The problem is rooted in two different worldviews on the phenomena being discussed at collaborative management meetings and in documents.

This provides evidence of two important interrelationships. First, the dimension, How We Talk is interrelated with the dimension, Flow of Information within the feature, Communication in Level Five. Secondly, both How We Talk and the feature, Yup'ik Worldviews on Land and Animals in Level Two are interrelated with Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of their Participation in Level Six (Figure 8).

Respect for Elders

What it means to be a real person is also closely linked to what it means to be an elder. The dimensions, Who is a Real Person and Respect for Elders in Level One are interrelated (Figure 8). Yup'ik elders are selfless givers of their time, knowledge, and resources. These men and women can often be seen in their communities working hard both physically and as mentors of the younger generations. When I landed in Tuntutuliak to meet Mr. Turner, it was early morning, and I thought that I would just meander over to the school, have breakfast, and give him some time to wake up before calling his residence. As I stepped out of the plane, there was Mr. Turner hopping off the village snow plow to greet me with a smile on his face. In his late 70's, he is a tireless worker for his community. Mr. Turner doesn't just plow runways at five in the morning on cold days in February. He attends dozens of meetings of the Lower Kuskokwim State Advisory Committee, the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group (working group), and the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council). People respect his hard work ethic, his friendly demeanor, and his service to his people. These elders, these respected men and women, earn the respect that they are given from their many years of listening, observing, doing, and sharing of their knowledge, time, and resources with others. Because of the respect they have earned, they are listened to by others. Nick Larson acknowledges that many young hunters look to his advice on where to go to find animals (Appendix I:2). Eugenia Hayes of Marshall stated, "The advice and warnings that the grandparents passed on to them are true" (Appendix I:1).

Engaging in collaborative management with people in a land that is 22.1 million acres and hundreds of miles from the city of Anchorage is easier said than done. Campaigns to limit or stop the harvest of specific fish and wildlife in times of population declines are successful due to the influence elders have on younger hunters in the Delta. George Sanders of Aniak explained, "True change come from within" (Appendix K:5). George explained that if managers wanted to see people go along with the regulations, then they would need to have the support of community members; especially the elders (Appendix K:5). During the February 2013 meeting of the Yukon Kuskokwim RAC, the highly respected elder and longtime volunteer member Mr. Harry Wilde of Mountain Village stated:

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 childrens 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 ... 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 they 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 ... There are a lot of moose down there, and people down there, they like to see the people have something to eat (Public Record; Appendix I:4).

Young Yup'ik peoples listen and defer to elders on important matters. The successful increase of moose along the Lower Yukon River provides evidence that Yup'ik elders' directions are not only listened too, but they are followed, especially by the youth. The dimension, Respect for Elders' in Level One is interrelated with the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in level four (Figure 8). Yup'ik elders are seen by the majority of Yup'ik

peoples to be the persons most qualified to speak on behalf of their communities about fish and wildlife issues and how to best collaborate with agency managers.

Familial and Communal Bonds

The importance of strong bonds, both in the family and community, and working together are dimensions of Yup'ik culture. This was observed during participant observation and across interview transcripts (Appendix J; Field Journal Notes, September 25, 2012; January 14, 2013; January 16, 2013). Many Yup'ik peoples do not live their lives as individuals. Instead, they demonstrate that Yup'ik peoples are very reliant upon each other, and these bonds between people are strengthened throughout their lives while engaging the land together (Appendix J:1). John and Tommy Griffon explained:

John Griffon: A lot of times ... 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 how 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, ... 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 ... People with the um, our ancestors, those old *ikamraq's*, you know, those old sleds ... 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. I don't need to learn it, you were there to tie it. But, I do need to learn it sometime. *Tommy Griffon:* One thing I kind of want to say is, we are young, and there's lots of older people out there, Yup'ik people, who know lot's more than us ... We're young, and we're supposed to learn some

more. We're supposed to learn, but they have to teach us ... We may know how to do things ... 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 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 ... We're open-minded. If we see somebody do something that works good, then we're going to do that. Only have to see it once. Yep, we're still learning (Appendix J:1).

I spent a good deal of time with both of these young men, and observed that I never saw them perform tasks alone. They depended on each other a great deal, especially while on the land.

Both men asserted that there are many tasks performed in Yup'ik life that are completed one specific way, again providing evidence that for many things in Yup'ik life; "that's the way it is" (Appendix G:5; H:4; L:5). The knowledge to perform such tasks is handed down from generation to generation. Examples of these tasks include, tying down a sled, how to make a fish trap, how to cut fish and animals, and how to sew a *malaggai* or a beaver skin winter hat. Tommy Griffon explained that he is aware that he and his brother are young and still learning. The perception that one is still learning is not limited to the youth (Appendix E:1; J:1). I have heard men over the age of 65 also say that they are young men and still learning (Appendix E:1).

Matt Conley of Napaimute talked about the interconnectedness of Yup'ik peoples. Matt stated:

Remote, I hear that all the time. We're only remote from the outside world. We're not remote from ourselves ... Our people are the most social, mobile people you'll ever see ... Always travelling back and forth at the drop of a hat for funerals and whatever ... I always tell 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 ... 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 (Appendix J:2).

Matt asserts that although Yup'ik peoples may be remote from the world outside of Western Alaska, within their world, they are highly connected to each other. For the outsider, it may seem odd when listening to a conversation between two or more Yup'ik peoples upon their meeting. The beginning of each such conversation always begins with identifying all of their family members, where they live, and where they are from. Family lines and relatives are vitally important for Yup'ik peoples because they can serve as a form of currency in Yup'ik life. When travelling, one depends upon their distant relatives and even friends for lodging, food, and support. Keeping track of and knowing one's relatives and friends across the Delta is important, and thus conversations begin by understanding each other's' familial connections.

In Yup'ik culture, activities are rarely conducted alone. In fact, I cannot recall a single activity outside of using the restroom where Yup'ik peoples engaged frequently in a task alone. Even washing or taking steam is something that is done together separately among men and women. I will never forget my first experience in a *maqivik* or steam house (Appendix P). Taking *maqi* or steam is more than simply bathing. It is an opportunity to clear one's mind and soul. It is medicine, and it is even slightly competitive between old friends in an entertaining way (Field Journal Notes, January 16, 2013). Again, taking steam represents just one of the many activities that are done in Yup'ik life together with friends and family. Hunting, trapping, fishing, cutting fish, plucking feathers, setting fish traps, berry picking, collecting wood, *manuking* or jig fishing through the ice, and travelling are just a few of the activities that are conducted together by Yup'ik peoples. Because Yup'ik peoples are significantly reliant upon and highly connected with one and other this affects how they perceive a meaningful role. For Yup'ik peoples, a meaningful role is largely defined by working together. The dimension, Familial and Communal Bonds is interrelated with the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four (Figure 8).

Who is a Real Person

I have been both perplexed and intrigued by the meaning of the word “Yup’ik”. The word Yup’ik or *Yupiaq* translates literally to “real people” in English. George Sanders of Aniak told me about his prescription for success in rural Alaska given to him by a priest in Fairbanks just before he departed to teach in Western Alaska in 1967. George stated:

We started this conversation out by me telling you what old [priest] said to us as educators. That we need to go to funerals, we need to go to weddings ... 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 (Appendix K:5).

The priest from Fairbanks gave George information that he believed would increase his effectiveness as a teacher and as a valued member of the rural community where George would be serving in Western Alaska. Another key respondent, Mr. Turner, drew a distinction between teachers that taught him, and those school teachers they have nowadays in Tuntutuliak (Appendix 8:37). For Clark, the key difference between the teachers in “those days” and “nowadays” is the level of involvement from the teachers in the community. Clark stated:

Nowadays, teachers are totally different than our teachers when we were young, when we were kids ... They [teachers nowadays] only teach and [are] not involved in the village. But, they want us to listen to them ... If they are involved ... in the village that would help too. The kids would work with them better ... if they know that ... the teacher's involved in the village ... They want our participation to be working both ways, because they want us to come to their meetings, and they wouldn't come to our meetings ... I mentioned that because my teachers were *real* teachers ... But the involvement like that helps (Appendix K:1).

Clark further elaborates on his teachers in the past providing evidence of how Yup’ik peoples define a meaningful person.

Let me tell you about teachers we used to have at the old BIA school. They were everything. They were village council. They were nurses. They were

teachers ... 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 ... until eleven o'clock, or something like that ... They come to our meetings, to our community meetings. They were village council, they were anything you call them ... My teacher was the Sunday school teacher at the school, and her husband was the lead pastor at the church (Appendix K:2).

Mr. Turner verifies the prescription for success that the priest shared with George Sanders over 45 years ago. What is even more interesting is the use of the word *real* to modify teachers by Mr. Turner (Appendix K:1). Quite a few times he talks about the teachers nowadays in Tuntutuliak, but never does he refer to them as real teachers like he does with the teachers of the past. This provides a glimpse through a cultural window into Yup'ik people's perceptions of the important characteristics which define a meaningful or real person. For Yup'ik peoples, a meaningful or real person is a person who is constantly engaged in serving his or her community. Similar to the personal characteristics of an elder, a meaningful person shares one's resources, time, knowledge, and efforts with others. This provides evidence that the role of an elder is closely related to what it means to be a meaningful or real person (Figure 8). Both becoming an elder and a real person is something that most Yup'ik peoples strive towards and to be referred to as either confers a title of great respect upon a person.

Matt Conley of Napaimute stated:

People in our region are really good at observing, at least the older people. Hours and hours just watching things ... watching the river, watching the weather ... watching other people ... I always figured them ... 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 ... Then, if they figured out you were a real person, they'd start talking to you (Appendix K:4).

Matt was referring to recollections of when people from outside his community would come in. He recalled that elders would not simply begin talking to just anybody. First, it was important for elders to discover whether or not the newcomer was a meaningful person; a *real person*. Often, I heard from Yup'ik peoples that elders could see right through a person. Sally Hayes of

Marshall told me that it used to be said that elders could listen to an outsider and know within seconds by their body language and their words what kind of person they really were (Field Journal Notes, January 15, 2013). Through the words of George Sanders, Clark Turner, Matt Conley, and Sally Hayes I began to understand that real people are those people who are seen as positively engaged in their communities. These real people are selfless givers, they are involved, and they are remembered. They command respect among the other members of their communities based upon their actions and their tireless and selfless efforts aimed at helping others in need.

Being perceived as a real or meaningful person has the power to greatly influence the value others grant to one's knowledge. Also, the level of trust bestowed upon a real person is much greater. George Sanders of Aniak explained:

Now hear [upper level state manager] is trying to make, want us to look at this thing entirely different, and change the way we [are] 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 ... They're [Fish and Game] 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 [2012]. You know they're gonna want us [to accept Fish and Game's changes for managing Chinook on the Kuskokwim River], and people are just not going to buy into that stuff, and I understand that. But again, going back to, what your 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 ... 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 ... that you were eating with them, or whatever you were doing with em ... I think that's so important if you want to change. The direction for change, you know as an anthropologist does, usually comes from the outside. But, true change comes from the inside (Appendix K:5).

An agency manager who has spent quality face time with subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska is afforded a large amount of respect, trust, and legitimacy regarding their recommendations presented at fish and wildlife management meetings. Scientists, managers, and other agency staff who have spent time in communities eating, drinking tea, and talking with community members are perceived by Western Alaskan people to be engaged in the community; they are meaningful or real people. This finding corroborates findings and recommendations presented in Jacobs and Brooks (2011) and Dorantes and Brooks (2012).

It is important to discuss the outcomes of participating as a real person in collaborative management with other stakeholders. The following quote provided by Clark Turner is an example of a *penetrator*. Meaning units and quotes were coded as penetrators if they illustrated several interrelated features in Figure 8. Clark stated:

That's why I mentioned involvement helps, both for the [teachers and] managers. If they involve and ... not doing their own stuff all the time ... they may have time to go to a village and have meeting, public meeting, and let them know ... why they are there to manage ... fish and game, why they have to carry the law. Those law enforcement [officers] are the people who ... do their work, and he's doing these other work that, if people ... understand that, they would feel better, I think. Like you mentioned about that person ... involved in village ... and you learn from them, like learning Yup'ik. That's ... always the start, learning Yup'ik, and learning how ... we function, or how we operate ... How we do the work, or how we hunt and fish, how we live in the village. Same thing ... If they ... learn ... that would help. How we learn, how we trap, and how we do the work, travel, camp, hunt, fish ... Like us, we travel by dog teams years ago, and took the *qayaq* down to open water, and paddle from there on, and bring enough food for the dogs too ... The dogs would have food from the seals, or the dry fish we carry in the sled. Same way with, if the managers ... want to learn that's the way to be, involvement. Like this teacher, one time I had to help ... build a steam house by the school, and he took *maqi* in there. And he and I went seal hunting together. And he and I went to moose hunting together, up there at Aniak ... If the people were like that, we would feel better for that

person, or be friends with them ... 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 this school, even I go up there almost every day (Appendix K:1).

Going to villages and interacting more with the people will provide managers with opportunities to explain why they are there and what they are doing. For Clark, if Yup'ik people understand who you are and what you are doing, they will feel better; implying that they are more likely to trust individuals who share with others who they are and their intentions (Appendix K:1). When people openly share and show engagement in community life, others feel better about them. Real people are granted increased amounts of trust, respect, and legitimacy. Sharing and being engaged promotes two way learning (Appendix K:2). Rather than simply coming to discuss problems, engaged or real people come to learn and work with people (Appendix K:2). For Clark, being meaningfully involved is defined as engaging in learning from and working with communities rather than only coming to discuss problems (Appendix K:2).

I identified five important interrelationships between the dimension, Who is a Real Person and other dimensions and features in Figure 8 (Appendix K:1;2). First, real people are people who are engaged with, or frequently interact with the community. This illustrates the important linkage between Who is a Real Person and Working Together in Communities, connecting levels One and Five. Secondly, what it means to be a real person has implications for and thus is interrelated with the dimension, Working Together at Meetings. Working Together at Meetings is part of the feature, Interaction in Level Five. Thirdly, Who is a Real Person is interrelated with the dimension, Flow of Information, which is part of the feature, Communication in Level Five. Fourthly, Who is a Real Person is interrelated with the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four. Finally, it was implied by key respondents that if a person is not perceived to be meaningful, or real, and not engaged in the community, Yup'ik peoples will most likely not interact with that person or engage in the collaborative meetings sponsored by the agencies. This illustrates the critical linkage between Who is a Real Person and the feature, Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating at the tip of the iceberg (Figure 8).

Level 2: Worldviews

Yup'ik Worldviews on Land and Animals

To understand how one approaches the care of their world it becomes critical for us to understand their relationship to the world in which they live and more importantly, what that relationship means to them. For many Yup'ik peoples, they understand themselves as one of the beings of the world they live in and share with other living beings, whether they are humans or animals; all are equal and must be shown respect. Information about how Yup'ik peoples perceive land and animals is sometimes not shared with outsiders because sometimes they are ridiculed for sharing these beliefs (Appendix L:9).

I spent many months interacting and sharing resources and information with John and Tommy Griffon. A great deal of trust developed between us, allowing me the opportunity to learn much about Yup'ik culture, worldviews, and beliefs. The knowledge shared with me during both our experiences and conversations contributed a great deal towards helping me better understand the interrelations between dimensions of their Yup'ik culture, their worldviews on land and animals, and the more visible barriers to their meaningful participation above the waterline in Level Five (Figure 8). During an interview, I recorded this exchange between John and Tommy about the relationship between animals and humans:

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. ... 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 person will do the same thing. And out there [on the *nunapik*, the real land] they're [animals] teaching you ... they're showing you ... *John Griffon:* They're taking opportunities too. *Interviewer:* ... Animals teach you things ... *Tommy Griffon:* A lot of people don't like to think of it like that ... having a god and having a ... *John Griffon:* a civilized life. *Tommy Griffon:* We're not animals, we're human beings, people say that and stuff. *John Griffon:* We're at the top of the food chain ... *Tommy Griffon:* No we're not. *John Griffon:* Yep, not in Alaska.

And in Las Vegas, maybe, there's nothing. *Tommy Griffon:* But here ... if you don't do stuff the right way, you're basically at the bottom of the food chain. *John Griffon:* Like that falls 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 a fish and an eagle ... It's all the same ... I don't know how to say it. *Tommy Griffon:* Watch, look ... 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 [not] human beings ... 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, 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 ... *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 *nunapik* [the real land] ... 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 ... We got a house. *Tommy Griffon:* Running water. *Interviewer:* ... 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. If I'm understanding this right, that goes all the way to your intentions too, when you go out there. ... you have to be respectful. *Tommy Griffon:* Let's say you have somebody coming ... a person coming into your house that wants to do something, right? They come in ... but they have something on their mind, so they're ... being really negative. You don't want them in your house, right? Let's say ... a plumber comes in to fix your pipes or something, and they're all cussing and everything ... You don't want them in your house ... They're being rude ... They're being disrespectful to you in your

house. You want them out, same thing. *John Griffon*: It's their home, you've got to respect them. *Interviewer*: ... 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'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*: And what you do is after ... when you're done, let's say with bird feathers and bird guts and stuff, like stuff that you can't use ... 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 [are] grasses and you get a bunch of grass, a bunch of leaves, and you dump the feathers and the guts. As you're laying down the grass and ... leaves ... this is what you're supposed to say [speaks in *Yup'ik*] ... *John Griffon*: May you come back plentiful. *Tommy Griffon*: The same thing with bones and any kind of stuff ... mammals, water-dwelling mammals, beavers, muskrats, seals. *John Griffon*: You put it back in the water. *Tommy Griffon*: You put it back ... 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 (Appendix L:5).

For John and Tommy, the relationship between the land, animals, and humans is a “big relationship” that “cannot be broken.” *Yup'ik* peoples view themselves and the animals as part of the land which they both share. Tommy shares that all living things have spirits. It was often expressed to me that when you are out on the *nunapik* (i.e., the real land), you are in the animals' home and because the animals were there first you must respect them and their home (Appendix L:5). Although the *nunapik* is considered to be the animals' home, *Yup'ik* peoples also associate the land with their home and connect it to feelings of “freedom” (Field Journal Notes, September 26, 2012).

Respecting the land and the animals cements the reciprocal relationship between humans, animals, and the land. When care and respect are practiced by Yup'ik peoples, it ensures the success of their endeavors, including hunting, traveling, or any other action they take on the land. Demonstrating care and respect for both the land and the nonhuman beings on the land is interpreted by many Yup'ik peoples as a duty and an obligation (Appendix L:5). The equality and reciprocal relationship between animals and humans represents a deep rooted and unconsciously accepted truth in the Yup'ik worldview. This is often unseen by outsiders when they arrive in the Delta. There is further evidence that Yup'ik peoples often speak in definitive terms. As Tommy and John explained, demonstrating care and respect to the land and animals is "the way it is" in Yup'ik culture. This provides evidence of the interrelation between the dimension, Caring and Respect in Level One and the feature, Yup'ik Worldviews on Land and Animals (Figure 8).

If the animals are not respected they may not return (Appendix L:5; Active 1998:1-2; Fienup-Riordan 1999). It is a common belief among Yup'ik peoples that one's actions and even their thoughts can have serious consequences when out on the land if they are not being aware and respectful. Animals and the land are often understood by many Yup'ik people to possess the ability to make their home unwelcome to disrespectful people. It was expressed that the land is alive, must be respected, and arguably even has the ability to punish those who do not respect it.

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 ... *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 here. *Tommy Griffon:* These biologists that ... have worked here, up at Salmonid Rivers Observatory Network (SARON), and up at the Kwethluk River, they want to 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 ... What they're doing is interacting with things ... 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 ... white crowned sparrow, whatever you name. Those to them are things. Everything and everybody, just like we do, just like us Yup'ik people ... we have intentions too. We intend to do things. *John Griffon: So do they. Tommy Griffon: Hence the name, fieldwork (Appendix L:6).*

This conversation illustrates two differing and even contradictory ways of perceiving the land between the Yup'ik people and visiting biologists and managers. While working with biologists during the summers, John noticed that they often referred to the land as the field. Understood in this way, the land appears to be perceived as a place of duty. This is starkly different from the way in which many Yup'ik peoples perceive or understand their relationship to the land. For many Yup'ik peoples, the land is understood or interpreted as their home; whereas the field denotes a place of duty, home denotes a sacred place (Appendix L:4; 6). While Euro-Americans who conduct their work in a field setting (e.g., soldiers, scientists, surveyors) may in fact demonstrate care by leaving the land as they found it, this is substantially different than the level of care and respect that is shown to the land by a person who perceives it to be their home rather than the field. This provides some evidence that stakeholders worldviews on land and animals are interrelated with their approaches to management or problem solving (Figure 8). These differences between stakeholders influence how stakeholders perceive their participation and whether or not they choose to participate in collaborative management activities.

For many Yup'ik people, animals are believed to have both feelings and intentions. Because animals are understood to be intelligent and have intentions, animals are understood to be very sensitive. For example, bears are said to be able to hear you. Although it is okay to hunt bears, one is not supposed to talk about hunting bears. After setting some snares because of trouble he was having with brown bears in his fish camp one year, Matt Conley explained:

I caught a brown bear and it looked like a bomb went off ... 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 ... 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 ... 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 (Appendix L:7).

Similarly, fish are said to be very sensitive to foreign substances in the water. Eugenia Hayes recalled that ever since the sewer and water plant was put in Marshall, fish had been declining. She questioned whether or not chemicals and waste from the sewer and water plant were running off into the Yukon River and affecting the fish (Appendix L:3).

One of the major environmental topics of discussion today in the Kuskokwim River drainage is the proposed Donlin mining project. To be fair, I spoke with subsistence harvesters who were both for and against the permitting of the Donlin mine. On one hand, the Donlin mine could provide much needed jobs to peoples living along the Kuskokwim River (Appendix L:10). On the other hand, the proposed Donlin mine is expected to increase the barge traffic up and down the Kuskokwim River. There are many Yup'ik peoples who are not in favor of the mine, and believe that heavy barge traffic affects fish. Clark Turner stated:

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. ... that's where there's fish ... 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 ... That made me think about those barges. We have a lot more barge travel on the upriver [Upper Kuskokwim River] then there used to be. There was not that many traffic before, so that scare the fish away. And those managers should ... be aware of that too, and not, I mean, when people talk about that, they should think about it ... That's the way managers supposed to be, ah, think of other things. If I was a manager ... at the store, I would tell those people to stock what

is gonna sell and not stock what is not gonna sell because we want to earn money ... The fish are same way ... We want to help the fish to go to their spawning grounds ... (Appendix L:2).

These examples illustrate that many Yup'ik peoples understand animals to be sensitive, smart, and capable of having intentions (Appendix F; L). Many if not most Kluane Athabascan peoples believe that animals have intentions (Nadasdy 2003). One man explained to Nadasdy:

I watch these fishermen on T.V. They catch a big lake trout and lift him up out of the water. Then they measure him and take a picture and horse around with him. They take the hook out and let him go. Then they catch him again. How do you think that fish feels (Nadasdy 2003a:82)?

The belief that playing with animals is disrespectful is not limited to the Kluane peoples. Arguably, most Alaska Native peoples find playing with animals to be extremely offensive and disrespectful. In *Playing with Fish and Other Lessons from the North*, Robert Wolfe talks about how catch and release fishing is perceived as playing with fish by some if not most Yup'ik peoples (Wolfe 2006).

Yup'ik peoples perceive their relationship to both the land and the animals as one of equal footing and shared respect. How Yup'ik and Euro-American peoples perceive land and animals is connected to how they approach the care or management of land and animals. Both Yup'ik peoples' and Euro-American managers' worldviews on land and animals are interrelated with their approaches to management or problem solving concerning the land and animals in Level Three (Figure 8).

Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals

In my conversations with biologists and managers working for Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game, some of the discussions centered on their understandings of nature, wildlife, and their perceptions of the differing perspectives on nature and wildlife held by different stakeholder groups. During my first conversation with a manager from Fish and Wildlife, I observed a difference between how agency managers and subsistence harvesters talk about animals. Bill Cartwright used words like things, creatures, and mega-fauna to refer to animals (Appendix M:1). For Yup'ik subsistence harvesters, fish and animals have names and spirits

(Appendix L:1; 5; 6). Some subsistence harvesters believe that their views of fish and animals are poorly understood by scientists and agency managers (Appendix L:6; AB:2). Scientists and managers tend not to think of animals as non-human beings with spirits and having reciprocal relationships with people.

Biologists and resource managers tend to see animals as essentially distinct from humans: largely lacking in consciousness, intelligence, and social/and or spiritual relations with one and other and with humans. Nearly everything that biologists wish to know about animals can be expressed numerically or graphically (Nadasdy 2003a:109).

When one considers their relationship to the world separate from the animals and the land, they can potentially manage and control that world for they see themselves as removed and even above the non-human living things in the world. Animals and the land are not seen as manageable by most Yup'ik peoples. This is evidenced by the absence of a Yup'ik word that closely resembles the definition of management in the English language. In order to see oneself as a manager of the land, a person must first consider him or herself as separate from animals and nature. If one interprets their relationship to animals and the land as a shared existence, as many Yup'ik people do, one does not have the authority to manage those animals or the land. That role does not exist in one's mind.

Managers often expressed that they looked at the world of the Delta and the surrounding ocean in terms of a holistic ecosystem rather than focusing on single elements. This broad, systems perspective of some fish and wildlife managers is evident in this comment from Bill Cartwright:

It's not all about the charismatic mega-fauna. It takes sometimes ... politically and socially ... For the masses ... there's these big things [animals] 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 ... inhabit those biomes. ... So, if we don't take a hard look at how the system functions, it's kind of like ... putting a roof on the house before you finish the basement. You've got ... to understand the base ... build the basement first and then put the walls on and then the roof on and then it's going to be ...

you're going to understand ... that you're gonna have a whole house ... 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 ... deer ... and moose, but ... what's really driving the ecosystem? It may be ... something very small (Appendix M:1).

Managers were concerned about the effects of human induced impacts on the ecosystems of the Delta. Bill Cartwright stated:

These resources obviously are not resources that are ... what I would say would be in a primeval condition just because of the extraneous threats from a global environment are so vast because of this huge human population on this land ... 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 is happening, whether we like it or not (Appendix M:5).

Similarly, Ron Gables, a manager with Fish and Wildlife, characterized the causal factors affecting Chinook salmon in Western Alaska as multivariate or containing multiple factors that affect fish and wildlife. Ron stated:

It's a classic death of a thousand cuts ... Everything contributes to the ... long-term sustainability and health of these stocks of fish. Whether it's high seas interception, ocean acidification, just normal ... climatic patterns, normal cycles of abundance ... habitat degradation, over fishing pressure, over fishing pressure, over fishing pressure (Appendix M:7).

While Ron Gables asserts that there are multiple factors affecting Chinook salmon in Western Alaska, he also emphasizes over fishing. He may perceive the decline of Chinook salmon as most affected by overfishing. Ron defended the Pollock bycatch as only a very small factor affecting Western Alaska Chinook salmon, while mentioning many times that he believed that the in-river subsistence harvest was a significant factor affecting Chinook salmon escapement (Appendix M:7; N:6).

The ways in which we perceive our world can affect our perceptions and even our acceptance of worldviews on land and animals foreign to us. There is a strong link between stakeholders' worldviews on land and animals and the value they assign to the knowledge of

other stakeholders who do not share similar worldviews. This provides evidence that Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals influence and thus are linked to the value they assign to subsistence harvesters' knowledge in Level Five (Figure 8).

Level 3: Approach to Managing Fish and Wildlife

Managers' Approach to Management

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 this framework, 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).

Sustained harvest depends on many factors, including various impacts to fish and wildlife populations. Some managers talked about multivariate causal factors impacting fish and wildlife. One common theme expressed by Federal managers was the belief that because the factors impacting fish and wildlife are usually multivariate, managers have to focus on variables they believe they can affect; control the harvest (Appendix N:2; 6). Bill Cartwright stated:

Where we can say this was a harvest issue or this was ... an ocean issue. 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 ... if we can address what we can control, at least we can control that. I mean to control ... ocean productivity is a pretty tall order. To control harvest is something that we can do (Appendix N:2).

Ron Gables expressed that it frustrated him to hear subsistence harvesters say, "We take what we need" (Appendix N:7). It is important to note that many subsistence harvesters do share with managers that they believe that there are things occurring in the ocean that are affecting the fish they harvest. Subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska have increasingly questioned

the impact that commercial trawlers in the Bering Sea have had on Western Alaska's salmon. For some managers, those factors affecting fish in the ocean have to do with climate change, (Appendix N:7) and other biological factors like "ocean acidification, habitat degradation, or over fishing pressure" (Appendix M:7). In contrast, many subsistence harvesters believe the high seas Pollock industry is the single greatest threat to Western Alaska's salmon (Appendix S:4; AC:8; AD:11). In Yup'ik culture, if one is disrespectful to animals, animals may not return. For many Yup'ik peoples the bycatch of the Pollock fishery is interpreted as wasteful (Appendix AC:8; AD:4; 11). Waste is perceived by many subsistence harvesters as disrespectful to the spirits of the animals and the gifts animals provide (Appendix F:5; L:8).

Another theme expressed by agency managers was the assertion that fish and wildlife management is guided by laws, policy, and regulation, particularly the Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) and the Memorandum of Understanding between the Federal and Alaska State governments (Appendix N:6; Field Journal Notes, January 30, 2013). Democratic rule of law is an important guiding principle for agency managers (Mahoney et al. 2008:9). Agencies 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. Bill Cartwright stated, "It's simple; the law (i.e., ANILCA) says, we must protect the resource and provide opportunities for subsistence uses" (Field Journal Notes, January 30, 2013). If ANILCA and the Memorandum of Understanding are in fact guiding the management of fish and wildlife, and managing those resources is just that "simple," why has the federal government seemingly followed some portions of the law to a fine point while seemingly ignoring other portions of the ANILCA like section 801 (5) which mandates that rural residents be given a meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife (U.S.C 1980)?

There are substantial differences between stakeholders' perceptions of the meaning of the term meaningful role. There is a lack of a definition for the phrase, meaningful role in the ANILCA. These facts have in part placed stakeholders at a stalemate regarding their mutual goal of developing an effective collaborative management process for fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Some agency managers interpret their approach as appropriately and correctly following the laws, policies, and regulations, whereas the approach taken towards management of fish and wildlife by subsistence harvesters more closely resembles the practice of caring for

the land and animals, an approach that is deeply intertwined to their cultural beliefs and worldview on land and animals. In the Yup'ik worldview, animals cannot be controlled or managed because humans and animals are on equal footing with one and other, sharing their existence with the land. Hence, the Yup'ik approach to management demonstrates the existence and importance of the reciprocal bond between humans and animals evident in their worldviews.

Although both federal managers asserted that fish and wildlife management plans are dominantly guided by laws and policy (Appendix N:6; Field Journal Notes, January 30, 2013), they did not agree that managing fish and wildlife by regulation was necessarily so simple. Ron Gables stated:

We don't have a crystal ball. We don't know what the outcome is actually going to be ... We take our best shot at what we think it's gonna be, and I'll tell [you] ... 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 (Appendix N:6).

Ron's assertion that agency managers made the correct decision when the working group and subsistence harvesters disagreed with them is an example of how the feature, Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals are linked to and affect how they value subsistence harvesters' knowledge of and roles in collaborative management (Figure 8). As Ron points out above, biologists are often focused on numbers to understand populations of fish and wildlife, and they talk about fish and wildlife in terms of numbers and statistics as opposed to sentient beings that interact with people. This presents challenges to Yup'ik peoples who do not understand and think about animals in terms of numbers. To communicate with managers, Yup'ik partners have to modify their worldview and approach to fish and wildlife. Nadasdy (2003a:6) has made similar observations:

In order to play a meaningful role in the co-management of local wildlife, First Nations peoples not only have to learn to talk the language of wildlife biology, but they also have to become proficient at (and comfortable with) thinking and talking about animals as numbers.

Visually depicted by a red line in Figure 8, Ron's and Nadasdy's words have theoretical implications for communication. Divergent worldviews on land and animals between stakeholder groups in Level Two affect communication outcomes in Level Five. The divergence between worldviews, which is rooted in cultural differences, is a driving force in the more visible communication failures. Moreover, these different cultural views of animals and stakeholders' lack of understanding of each other's cultural views most likely influence documented declines in applications to serve on the Council (Figure 8; Appendix N:6; Nadasdy 2003a:6).

One particularly bothersome practice for subsistence harvesters is managers' habit of holding closed door meetings. I have witnessed this several times while observing dozens of fish and wildlife management meetings between subsistence harvesters and agency managers. Towards the end of the working group meeting on June 20, 2012, advisory group members were asked to make a recommendation to the Fish and Game. A request was made to immediately open fishing on the river. This request was denied by the Fish and Game stating, "We are not in a position to do this" (Field Journal Notes, June 20, 2012). Disheartened by this response after already enduring a seven-day closure on the Kuskokwim, one man who did not give his location on the teleconference replied, "I feel our emotions and way of life are being damaged as we go. With this treatment [from managers], it's unreal" (Field Journal Notes, June 20, 2012). The air was electric, and the meeting ended. Six days later and after 13 days of fishing closures on the Kuskokwim River, the working group met again. The meeting proceeded in much the same way as the week before. Frustration was expressed several times by subsistence harvesters for the extended closures. Over the microphone a whispered voice from one State of Alaska manager speaking to another said, "Do you have anything that you need to tell me in private?" The chair of the working group replied:

I asked that any discussion be open and not behind closed doors. I do not wish that you go behind closed doors. What are the working group members thoughts? If we have to change our way of life, so can federal managers. In reply, another KRSWG member stated, What comes to the working group should be discussed with all of us. I have frustration. No matter what we tell you ... what you are going to do is what you are going to do. It would be educational to me to hear how you come to these decisions (Field Journal Notes, June 26, 2012).

This demonstrated that harvesters did not particularly like when plans and decisions were being discussed by managers without their involvement. As mentioned earlier, for many Yup'ik peoples, information is meant to be freely shared, and when information is kept from others, the one withholding is considered a thief (Appendix G:5).

While some managers have acknowledged that meeting amongst themselves behind closed doors does affect the trust between subsistence harvesters and managers, the practice of communicating in private between one and other is understood to be the professional way to approach management discussions for some managers (Appendix N:3). In response to why discussions occur at meetings behind closed doors, Bob Riley, a state manager working with Fish and Game, stated, "The reason that happens is because no one wants to see a free association of decision making between the managers going on in front of them" (Appendix N:3). This may be the perception of some managers, but it is not the perception of most subsistence harvesters involved in participatory planning and management. For managers, withholding some information is interpreted as being professional or acting according to agency protocol (Appendix N:3). In contrast, Yup'ik peoples believe that all information is to be shared (Appendix G:5). Managers' habit of holding closed door meetings demonstrates important connections between Managers' Approach to Management, Flow of Information in Level Five, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of Their Participation in Level Six, and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8). Differences in culture, worldviews, and approaches to management between stakeholders and the lack of cultural awareness and understanding of these differences further complicated by infrequent interactions between these groups are most likely contributing to an observable decline in participation on the Council (Figures 1; 8).

Bill Cartwright understood one of the primary missions of Fish and Wildlife as catering to bird watchers and people who just wanted to enjoy the wilderness and scenery (Appendix M:4). In contrast, natural resource manager, Rick Strickland from a Native Tribal Corporation in Bethel, expressed that the goal of management is to allow for human uses of resources:

They're [federal agency representatives on the Federal Subsistence Board] more subservient to the ... environmentalists' 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 ... human use. 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 ... in Washington DC last spring ... 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 ... board of directors for Defenders of Wildlife and the Sierra Club, and they have the inside track. *Interviewer:* Why do you think that this upper level management in Washington DC ... is so ... *Rick Strickland:* Ignorant. It's been institutionalized. It's a Farley Mowat syndrome. It's institutionalized. It's something that's ... become institutionalized with the agencies (Appendix M:6).

Farley Mowat was a conservationist who wrote several books about nature, animals, and some indigenous peoples. *People of the Deer* was published in 1952, and it received a great deal of criticism from some who believed that he misrepresented peoples from the Ennadai Lake region in Nunavut, Canada (Querengesser 2009). Since then, the credibility of his knowledge and works has been questioned. Rick believes that decisions made by upper level federal managers are being driven by their conservationist beliefs and associations with wildlife clubs whose goals are much more in line with preservation than managing for the use of fish and wildlife resources. Tribal natural resource managers like Rick Strickland are concerned not only with protecting the resources, but also managing those resources for human uses. Differing approaches to and goals for the management of fish and wildlife do exist between federal, state, and tribal natural resource managers. To what degree political institutions like the Sierra Club and Defenders of Wildlife impact how and for what purposes fish and wildlife are managed is beyond the scope of this study.

Yup'ik Approach to Management

One subsistence harvester expressed that managers are smart people, but she questioned whether or not managers approach the management of fish and wildlife with the same levels of social and cultural intelligence and reverence as many subsistence harvesters do (Appendix O:1). Susan Carter of Bethel explained:

I think all the people of the river, the stakeholders, 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 ... 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. There's a lot of people there [at the working group meetings] like [working group member] and [working group member], a lot of us we go there—it truly is a volunteer ... situation. Some people [natural resource managers on business] are paid too. It's a 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 think they're smart ... They might be book smart, but they're ... not culturally smart ... There's no emotion in their research ... 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 them all up on the Kisaralik and Kwethluk Rivers ... having fun and enjoying our life, but ... we approach it [management of fish and wildlife] in our needs, our emotions, and our culture ... 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 (Appendix O:1).

Although some agency managers live in Western Alaska year round, many of them who have an impact on people's lives in this rural part of the state do not live there. Some subsistence harvesters believe that managers who do not live in Western Alaska have less ability to manage fish and wildlife resources and develop policies and regulations effectively because of their lack

of knowledge for the area and its people (Appendix S:1; AB:4; 5; AD:4). George Sanders of Aniak emphasized:

We need some goddamn local managers [stressed]. Somebody who lives out there, who's gotta vested interest ... Do you think that, I mean, I was the principal at the school in Aniak for 18 years ... 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 much better educator and principal because I raised my kids there, and I had something to lose. You follow me ... I had a vested interest. I still own my home out there. If I had a place that I 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's where their heart was. Their heart wasn't here in Anchorage, or somewhere else (Appendix AB:4).

Tribal natural resources manager Bobby Sterling asserted that many of the Federal Subsistence Board members have never lived in a village community (Appendix S:1). Bobby Sterling stated:

They've never participated culturally, traditionally, or spiritually in a hunt or fishing ... 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 (Appendix S:1).

For Bobby, the Federal Subsistence Board should be a citizen appointed board (Appendix S:1).

To clarify why, Bobby stated:

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 ... [which] 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 (Appendix S:1).

Many Yup'ik peoples like Bobby believe that subsistence harvesters who possess knowledge and understanding of their cultural values and ways of life are better managers of their world than managers who have not lived their way of life (Appendix U:6; S:1). For Bobby, foreign managers who do not understand his way of life making decisions that could affect his culture is a "dangerous [management] system" (Appendix S:1). For subsistence harvesters, being a qualified manager is linked to a person's possession of knowledge based on experience derived from interaction with both the land and its people (Appendix AB:6).

Fish and wildlife managers largely follow the tenets of positivist science and statistical analysis of data to create knowledge (Appendix O:5). Yup'ik peoples also have a framework for analyzing their observations and creating knowledge. Andy Rollins of Tuluksak described this approach in terms of how most Euro-American's refer to the practice of science. Andy explained:

To me, there's four words. Let me reiterate. Observe. When you observe, you come to know what it is. Comprehend. And then when you comprehend, Oh, this is what it is. Acknowledge ... 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, 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 (Appendix O:2).

For the Yup'ik, observe, comprehend, acknowledge, and execute provide a framework for processing and acting upon observations and knowledge. Mark Page of Marshall explained that when someone is trying to understand the meaning of something they must go and talk to many other knowledgeable people and continue observing (Appendix E:3; 4). Some agency managers

and subsistence harvesters agree that to comprehend something one must thoroughly exhaust all avenues of examination by listening and observing (Appendix E:3; 4; O:3). These statements provide evidence that the feature, Yup'ik Approach to Management is interrelated with the cultural importance Yup'ik peoples place on listening, observing, and doing, which are key elements of the dimension, Becoming a Knowledgeable Person in Level One (Figure 8).

For many Yup'ik peoples, managing the land and the animals is understood as caring for the land and animals. The meaning associated with caring for the land embodies not only making practical decisions to ensure the sustainability of future animal populations but also the importance of demonstrating care and respect towards the other beings of the land to remain in proper spiritual balance with other living beings in their world (Appendix F; Kawagley 1995:15; Bielawsky 2003). Yup'ik understandings of caring for and respecting the fish and wildlife of the Delta are similar to a nomadic hunting and gathering or herding strategy whereby one practices self-regulation by moving often to ensure that one region does not receive too much pressure from hunting or herding (Appendix O:6; 10; 13; 14). Andy Rollins illustrates the important linkage between Yup'ik Approach to Management and the dimension, How We Talk in Level One (Figure 8). Without using "guess words", Yup'ik peoples approach problem solving by sharing only what they know to be true through listening; observing; and most importantly, doing (Appendix H:2; 3).

Level 4: Defining a Meaningful Role

A meaningful role has not been formally defined by either Alaska's subsistence harvesters or the United States Government. During conversations with subsistence harvesters and agency managers, I rarely observed direct statements that defined meaningful role as used in Section 801 (5) of the ANILCA. Subsistence harvesters did not express how they perceived the role of managers in collaborative management of fish and wildlife. Stakeholders' perceptions of their roles in the management of fish and wildlife are partially visible and located just below the waterline in Level Four (Figure 8).

In the research objectives, I proposed to define how subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska perceive a meaningful role. I also looked for insights for understanding how managers perceive their role, and how they understand and define the role of subsistence harvesters. I

discuss the perceptions of agency managers first. Then, I discuss how subsistence harvesters define meaningful role in the context of managing fish and wildlife. I also discuss why certain stakeholders such as younger subsistence harvesters may not be participating in the collaborative management process used in Western Alaska.

How Managers Perceive their Role

Agency managers indicated that there were some commonalities in how they perceived their roles in collaborative management of fish and wildlife. Both federal and state managers perceived their primary objective as managing for the long term sustainability of fish and wildlife resources (Appendix R:2; 4). For fisheries management, Ron Gables, a manager working with Fish and Wildlife, stated:

You have to constantly keep letting folks know that our primary responsibility is to the long term health and sustainability of these Chinook runs, any salmon, any fish stock for that matter (Appendix R:4).

However, a key difference between the roles and responsibilities of agency managers is the state's responsibility and role of managing for all interest groups (i.e., subsistence harvesters, private individuals, and commercial operators). Bob Riley from Fish and Game stated:

The Department [Fish and Game] has a responsibility to manage for all uses. The first most important use, I mean you'll hear the most important thing that happens with those fish is escapement. The most important use is subsistence. Once that's satisfied, if there still seem to be a lot of fish in the river then the Department has to make some of those fish available to commercial users (Appendix R:2).

Ron Gables discussed involvement of the United States Government in fisheries management on federal public lands and waters in Alaska. Ron stated:

If we for whatever reason don't agree with what the state is proposing to do and we feel that it's not in the best conservation interests of the resource or it's not providing subsistence opportunity that could be provided, then we can exert federal jurisdiction over the fishery and wild—or whatever and implement our own regulation ... A lot of people don't understand it, and ... it causes a lot of

confusion ... Authority actually lies with the refuge manager [the refuge manager of the Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge]. He's the individual who is designated as the in-season manager (Appendix R:3).

Ron explained that the United States Government co-manages Alaskan fisheries with the State of Alaska. Ron did not include subsistence harvesters as a co-manager of Alaska's fisheries. Secondly, Ron explained that because of the Katie John decision, the federal management agencies ultimately have veto authority on decisions over the State of Alaska. To clarify, in-season management refers to all management decisions which are made during the regulatory fishing season. This is different from out-of-season management decisions, which are defined as management decision made outside the regulatory season. Ron goes on to say:

But where the rubber meets the road is when they [the State of Alaska] implement that [management policies or plans]. So, if there is ... something in the plan that is a tripwire, right, and they implement it in season, and we disagree with it, that's when we exert federal jurisdiction (Appendix R:3).

Ron's assertion is that the United States Government holds a larger amount of authority than the state in the management of fish and wildlife on federal public lands and waters in Alaska. How the struggles for authority between federal and state managers actually play out is not so clear. Subsistence harvesters questioned whether or not federal managers are in control of the Kuskokwim fisheries (Appendix S:2; 3). Tribal natural resource manager Josh Owens stated:

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 [memorandum of agreement or understanding] 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 ... I know that the local refuge 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 (Appendix S:3).

Josh provides evidence that external forces affect subsistence harvesters' perceptions of their participation. External forces which affect subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation may be contributing to why some subsistence harvesters are not participating in collaborative efforts such as the Council (Figure 8). Rather than a feature within the iceberg model, external forces can be interpreted as an ocean current moving and shifting the iceberg. These forces affect stakeholders' perceptions of their participation in Level Six (Figure 8).

One manager talked about his agency's role as educator engaged in providing other stakeholders with an understanding of fisheries science and management. Bob Riley, a fishery scientist and manager working with Fish and Game, stated:

Last year we feel like we embarked on a pretty extensive ... effort ... to bring the stakeholders up to speed on what we were doing. To really be as open as we could, to actually go to—some effort to, like almost have ... classes to teach fisheries management science to ... lay people that didn't have background in it. I mean, yes, you [subsistence harvesters] have a background in fisheries as a lifestyle and so some of these concepts are going to make sense to you, but a lot of it isn't... [State fisheries scientist] specifically had to go to an awful lot of effort ... to put this stuff in terms that somebody off the street could understand it (Appendix R:1).

Participatory programs that seek to “educate or cure” lay people of their misunderstanding of the subject are examples of non-participation (Arnstein 1969:217). When Bob refers to the knowledge of subsistence harvesters as knowledge they possess because of their “lifestyle”, he suggests that subsistence harvesters are knowledgeable about fishing, but they are not fisheries experts. This illustrates that there is an interrelationship between the dimension, Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge (i.e., as assigned by agency managers) in Level Five and the feature, Managers' Perceptions of Subsistence Harvesters' Role in Level Four (Figure 8). There is evidence that agency managers and subsistence harvesters hold divergent meanings of the word lifestyle as used to describe subsistence harvesters' way of life. Bob Aloysius commented at the Council meeting in October 2012:

We don't have a lifestyle that we do 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 (Public Record, Appendix AH:9).

Managers' Perceptions of Subsistence Harvesters' Role

Bob Riley asserted that subsistence harvesters have multiple and differing perceptions of their roles in the management of fish and wildlife. Specifically, he mentioned that subsistence harvesters' perceptions regarding their roles likely differ between advisory group members, other subsistence harvesters, and the State of Alaska (Appendix Q:1). Natural resource manager and subsistence harvester, Rick Strickland, recalled during the early years of the working group, many members and participants thought they would have "more power and authority than they really did" (Appendix Q:3).

During many months of observing meetings of the working group, I noticed that some members asked to hear the state's recommendations first before providing their own recommendations. I began wondering whether or not members of the working group were asking to hear the state's recommendations because they wanted to know whether or not their input would have any impact upon the decisions made by agency managers for in-season management decisions and regulations for Kuskokwim fisheries. Bob Riley told me that he thought that some subsistence harvesters were asking to hear the state's recommendations first because they might think:

We're not the professionals, we're not the biologists. You [managers] guys are ... You guys are giving us all this information and you have interpreted it for us and based on that information what would you [managers] do? ... Then, we'll [working group members] tell you whether or not we think that that's reasonable or whether or not we think you should open the fisheries sooner (Appendix Q:2).

Bob Riley's perception of the role of subsistence harvesters in managing fish and wildlife indicates an advisory role and may resemble a public forum in which subsistence harvesters

participate to let off steam; much like at a counseling or therapy session. Arnstein (1969) described public forums designed for stakeholders to vent their concerns as low on a continuum of public participation (Figure 2). Furthermore, she argued that public sounding boards that resemble therapy sessions represent examples of non-participation (Arnstein 1969:217).

These two rungs describe levels of non-participation that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to educate or cure the participants (Arnstein 1969:217).

Ron Gables from Fish and Wildlife thinks the role of subsistence harvesters in collaborative management of fish and wildlife is to “advise, sway, and convince” managers.

The real hang up is here ... what people don't fully understand is that ... they—the working group is an advisory body, right? They have no true authority ... They're just advisory, just like the Council is an advisory group, regional advisory council for subsistence ... They don't have any authority, they're advisory ... Fish and Game [state] 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 ... It often times gets characterized as ... because they [working group members] don't have the authority to make the decision, they're ineffectual ... Why are they there if they can't make—well they're there to advise, sway, and convince us that this is what we ... would like to see, and we take that into consideration. We do all the time. We do every time. So ... it's a worthwhile endeavor for them [to be] participating and continue participating, and I really wish more people understood (Appendix Q:4).

To what degree subsistence harvesters are able to “sway” agency decisions is still open to debate and warrants additional inquiries. Ron Gables explained:

I can't emphasize this enough ... It's not just the state's responsibility. It's not just the federal government's responsibility. It's the citizen's responsibility. So there isn't this ... sense out here [in Western Alaska] of ownership in these

decisions that are made. And part of that is because I really believe that there's ... been this attitude that has been very strong out of this part of the world, that if we [subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska] participate, then we're ... validating their [agency managers] authority. So, if we don't participate, then we can stand back—and this is classic, then we can stand back and we can throw darts and talk about how bad all the decisions are and how much better it would be if it was us [subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska] making the decision. So some of it is this whole ... idea of sovereign rule over these resources in these lands ... Because again, they will own it if they participate in the decision. Then, they will be a part of that decision. *Interviewer:* Do you think it's because they [subsistence harvesters] don't feel like ... it is their decision? In order to own a decision ... you gotta be part of the decision, right? *Ron Gables:* Exactly. You have to be part. *Interviewer:* You have to be part of the decision, but so if you're not part of the vote ... how can you own it? *Ron Gables:* Right. Even ... deeper than that ... my experience is, there isn't ... a full understanding of the fact that I'm a civil servant, right? I work for them. I'm a civil servant. They're [subsistence harvesters] a citizen of this country. I work for them. The state works for them. They're a civil servant also. So they [subsistence harvesters] should be ... engaging with us, participating in this process, instead ... of this it's us and them kind of attitude ... *Interviewer:* What I meant to say was that if you don't have a meaningful vote in the decision being made then how can you own it? *Ron Gables:* Yeah... but ... you have a ... you don't have a vote, okay, in a lot of these processes but what you do have is an opinion or idea or position that you can share with the people that do have the votes, the authority ... to make that decision. And, does that sway those individuals? I can't say in all cases every time that is the case everywhere. I don't know, it really depends on how open and transparent the process is ... In our situation, we try to make it as open and transparent as possible, and I think that's the best we could do without the—you cannot manage the. Let me make this really clear. You are aware of the tragedy of the commons paradigm, right?

And it's a classic example. You can't manage a natural resource through consensus, ever. There always has to be a decisional authority somewhere, whether it is the king ... or whether it's the state or the federal government. Somebody always has to have overriding authority to make the decision because managing natural resource through consensus has been shown over and over and over again ... [to be] the downfall of that resource, okay? Because you have too many competing interests and what happens is you compromise ... to the extent that the resource becomes compromised, right? Because you can't always—when you're talking about fish or moose or ... whatever, you can't make everybody happy all the time which is what consensus strives for. Your first and foremost—that puts the peoples' needs before anything else ... and that's why the Fish and Wildlife doesn't do that. Our first obligation is to the resource and the long-term health of that resource, not to provide for people, and that's by design ... intentional. Because that's what has been shown over and over again (Appendix Q:5).

Ron asserts that it is the duty of all citizens to participate in fish and wildlife management with the federal and state governments. Secondly, Ron believes that there is a strong cultural movement in Western Alaska for sovereign rights. For many indigenous peoples of the United States, this movement started with the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which granted registered Alaskan tribes the right to negotiate with the United States Government as a sovereign nation in 1936. Thirdly, Ron admitted that subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska do not have a formal vote in the decision making for fish and wildlife management. According to Ron, subsistence harvesters do however have an “opinion” or an “idea” that they can share with those who do have the authority (Appendix Q:5). Fourthly, Ron expresses that natural resources should never be managed through a process which seeks to gain a consensus of the people affected because then peoples’ concerns will be placed before the resources, leading to the demise of those resources. Ron explained that Fish and Wildlife has intentionally designed their management to provide for the “long term health of the resources and not to provide for people” (Appendix Q:5).

Ron says that managers do not have the authority to grant subsistence harvesters the role of decision maker in fish and wildlife management. He explained that it is up to Congress to make the decisions that would allow Alaska's subsistence harvesters the right and authority to make these decisions (Appendix Q:6). Ron stated:

What it is ... people are hung up [on] out here in Western Alaska, and I don't know what other parts of the State you've been in, but ... there's a very strong ... cultural ... movement out here for sovereign rights, okay ... So a lot of times, a lot of this stuff all comes back to that, right? And the whole idea of ... Indian country and sovereign rights ... and all that and so people hear a lot of that and they think that, oh it's just a matter of us ... making the decision, you need to just give us the authority to make the decision. Well it's not something I can grant. It's not something Fish and Wildlife can grant. It's not something that the state can grant. It's something that has to go all the way back to Washington D.C. and Congress has to act on it. When Congress acts on it and makes a decision and passes law, I would be more than happy to have a ... another person sitting at the table that could make the decisions, help us make the decisions. It would still be a co-management ... kind of scenario, but ... you would have another person ... that had authority to actually make decisions. I think that we would make the decision, and it would hopefully be more ... accepted (Appendix Q:6).

According to Ron, if Congress passed a law and allowed additional subsistence harvesters to be voting members in the management of Alaska's fish and wildlife, people may better accept those decisions due to their increased representation in decision making. Ron argues this would still be co-management, indicating that the current system for managing fish and wildlife is an example of co-management. Ron's comments point to a continually growing problem with the use of the word co-management to define collaborative management, which was discussed earlier in chapter three. Far too often, the word co-management is used loosely to describe models of public participation. This is likely due to a lack of understanding from stakeholders concerning various types of public participatory processes. If co-management is understood as stakeholders possessing an equal decision making authority in the management of fish and

wildlife, the current system for managing fish and wildlife in Alaska should not be described as co-management.

Bob Riley from Fish and Game stated:

But in the end, yes this [working group] although they have ... an influence ... they can't compel the decision, and they're aware of that and it's very, very bothersome to them ... It's a problem, but I don't really see a way out of it because the agency that is responsible is considering legal aspects, and those things that are laid down to them by statute and when ... the working group comes and says, you have to do this because we say you have to do this, and we look back at what our edicts are, and we see what we have to do under those same circumstances, they don't necessarily line up. They [working group members] can move the needle one way or the other. It's just not sufficient to making everyone feel good (Appendix Q:7).

Bob said that working group members have the ability to influence the decision making process even though they cannot compel the decision. If Bob's use of the word compel is meant to imply the ability to drive the decision by having a meaningful vote, then it would seem that Bob perceives that the ability of subsistence harvesters to influence the decision making without voting, is a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters engaged in the collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Bob has observed that being unable to compel, drive, or guide the decision is problematic for working group members (Appendix Q:7). Bob believes that the working group has the ability to "move the needle one way or the other" (Appendix Q:7). This needle Bob refers to could be understood as a needle of influence which indicates the level of influence held by stakeholders in the decision making process. Currently, subsistence harvesters participating on the working group are not on equal footing with agency managers. Instead, subsistence harvesters possess only a small amount of influence on management decisions.

Agency manager Ron Gables described the working group as a successful example of co-management of a fishery.

And in this ... basin here on the Kuskokwim and the working group and the State—to their credit ... as sad as it is to say, this [working group] is probably the

most cooperative, functional group you will ever see anywhere in the state. This is actually being held up as a model for co-management of a fishery, world-wide actually, because it is ... even though people tend to think it's not ... That's ... really an unfair characterization in my opinion because those are people who don't—haven't been to other places and seen how other fisheries decisions are made, obviously. Because if they had, they would not make that statement (Appendix Q:8).

Ron views the working group as an internationally effective model for co-management. This provides evidence that some managers believe that collaborative management bodies like the working group are examples of true co-management. However, he admits that many subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska do not believe the working group is an example of co-management.

How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role

For subsistence harvesters, having a meaningful role in collaborative management is related to features located deep below the water line of visibility. How Yup'ik subsistence harvesters define a meaningful role is generally rooted in their understanding of Who is a Real Person in Level One (Figure 8). One's role in collaborative management is meaningful if it allows that person to move towards becoming a real person in Yup'ik society. The feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role is also linked to the dimension, Familial and Communal Bonds in Level One. In Yup'ik culture, these bonds are partly developed by closely working together, which provides a meaningful role in the family and the community. The same is generally true for how they perceive a meaningful role in collaborative management.

When I specifically asked subsistence harvesters how they define their meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife, responses ranged from working together with agency managers as equal stakeholders (Appendix U:1; 3; 4) to having the final say in fish and wildlife management decisions (Appendix U:5). None of the responses from subsistence harvesters matched managers' perceptions of meaningful role, which was described by Ron Gables as the ability to "advise, sway, and convince" management (Appendix Q:4). The feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation in Level Six is substantially influenced by and

thus interrelated with the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role (Figure 8). Subsistence harvesters' perceptions of their participation are linked to and provide evidence for why Council applications are declining and some subsistence harvesters are not participating in collaborative management (Figure 1; 8).

Susan Carter expressed that a meaningful role should resemble equal participation in decision making (Appendix U:1). Furthermore, Susan asserts that working group members do not want to serve in an advisory role (Appendix U:1). Similarly, natural resource manager and Yup'ik subsistence harvester, Josh Owens defines his meaningful role to include equal involvement in decision making (Appendix U:4). Josh explained:

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 ... 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 ... the issue to make us agree with you? ... 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. The best managers who have really watched the resources and watched them grow in terms of numbers are our own Native people (Appendix U:4).

Yup'ik peoples involved in the management of fish and wildlife do not desire to be forced to agree and comply with the directions of agency managers. Instead, Yup'ik subsistence harvesters desire the opportunity to work equally with managers on the management of fish and wildlife.

Concerning consultation between federally-recognized tribes and the federal and state governments, Josh explained:

[Today] They use the process of the regional advisory councils and Federal Subsistence Board, but we didn't have those when we sat down together ... 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 Council or the Board of Fish, or Board of Game. Our people worked together with the agencies. *Interviewer:* Was that in nineteen eighty-four? *Josh Owens:* Nineteen eighty-four for the migratory birds; nineteen nineties or eighties for the caribou here in the Kuskokwim area, as well as on the Yukon in the nineteen nineties for the moose. *Interviewer:* When did the regional advisory councils actually start up? ... *Josh Owens:* It took maybe ten years after passes of ANILCA for it [to] really go into play. There was some limitations that were placed, I think by the Secretary of Interior, as well as Secretaries of Agriculture saying that, This is inherently federal ... What is inherently federal? What is inherently the sovereign rights of the State of Alaska? Those are questions, and what is meaningful? ... The meaningful thing is ... 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 the Association of Village Council Presidents work together for the benefit of those children? ... 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 ... 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 (Appendix U:3).

Josh's comments draw attention to the importance of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act for many Yup'ik peoples and other Native Americans. For many Yup'ik subsistence harvesters like Josh, the desire for consultation to occur between the federally-recognized tribes and the

United States Government as prescribed in the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act is strong. During the Council meeting in February of 2013, Mr. Ivan stated:

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 [regional advisory council] 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 ... Thank you for your tribal consultation. We look forward to working with you ... Thank you for allowing us to comment to your community ... 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. (Public Record, Appendix L:11).

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act granted all federally-recognized tribes the right to government-to-government consultations with the United States Government. Josh recalled that during the development of the amendment to the Migratory Bird Treaty during the early 1980s negotiations occurred directly between federal managers and tribes (Appendix U:3).

The development of the Federal Subsistence Board and the regional advisory councils marked a historical changing point in the process for how consultation would occur on matters concerning fish and wildlife management. Since the development of the regional advisory councils, some subsistence harvesters have recognized an increasing trend away from the direct consultation with village tribal governments and towards a process whereby subsistence harvesters must travel great distances to Bethel and Anchorage in order to participate in the management of fish and wildlife. During the February 2013 Council meeting, Tim Andrew stated:

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 we 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 [Program] system. I think it discourages a lot of people in our villages from applying for these regional advisory council 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 ... 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, Appendix AG:11).

For Yup'ik peoples, their ability to meaningfully participate increases substantially when managers interact more with subsistence harvesters in remote communities of Western Alaska. Furthermore, the lack of exposure subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska have to the Federal Subsistence Management Program "discourages" them from applying to the Council (Appendix AG:11). Mr. Andrew's comments draw attention to several interrelationships in the iceberg model (Figure 8). First, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four is interrelated with barriers to and facilitators of Working Together in Communities, which is part of the feature, Interaction in Level Five. Secondly, barriers to Working Together in Communities are interrelated with both Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council in Level Six and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating in Level Seven.

Some subsistence harvesters mentioned that they would like to manage their own resources (Appendix U:6) or have the final say in decisions (Appendix U:5). Mike Wallace and Matt Conley both perceived local peoples to be the best managers of local resources because local peoples know the land and its people better than agency managers. Mike stated:

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 (Appendix U:6).

The most common theme was the importance of working together and being an equal stakeholder in the decision making process (Appendix U:1; 3; 4). Yup'ik Approach to Management in Level Three is interrelated with How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four (Figure 8). Elder Andy Rollins of Tuluksak on the Upper Kuskokwim River compared a meaningful role to paddling in the same boat together and cooking soup. Andy explained:

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 ... Everybody in that boat have a paddle, and they must paddle, and paddle swift in order to get ahead ... We're not where we were three or four years ago. We have come about from there ... 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 ... (Appendix U:2).

For Yup'ik peoples, the importance of working together as a defining characteristic of how they perceive a meaningful role originates in their cultural practice of forming and maintaining strong bonds between people in families and communities.

Regarding recommendations for changes that could be implemented to enhance the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska, Andy stated:

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 ... 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 [Federal Subsistence Board] ... can hear, we have put it in—I'm sure every advisory council has put in some thought, some idea where

the [Federal Subsistence Board] ... 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* (Appendix U:2, emphasis added).

Andy believes that the regional advisory councils have done their best jobs of participating in the current and available participatory process, but collaborative management of fish and wildlife is not being effectively realized because the Federal Subsistence Board has not consistently implemented their recommendations. He would like to see “management renewed” through “legislation” (Appendix U:2). Andy suggests that there are some long time Council members who believe that the current process is not a good example of working together and having equal decision-making authority. He recommends that the Federal Subsistence Board defer to the regional advisory councils’ recommendations and make changes “right now.”

During a recent Congressional hearing on wildlife management authority in the State of Alaska under the ANILCA and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), Dr. Rosita Worl was asked what could be done to improve subsistence harvesters’ meaningful role in the management of Alaska’s fish and wildlife barring any legislative changes. Dr. Worl replied:

ANILCA does mandate the federal government to provide for rural residents meaningful role in management. That’s what it says ... But, if we were able to implement that mandate in ANILCA to provide for a meaningful role in the management of subsistence, I think that could bring us to the table. That’s one recommendation. The second recommendation that I already made was make that Federal Subsistence Board a *real* management board of subsistence users (U.S.C. September 2013, emphasis added).

Dr. Worl draws attention to the meaningful role clause in ANILCA 801 (5) (U.S.C. 1980) that I have used as a primary justification for this research. After 33 years, Dr. Worl points out that there is one thing above all things that we could be doing to improve the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in the management of Alaska’s fish and wildlife. Her recommendation is

to implement the mandate in ANILCA 801 (5), which guaranteed the meaningful role of rural residents in the management of Alaska's fish and wildlife (U.S.C. 1980). One of the primary reasons why we have not been successful in implementing ANILCA 801 (5) remains Congress's failure to define a meaningful role. This provides further evidence that external forces, often political in nature, have the potential to affect the feature, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of their Participation in Level Six (Figure 8).

The two young male subsistence harvesters I interviewed talked about how they perceived their meaningful role in the management of fish and wildlife. Many young Yup'ik peoples do not see themselves as qualified to make decisions that could potentially affect many Western Alaskans. Instead, many young Yup'ik peoples understand and accept that their role is to listen to their elders and practice various subsistence activities so that they can become more proficient. When asked if people from their community want to be involved in the management of fish and wildlife, John and Tommy Griffon of Kwethluk explained:

John Griffon: Personally me, I don't. Not at this age. But, I think it would be ... awesome if elders in each community meet at that school and share their thoughts and at any other community ... They don't get paid to go to Anchorage ... They might as well come there. They don't get paid anyways ... *Tommy Griffon:* It's all about money these days for those [managers and biologists] people, all about money. *John Griffon:* And they [Yup'ik elders] 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:* 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. *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. *Tommy Griffon:* There's people out there that want ... something done, but they don't agree with these regulations or these ... 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

[managers]. They want something changed, but they don't know how to do it ... 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, 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 ... They want change. They want to help, but they don't know how to do it (Appendix U:7).

Many features of the iceberg model are discussed here, providing further evidence that cultural differences and divergent worldviews between stakeholders are driving the more visible participatory outcomes above the waterline in levels five, six, and seven (Figure 8). First, John and Tommy agree that they do not participate in the management of fish and wildlife because they are too young and not qualified to share either their thoughts or make decisions on subjects concerning fish and wildlife (Appendix U:7). Second, John comments that he understands his ideal role in the management of fish and wildlife as a listener and observer. Furthermore, John would like to see Yup'ik elders in each community speaking in the schools so that he and others can listen to what they know about fish and wildlife. Both young men agree that elders are much more qualified to share their thoughts and make decisions on issues related to fish and wildlife management.

How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four is interrelated with barriers to and facilitators of meaningful participation for subsistence harvester. These specific barriers and facilitators are related to the dimension, Where and How Collaboration Occurs, which is part of the feature, Process in Level Five (Figure 8). As Tommy points out, many Yup'ik subsistence harvesters are uncomfortable with the formality of testifying at meetings in front of microphones. This is a barrier to both communication between stakeholders and subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation. The formality of the meetings does not enable young men to participate because they ideally desire to be in a comfortable setting listening to their elders speak. The often practiced, uncomfortable, and unfamiliar process of discussing information

with agency managers in front of microphones at meetings is incompatible with the Yup'ik Approach to Management. The current process is a barrier to meaningful participation and is most likely linked to the decline in applications to serve on the Council that we are seeing today.

Level 5: Barriers to and Facilitators of Meaningful Participation

Communication

I observed four dimensions of the feature, Communication that affect the achievement of a meaningful role in collaborative management for subsistence harvesters, including 1) Language Differences (Appendix V), 2) Technical Jargon (Appendix W), 3), Flow of Information (Appendix X), and 4) Value of Subsistence Harvesters Knowledge (Appendix Y). These dimensions of communication are visible during real-time negotiations and collaborations between stakeholders at meetings, and they are interrelated with features below and above the waterline of visibility (Figure 8).

Language differences

Language differences between stakeholder groups present a barrier to meaningful participation in collaborative management for subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska. It also presents a challenge to be overcome by agency managers. Council members Clark Turner (Appendix V:1), Nick Larson (Appendix V:3), and Noah Andrew (Appendix V:4) stated that Yup'ik is their primary language. Of the five Council members I interviewed, two members did not directly state that Yup'ik was their first language. However, one of these individuals, Mike Wallace stated:

My problem is I 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 ... 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 have a

tendency to [be silent] if something is ... going right at the time that we're discussing something ... then I won't have any comments (Appendix V:2).

It is likely that Mike Wallace's first language is Yup'ik because as he expressed, communicating at meetings is sometimes difficult when he is not able to speak the way he would like to speak, especially in a hurried manner and in front of microphones (Appendix V:2). Noah Andrew stated:

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 [Council member's] concern. I don't know how to put this in a common, most understandable, most excessive, successful words (Appendix V:4).

Language differences between stakeholder groups place subsistence harvesters at a disadvantage when participating at meetings where they are often required to speak English when translators are not present. Elders who do not speak English fluently are especially limited in their ability to meaningfully participate. The dimension, Language Differences is interrelated with the feature, Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8). Also, language differences between stakeholder groups place Yup'ik subsistence harvesters at a disadvantage when negotiating with agency managers because the process of how collaboration takes place between stakeholder groups is defined by the agencies. This demonstrates an important interrelationship between dimensions in Level Five. For example, Language Differences is linked to Where and How Collaboration Occurs, which is part of the feature, Process (Figure 8).

Technical jargon

Some subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska have limited comprehension of the technical and scientific jargon often used by agency managers and biologists in collaborative management meetings. This is a barrier to effective communication between stakeholder groups (Appendix W). The use of jargon at meetings reduces subsistence harvesters' ability to effectively negotiate with managers. Aside from possessing a limited comprehension of

technical jargon, most Yup'ik subsistence harvesters find it difficult to discuss complex science-related issues using English terminology. While Yup'ik peoples possess words for discussing such complex issues, choosing English words to accurately depict the meaning of complex Yup'ik words is difficult for most, especially in Western Alaska where stakeholders possess divergent worldviews on land and animals. Depicted by a red line in Figure 8, culturally different worldviews between stakeholders in Level Two, which oftentimes go unrecognized, drive outcomes in communication seen in Level Five such as confusion and lack of understanding related to the use of technical and scientific jargon at meetings. This situation is a barrier to meaningful participation in collaborative management for many rural subsistence harvesters.

Federal manager Ron Gable describes some of the challenges subsistence harvesters face in Western Alaska. When asked if he had any suggestions for how the United States Government could improve relationships, trust, and information sharing between stakeholders, Ron Gables stated:

I think 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 ... 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 these decisions to them, answer questions ... People need to do their homework ... and understand some of the concepts that we're talking about. Unfortunately, the language that we use a lot of times ... that doesn't translate that well into ... Yup'ik languages or just into village folks so ... sometimes we talk about concepts that are kind of difficult to grasp, to understand. *Interviewer:* Do the refuge information technicians translate for you when you go to villages? Does that happen very often? *Ron Gables:* Yeah sometimes, yeah. I usually try to go or I'll take Aaron with me or whatever ... *Interviewer:* Do you think that it makes a big difference? Do you think it helps? *Ron Gables:* Oh God yeah. Oh yeah. Sure, yeah it helps to show up with ... I mean, you know for me to just show up and start talking like I do you know, yeah. [Laughter] It does ... first they [rural residents] give me the

look like, you stupid *kussaq* [i.e., outsider] what are you doing, you know? And then they go, “what did you say” you know, slow down you know (Appendix W:2).

Ron asserts that subsistence harvesters need to get educated or “do their homework”, so that they will understand what managers and biologists are talking about. The perception that subsistence harvesters need to “do their homework” is comparable to an approach to public participation mentioned earlier whereby agency managers seek to “educate or cure” lay persons of their misunderstandings (Appendix W:2) (Arnstein 1969:217). Public participatory approaches that seek to “educate or cure” participants are examples of types of manipulation and therapy, which represent the bottom rungs on the “ladder of citizen participation” (Figure 2; Arnstein 1969:217). Education is important, but it is only one small part of public participation.

One facilitator or helpful practice mentioned by Ron was the use of a refuge information technician from Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge to translate for him and other biologists and managers (Appendix W:2). Refuge information technicians are local people hired by the refuges in Alaska who serve as cultural counterparts and liaisons for agency managers. They perform an outreach and communication function for Fish and Wildlife and provide important links to rural communities for refuge staff and others. As Ron pointed out, to “show up [alone in Western Alaskan communities] and start talking like I do” often leads to confusion among the community members he is speaking with (Appendix W:2).

Flow of information

The speed and process related to how information is delivered and shared between stakeholders can be a barrier to effective communication. Clark Turner, Susan Carter, Harry Wilde, and Lucretia Took demonstrate that information from managers about regulatory closures and management planning often is not received by subsistence harvesters, especially those living in remote communities away from the regional hub Bethel (Appendix X:1; 3; 4; 6; Z:16). Clark Turner in Tuntutuliak did not receive information from agency managers about in-season regulatory closures on the Kuskokwim River in 2012. This nearly resulted in his receiving

a ticket for fishing illegally. Clark was not aware of the closure, and if it had not been for his marine radio informing him about the closure, he could have faced large fines (Appendix X:3).

Although subsistence harvesters living along the Lower Kuskokwim and Yukon Rivers provided evidence that important information related to fish and wildlife management and regulations often fails to reach their communities, some evidence was provided which suggests that residents of the Lower Yukon River may be experiencing even greater difficulties concerning this lack of information sharing. According to information provided on the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association's website,

Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association was created in 1990 to conserve these salmon runs by *giving a voice to the people* who have managed the resource for thousands of years. Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association has become an essential part of the communications between fishers and fishery managers in this region. Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association represents village fishers at important state, federal, and international decision-making tables, works to document and utilize Traditional Ecological Knowledge in fisheries management, and strengthens the long-term economic viability and sustainability of Yukon River communities through preserving subsistence fisheries and enhancing commercial fisheries. Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association also serves as a leading research organization aimed at conserving Yukon River wild salmon throughout their lifecycles (Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association 2014, emphasis added).

During a phone conversation on October 31, 2012, one Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association staff member explained:

I honestly don't know what else we can do. We put out preseason info, and go to all the regional advisory councils. We talk about strategies. From that comes the management plan. Private teleconferences are held ... We conduct outreach and participation. I'm at a loss for what we can do outside of go to every village with the managers. Time and money is the problem with this. The Kusko [working group] is an exemplary model normally, but when roads turned bad we [the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association] went into emergency

mode. We started adding new layers—river wide meetings. We did not have protest fisheries. Some people say they should just let us fish, but that's not realistic. What are the suggestions that we can actually do. I like to listen to suggestions on what is realistic. People say that they either have a right to the resource, or they need the resource. King salmon wasn't used much in the past. Birch bark nets make them hard to catch. They are not going to starve, but they may not get what they want (Field Journal Notes, October 31, 2012).

It is questionable whether the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association is fulfilling its purposes and roles. Respondents indicated that the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association is not effectively communicating with or connecting local peoples to decision makers and fisheries managers during the regulatory process. Some people living in the Yukon River drainage are either unfamiliar with or have very little understanding of how the escapement goals for the Yukon River Chinook salmon are agreed to and by whom. Harry Wilde explained:

I'm looking at last year, 2011 Yukon River subsistence fishing schedule. This green paper ... I'd like to know that U.S./Canada negotiation ... It look like they agree, make agreement, there's a lot of fish, a lot of king salmon ... I don't know who they are. They make agreement. I suppose Fish and Game, if they didn't know, they wouldn't put it on the paper by the numbers. Not only that, it's just that agree to the one year, so many thousands of king salmon, so many thousands of chums, so many thousands of other fish. But I was looking at this one year, this one-year agreement, that's what they say ... I don't know who they are. Now then I look at this one. This is the summer from Fish and Game, what I get. And they had it here again, U.S./Canada ... agree ... [to] a lot of fish. I don't know who these people are, U.S./Canada negotiation people. I suppose Fish and Game know ... and it would be good, and we ourselves in the Yukon, we were kind of sorry for Kuskokwim, but we turn around looking at ourselves. All that fish goes, again a lot of fish, a lot of king salmon. And it used to be with negotiating in Yukon and Kuskokwim ... I wish that we could be able to learn these things, who are the people ... A lot of us, we don't know (Public Record, Appendix X:6).

Many subsistence harvesters living in the southwestern part of the Yukon River drainage do not know who is responsible for making the decisions that affect their lives. Harry also pointed out that agreements between the United States and Canada regarding Chinook escapements for the Yukon River were negotiated between the peoples of the Yukon River and the United States Government in the past (Appendix X:6). Elders like Harry Wilde, who has voluntarily engaged in collaborative management efforts for several decades, recall when negotiations used to occur much more frequently between agency managers and subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska. This was particularly the case during the collaborative effort between federal managers and subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska which led to the Amendment of the Migratory Bird Treaty (Appendix U:3; X:10; AA:2; AC:7). Subsistence harvester, George Sanders explained:

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 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 we're 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, mounted a great educational effort ... 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 (Appendix X:10).

It is important to clarify that George Sanders was an educator in Western Alaska for nearly 40 years. I believe that George is using the words "educational effort" to refer to increased information sharing and interaction between stakeholder groups, and this strategy of sharing information was successful at limiting the harvest of particular bird species (Appendix X:10).

Interaction and sharing information between subsistence harvesters and agency managers is vital towards achieving effective collaborative management in Western Alaska. However, more recently, both the interaction and flow of information between subsistence harvesters and agency managers has been inadequate from the point of view of both subsistence harvesters and managers (Appendix X:1; 3; 4; 6; Z:1; 7; 9; 10; 12; 14; 16).

During the same meeting of the Council, Harry Wilde explained:

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 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'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's really bother us and some elders. They say, why don't you 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. Quyaná (Public Record, Appendix Z:16).

As Harry points out, subsistence harvesters are asking for help, but they are unable to reach managers by telephone or get them to come to their communities to talk with them. Some evidence was provided that managers may be contacting and talking with the younger fishermen in some Western Alaska communities, but failing to meet or talk with community elders. My translator, Lucretia Took of Russian Mission said:

Yes, the managers do contact local people, but ... they choose to meet with the fishermen, not with the rest of the Elders. They only meet with the fishermen, the commercial fishermen and ... let 'em know what they're going to be doing. She don't know why the other residents ... are not ... made aware of ... 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 (Appendix X:4).

Yup'ik elders are held in high respect by other members of their communities and are considered to be the people that are the most qualified to discuss and make decisions on issues that affect the whole community due to their years of knowledge and experience. Failing to communicate with community elders in the planning and decision-making processes used to address issues that could have potentially large impacts on their communities is a communication barrier to meaningful participation. In addition, infrequent interaction between stakeholder groups in Western Alaska communities has hindered progress on expanding the cultural awareness between stakeholder groups. This demonstrates the interrelationship between the dimensions, Working Together in Communities and Cultural Awareness that are part of the feature, Interaction (Figure 8).

During the October 2012 Council meeting, Greg Roczicka pointed out that when information packets are received the night before the meeting it limits his ability to meaningfully participate in discussions with managers; Nick Larson also said: (Appendix AG:8).

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 (Public Record, Appendix X:5).

If information is not shared in a timely manner with subsistence harvesters engaged in collaborative management, how then will subsistence harvesters be able to “do their homework” and meaningfully participate in negotiations with agency managers as Ron Gables has suggested (Appendix W:2)? It seems that barriers to communication due to a delayed flow of information exist.

Working group member, George Sanders and Council member, Greg Roczicka (Appendix X:7; 8) mentioned that there have been audio difficulties with the teleconferencing system used at the Council and working group meetings, resulting in the inability of stakeholders to hear one and other:

It's so damn hard when I'm sittin up in Aniak with my telephone. To try, and, just the mechanical part of the meeting. Just make that a little bit better ... People don't tune in to those meetings because it's so damn hard to hear and stuff (Appendix X:8).

During participant observation, I have experienced difficulties hearing teleconference meetings. George asserted that audio difficulties have led some subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska to not participate at working group meetings (Appendix X:8).

Managers are often times concerned with achieving a high rate of legitimacy for the regulations they implement. However, as the examples of Clark Turner (Appendix X:3) and Harry Wilde (Appendix X:6; Z:16) suggest, if information related to policy and regulation does not reach those people who are expected to follow those regulations, no amount of hoping and wishing will result in progress on that front. What is certain is that there is a lack of regulatory information provided by managers to subsistence harvesters in remote communities of Western

Alaska. The evidence presented in this section illustrates the important linkage between the dimension, Flow of Information and the dimension, Working Together in Communities, which is part of the feature, Interaction (Figure 8). The dimension, Flow of Information is interrelated with the feature, Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating at the tip of the iceberg (Figure 8; Appendix X:1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 8; Z:16; AG:8). “Sharing results and reports from projects helps to establish a two-way flow of information—something that is, by many accounts, currently lacking” (Jacobs and Brooks 2011:99). When two-way communication falters between stakeholders, there are substantial consequences that impede meaningful participation in collaborative management of fish and wildlife for subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska.

The value of subsistence harvesters’ knowledge

There is substantial evidence that many subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska often feel that agency managers disregard and challenge the value of their knowledge. Council members Andy Rollins (Appendix Y:1), Nick Larson (Appendix Y:7; 8; 9), John Andrew (Appendix Y:11); working group member George Sanders (Appendix Y:5); natural resource manager Josh Owens (Appendix Y:6); and Tommy and John Griffon (Appendix Y:4) have each observed that their information has been either disregarded by managers or treated as less than credible or anecdotal. During a conversation in Kwethluk, Nick Larson talked about the difficulties he has experienced while trying to convey to managers that Western Alaska subsistence harvesters’ knowledge is meaningful:

The other one is ... 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 ... Too often they disregard it ... 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 ... 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 ... 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 (Appendix Y:9).

Because managers are employed by and hence highly connected to the dominant *powerholders*, in this case the federal and state governments, their knowledge and information is often thought to be legitimate and valuable because it is produced by and connected to the dominant paradigm guiding the management process. The dominant paradigm implemented by managers is western positivist science. Powerholders are those stakeholders who hold the most power and authority to influence decisions in a collaborative process, and their influence is asserted through discourse, control of communications, and production of knowledge (Arnstein 1969; Champ et al. 2012). "Some ways of speaking are suppressed while others are legitimized as 'official', or 'formal' solely by virtue of their relations to the institutions of state power" (Bourdieu 1991; Nadasdy 2003a:5). At the October 2012 Council meeting, John Andrew commented:

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 ... 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, Appendix Y:11).

Since the rise of the words "traditional ecological knowledge", there has been no end to the debate over what it means, whether or not it influences decision making, and if so, how. During the October 2012 Council meeting, Bob Aloysius of Kalskag pointed out that he does not like the fact that traditional ecological knowledge reported on by managers often ignores the place where the information originated (Appendix Y:12).

One of the most common complaints I heard at meetings and teleconferences on TEK and co-management was traditional knowledge is never used as the sole

basis for decision making; instead, it is used only to confirm the knowledge produced by wildlife biologists and legitimate the decisions made by bureaucratic managers (Nadasdy 2005:224).

Natural resource manager, Rick Strickland, supported these observations:

I think that, actually what people [biologists] get of the local knowledge ... is really borne out by the science. One of the observations that I've seen over the years is that ... quite often when we get these different projects and studies and so forth ... it takes a five year study project to ... essentially prove scientifically what someone in our Village will tell you in five minutes (Appendix Y:10).

This highlights the value of subsistence harvesters' knowledge for managing subsistence resources in Western Alaska. The observed lack of value managers assign to subsistence harvesters' knowledge demonstrates the interrelationship between the feature, Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals in Level Two and the dimension, Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge in Level Five (Figure 8).

Elders are often best able to represent the people of their communities in Western Alaska because of the vast amounts of knowledge they have collected from many years of listening, observing, and doing. Also, elders most often speak Yup'ik as their primary language. This presents difficulties in communication and knowledge sharing during cross-cultural negotiations between subsistence harvesters and agency managers. The elders are not fully utilized when the dialog completely occurs in English. This demonstrates a linkage between the dimension, Language Differences and the feature, Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8).

In addition, because federal and state agencies define how collaborative management will occur, discussions that do not support their conceptualizations of what is an acceptable approach to fish and wildlife management are essentially disregarded or treated as folklore. This provides evidence of an interrelationship in Level Five between the dimension, Where and How Collaboration Occurs, which is part of the feature, Process, and Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge (Figure 8).

Interaction

I observed three dimensions of the feature, Interaction that affect the achievement of a meaningful role in collaborative management for subsistence harvesters, including 1) Working Together in Communities (Appendix Z), 2) Working Together at Meetings (Appendix AA), and 3), Cultural Awareness (Appendix AB). These observable dimensions of Interaction are interrelated to features below and above the waterline of visibility (Figure 8). Infrequent interactions and lack of involvement between stakeholder groups is a barrier to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation.

Working together in communities

In January of 2013, I began travelling to several remote communities throughout Western Alaska. During my first trip, I travelled to Hooper Bay, which is about 150 miles west of Bethel on the western coast of Alaska. After leaving Hooper Bay, I reflected on what I had observed and questioned how often managers came to visit and talk with people in these remote communities. I began asking subsistence harvesters how often they saw managers from Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife in their communities. Responses to this question were "I have never seen them"; "they rarely come"; or "when they do come, bad things happen" (Appendix Z:1; 7; 9; 10; 12; 14). Clark Turner of Tuntutuliak stated:

We have survey people come by once in a while. I don't know how often, maybe once a year from ... Fish and Game. And there are surveyors from Fish and Wildlife that come by ... I've heard of other people come by only when there is a problem in the village like illegal fishing last summer (Appendix Z:7).

I asked Clark if managers ever came by to talk when there was not a problem, and his answer was no (Appendix Z:7). I began to understand that some people found it difficult to trust managers, and so I inquired about some of the reasons why. John and Tommy explained:

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 (Appendix Z:9).

As John and Tommy pointed out, the lack of interaction between them and managers is compromising managers' abilities to create working relationships and trust with at least some if not most people in Western Alaska. For Yup'ik subsistence harvesters and arguably many other peoples of the world, trust is earned, and it begins with sharing, not only information, but the sharing of one's resources, knowledge, time, and effort. If as John has said "we never see them [managers], don't know them" (Appendix Z:9), building trust between stakeholder groups will have to wait until new opportunities for interaction between stakeholders arise.

One federal manager approximated that Fish and Wildlife gets to all of the communities twice a year with the exception of a few communities (Appendix Z:3). Later in our conversation, he stated, "Regardless of the travel cap [federal limit on how much money can be spent by refuge employees to travel in the Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge], we need to have more personalized contact [with villages], and we need to have more work for RIT's [Refuge Information Technicians] ... so we have higher retention" (Appendix Z:2). Bob Riley from Fish and Game stated:

I think that our outreach ... probably isn't as strong as it could be, and ... 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. Time, money ... but mostly time [are the limiting factors for why managers are not getting to communities as often]. We have a volume of work, and it sounds like excuses, but it's true ... 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. [A manager with Fish and Game] makes a very good effort in the summertime to try to get to some of the communities 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 ... get their ideas about it. But, 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. I have a feeling that I may be travelling more often this year to promote our post-season subsistence survey program in order to ... not lose that. But, I have a budget, I have ... 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 my work when I was out there ... (Appendix Z:6).

Bob asserts that there is a desire for the state's outreach program to be stronger, but he is not really sure how that could happen. Lack of time and money are preventing managers from getting to Western Alaska communities. While Bill Cartwright from Fish and Wildlife stated that somebody gets out to Western Alaskan communities twice a year, Bob Riley with Fish and Game believes that one of the state managers he knows gets out to a handful of villages in Western Alaska during the summer. Because subsistence harvesters expressed that managers rarely or never visit their communities, I assume that the number of Western Alaskan communities visited by federal or state managers is much closer to "a handful of communities" as mentioned by Bob Riley and not every community twice a year as mentioned by Bill Cartwright (Appendix Z:1; 3; 6; 7; 9; 10; 12; 14; AC:3).

Many subsistence harvesters I interviewed outside of Bethel expressed a desire for meetings to be held with managers in their communities (Appendix Z:4; 11; 13; 15; 16). This may be a positive indicator that a bridge still remains intact should managers choose to begin working on rebuilding and, arguably in some cases, creating working relationships for the first time with more communities in Western Alaska. Positive outcomes result from interactions between managers and subsistence harvesters. In 2009, in Marshall following the issuing of fishing citations to protest fishermen, a high level manager from Fish and Wildlife came to Marshall to speak with the community and listen to their concerns (Appendix Z:4). Bobby Sterling stated:

To gain a better understanding of why people went out and did that, how—I mean on the local response to these restrictions ... regional director 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, and the concern for the lack of food over winter, for quality

food during winter ... So what [he] did on the federal side, coming out and meeting with people just for that one village, I mean it spoke a thousand words. I mean ... we have this head of the ... biggest federal agency ... in the region come out and pay the local people a visit to talk to them to gain a better understanding. I think ... it ... 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 ... 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 ... perhaps they'll get a better understanding of why we advocate for this (Appendix Z:4).

Although the people of Marshall were upset with the fishing regulations and outcomes during 2009, the manager's visit "spoke a thousand words" to the people of Marshall (Appendix Z:4).

In earlier years, Council meetings were held in some remote villages of Western Alaska. More recently, Council meetings continue to be held in the regional hub, Bethel. There is some evidence that the cost of holding Council meetings in remote communities is a primary factor contributing to why meetings are held in Bethel and not in remote Western Alaskan communities. During the spring 2013 Council meeting, Council members expressed their concern for the need to meet in remote communities.

Mr. Aloysius: Is there any resolution on—we selected Quinhagak several times. Has there been any resolution on the possibility of a meeting there?

Council Coordinator: Mr. Chair. Mr. Aloysius. You can select any village like Quinhagak again, but then what will happen is between now and in the fall I would have to do what's called cost analysis to compare the cost differences between Quinhagak meeting and Bethel meeting ... *Mr. N. Andrew:* Mr.

Chairman ... I ... think that the cost shouldn't be varying our interest here. Some of the things that we look into, consider as part of our responsibility is pretty near close to life and death situations (Public Record, OSM 2013:94).

Time and time again Council members have voiced their wishes to have Council meetings in villages to give subsistence harvesters in remote communities an opportunity to participate.

However, there seems to be some difficulties with the ability of the Office of Subsistence Management to authorize and/or coordinate Council meetings in remote villages outside of Bethel. While all the reasons for only meeting in the hub city may not be apparent, the evidence provided demonstrates the interrelationship between the dimension, Working Together in Communities in Level Five and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8). For subsistence harvesters like Noah Andrew, the implications of what is discussed at the Council meetings are a matter of life or death for subsistence harvesters in communities outside Bethel, not a matter of shortfalls in federal funding. Infrequent or no interaction between these rural residents and agency managers is preventing meaningful participation in collaborative management of fish and wildlife.

Many people are simply unaware of how collaborative management processes work due to the lack of exposure they receive to agency managers and policies (Appendix Z:4). Bobby's observation that very few people come in from the villages to the Council meetings, and his belief that this is connected to the low exposure many rural residents have with the management process demonstrates that a lack of interaction and involvement between subsistence harvesters and managers is a contributing factor to the observed decline in their participation (Figure 1; 8). This dovetails with what John and Tommy Griffon mentioned earlier in this section. When one sees no face or hears no voice, how will he know you; how will he trust you (Appendix Z:9)? Frequent interaction between subsistence harvesters and managers presents opportunities for building trust and relationships and sharing cultural knowledge, thus increasing cultural understanding. Inclusion of subsistence harvesters in the management plans for fish and wildlife has led to a number of successful outcomes (Appendix Z:5). However, many of these successful management programs, which have had high levels of local participation, have begun to disappear (Appendix Z:5).

While visiting Clark Turner of Tuntutuliak, I asked him if he thought that visits from managers in communities might lead to subsistence harvesters feeling more comfortable when working together with managers. Clark stated:

Yeah, that would be ... the step there. And, let me tell you what ... happened to me. I was Refuge Information Technician member for a few years, maybe five, six years ... wearing uniform, going to the village ... Some people, some villages

were really good to me ... They want to learn more about Fish and Wildlife. ... 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 ... fish commissioner. All: [Laughter] ... And hated me for wearing that. She didn't want me to wear those kind of clothes, because I supposed to, I'm Clark Turner. 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 ... the law enforcement people I told you about. They made that person think about that right away. And ah, she didn't know the name, or term ... That's why ... a lot of these ... people's problems is they don't know the difference. If they knew the difference, 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 ... Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game. You shouldn't be ... because people think you are the law [laughter]. But not me, I understand because I been with the advisory committee for long time, and ... Council for long time, and I learned nobody's ... 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 ... make us not be hungry, or something like that. So people think ... Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game are all bad people because of ... the protection, law enforcement people. ... They don't know the difference, that's what they gotta learn (Appendix Z:8).

During the interview, Clark was sharing fish with me. Clark was explaining that sharing food and information helps us to know and trust one and other. Clark provides a prescription for how he believes that relationships could be created or restored between subsistence harvesters and agency managers. Sharing of information at informal meetings in Western Alaskan communities between stakeholder groups facilitates increased cultural awareness and trust between stakeholders. This provides evidence of the interrelationship between the dimension, Working Together in Communities in Level Five and the often unseen dimension, Sharing within the feature Yup'ik Culture in Level One (Figure 8). In other words, for Yup'ik

peoples, trust is directly linked to and influenced by increased interaction and sharing. Second, Clark's words reaffirm that infrequent or no interaction between managers or biologists and subsistence harvesters has led to much confusion among subsistence harvesters over who in fact are the people responsible for fish and wildlife management. Rather than viewing agency managers as "protection people", many subsistence harvesters see them as "law enforcement people".

Third, Clark provides some evidence on what may be affecting the retention rate of refuge information technicians. Some of the other Yup'ik refuge information technicians like Clark who serve in these positions are thought by many in Western Alaska to be helping law enforcement, assisting them in the discovery and ticketing of rural residents who have violated hunting and fishing regulations. I met some refuge information technicians while travelling to these communities during winter 2013. I met one who told me he was very uncomfortable wearing the Fish and Wildlife uniform in communities, especially when he had to share bad news. He told me that he began questioning whether or not he wanted to remain employed in the position. He recalled that he was asked during the fishing restrictions to go out with the troopers who were looking for people fishing during closures, and he said he wouldn't do it (Field Journal Notes, February 23, 2013). Finally, Clark Turner mentions that he understands that agency managers are here to help communities rather than enforce laws because of his involvement in meetings and collaborations with managers in the past. This provides evidence that frequent interactions and more community involvement can strengthen working relationships, trust, and collaboration between stakeholders.

Working together at meetings

Subsistence harvesters often repeated that agency managers need to work together with subsistence harvesters, especially during collaborative management meetings (Appendix AA:1; 2; 6). Working group member Susan Carter talked about the frustration she felt when agency managers entered into closed-door discussions about fishing closures on the Kuskokwim River during working group meetings held in summer 2012. This marked a low point in the working relations between agency managers and subsistence harvesters. Susan Carter stated:

Yeah ... a lot of our working group was really frustrated with ... the unwillingness to work together to include the stakeholders and put everything out on the table instead of the back room ... and ... their [agency managers] unwillingness to compromise. *Interviewer:* Could you clarify what you mean by the backroom? *Susan Carter:* Okay. When they leave ... our conference room 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 ... going to the back office and nobody, none of the stakeholders [working group members] 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 ... 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. 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 ... Instead of them leaving the room, this will be one of my suggestions this coming season ... ask anybody who is not a part of the working group to sign off or leave the room until 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 ...

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 ... 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 stakeholders. And the stakeholders on the working group are their voices (Appendix AA:1).

For Susan (Appendix AA:1) and other working group members (Field Journal Notes, June 20, 2012), backroom discussions are both frustrating and perceived as examples of managers' unwillingness to work together with subsistence harvesters and their representatives in Western Alaska. Susan expects to be part of an equal decision-making process that operates by consensus (Appendix AA:1). This is not the current situation for fisheries management in the Kuskokwim River drainage. Working group members see their roles in fisheries management as more than advisory. They desire to be decision makers in the collaborative management process (Appendix Q:3; AA:1). If this does not happen, there may continue to be poor working relations and declining participation from subsistence harvesters.

Some subsistence harvesters mentioned the importance of working together to form a united voice and position on key issues related to the management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. For example, rural residents in different parts of the Delta may benefit by developing a united position on salmon bycatch from high seas trawlers in the Pollock industry. Currently there is disagreement about the impacts of this commercial fishery on salmon stocks in the region. David Bill, who serves on the Council, stated:

(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 (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 ... (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 ... One of the elders a long time ago ... said ... when there used to be a lot of reindeer in this area, even Hooper Bay and Nelson Island there were a lot of reindeer, but people started fighting over them ... 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. There 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 (Public Record, Appendix AA:6).

When David Bill says that people on the Yukon, the Kuskokwim, and the coast were talking a different language, he is not literally referring to differences in the spoken language used by people in these three regions of Western Alaska. Rather Mr. Bill believes that Western Alaskan people lost in their negotiations with the Pollock industry because they were not united in their position on the issue. They did not agree on a number of salmon to be taken as allowable bycatch each year by the trawlers (Appendix AA:6). Mr. Bill presents evidence that the dimension, How We Talk in Level One is interrelated with Yup'ik worldviews on land and animals in Level Two and ultimately linked to the feature, Yup'ik Approaches to Management in Level Three (Figure 8). Talking negatively about or fighting over animals shows disrespect and can have negative repercussions, resulting in the disappearance of those animals (Appendix AA:6). Similarly, many Yup'ik peoples believe that when people fight over or disturb bird nesting grounds, those birds will not return (Fienup-Riordan 1999).

Several subsistence harvesters recalled meetings where they felt that managers were not working together with subsistence harvesters (Appendix AA:2; 3; 4; 5). Josh Owens recalled:

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 ... 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 ... 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 ... 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 ... 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 have in the past. But, they weren't willing to compromise (Appendix AA:2).

First, Josh recognized working together with Fish and Wildlife during the early 1980's led to a joint agreement. This provides some evidence that when subsistence harvesters feel like they are working together with managers, there will be more agreements between stakeholders. Secondly, Josh believes that the state and federal governments have been unwilling to compromise on issues related to fish management. These barriers to working together inhibit meaningful participation in collaborative management for subsistence harvesters. The dimension, Working Together at Meetings is interrelated with the features, How Subsistence Harvesters' Perceive their Participation in Level Six and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8).

Cultural awareness

Subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska desire that meetings be held in villages, not in hub cities, which has become routine. In addition to providing much needed exposure to the collaborative process, more routine visits by agency managers to remote communities would provide managers with some knowledge and understanding of both the land and the cultural ways of life of its people (Appendix AB:1; 6; 8). Conversely, those subsistence harvesters who are not able to travel to Bethel and Anchorage to attend meetings are limited in their ability to meaningfully participate in management of fish and wildlife. These subsistence harvesters are not engaged in the process and miss opportunities to learn from and share with other stakeholders and influence management decisions. Their voices are left unheard because they cannot afford to travel to hub cities. Unengaged stakeholders do not have a chance to learn about the ways of agency managers.

Subsistence harvesters who participated in this study felt that agency managers do not know the land (Appendix AB:2; 4), especially those who do not live in Western Alaska (Appendix AB:4; AB:5). In Yup'ik culture, people often evaluate the meaningfulness of another person by their level of engagement with the land, how they practice a subsistence way of life, and what positive contributions they make in their communities (Appendix K). Andy explained:

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 ... 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 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 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 ... you have to [be] 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 (Appendix AB:1).

When Andy says, “I will answer you in the most positive [way]”, this is an example of Yup’ik culture influencing speech patterns (Appendix AB:1). Negative communication or thoughts can have negative consequences. Possessing a cultural awareness requires sharing and interaction to occur between stakeholders, and it requires stakeholders to experience each other’s way of life. For Andy, a meaningful person, a *real person*, is someone who takes the time to learn about the land and its people. When one has “walked the same mile I walk” (Appendix AB:1), they are qualified to be involved, but not until then, for as we have learned when discussing dimensions of Yup’ik culture, knowledgeable people are those who have spent a great deal of time listening, observing, and doing (i.e., engaging with the land and its people). Andy provides evidence of an interrelationship between the dimension, Who is a Real Person in Level One and the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four (Figure 8). In addition, the dimension, Cultural Awareness, which is part of Interaction, is interrelated with How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role and Subsistence Harvesters’ Perceptions of Their Participation in Level Six (Figure 8). To better understand how subsistence harvesters define a meaningful role, one must first understand how meaningful is defined, and this requires an understanding of who is a meaningful, or real, person. This demonstrates how often unseen dimensions of culture in Level One influence stakeholders’ perceptions of other features in levels Two through Seven (Figure 8).

When managers come to visit and take some time to learn about the peoples’ way of life in Western Alaska, they substantially benefit by increasing their cultural awareness and understanding (Appendix AB:1). Similarly, Nick Larson stated:

Yeah, it [managers visiting and learning about peoples' way of life] would be very helpful because one time I had one young guy out of ... 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 agreed with that. He said he learned something that college never taught him (Appendix AB:8).

Like so many things that we learn in life, experience often supersedes that which we only read about from the comfort of an office or our homes.

The words "they don't know how we live" were placed in the title of the thesis because they were the most repeated words I heard from Yup'ik peoples in reference to agency managers' knowledge of the *nunapik*, or the real land, and the people of Western Alaska. Nick Larson commented:

We always tell them [state managers] it's [Chinook escapement] too low, but they always say they are experts ... 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 (Appendix O:14).

It is important to reflect upon the impact that agency managers have on other parts of Yup'ik people's lives (Appendix AA:7). Poor relations between agency managers and subsistence harvesters extend beyond fish and wildlife management and likely exacerbate other problems in which there is lack of trust between rural residents and outsiders. Working group member Matt Conley stated:

This is the first time that I've gone to this inter-agency meeting, sitting in there watching, thinking you know, all of those people, all of those managers in there they don't live our life ... They come during the fish season and manage the fish, and then they go back to their nice comfortable life here [in Anchorage]. I don't think any of them winter over in Bethel do they? Any of those guys in there. Oh

except for, oh maybe like [federal manager], Fish and Wildlife guys. I mean it's an old story. You just mentioned the troopers and made me think ... I'm a team leader for Bethel Search and Rescue ... We work with the Troopers a lot, and it's another bunch of people that come and go ... they don't live there [the Delta]. They don't understand. We just came off of a search last week that the troopers suspended it Monday night. The next day we went back to our regular lives, but it was bothering us, and we started talking amongst ourselves and said, let's go back out. So we went back out Wednesday, a week ago today. We said, we're going back out we don't need ... you guys to tell us when we can and can't go. Well, the state isn't going to pay for it. That's okay. We have our own money, and we went back out a week ago, and we found that guy ... He was dead though, but we brought him home ... If we hadn't gone back out he'd never been found. We're tired of being told what to do by people who don't live our lives... (Appendix AA:3).

Matt Conley's impression of agency managers participating in the interagency meeting was "they don't live our life" (Appendix AA:3). It is difficult for rural residents of Western Alaska to be seriously motivated to listen to and act on the direction of outsiders. This is because they view agency managers, state troopers, and others who pop in and out from elsewhere as lacking any real understanding of the land and the way of life of the people on the land. Apparently, this has been a problem for a long time; Matt said, "It's an old story" (Appendix AA:3).

In collaborative management processes in Alaska, there exist many cross-cultural differences and opportunities for miscommunications between stakeholders. Meaningful participation in collaborative management depends on stakeholders possessing cultural awareness and understanding of each other's differences (Jacobs and Brooks 2012; Zurba et al. 2012). Common understanding is only possible for those stakeholders who actively engage in the process, however. Bob Riley with Fish and Game commented:

... for people on the Kuskokwim ... some of them care, and some of them don't. And so ... 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 a mosaic, and the working group itself is evolving and as part of its evolution, it is

both benefitting from all the information it receives and ... it's understanding has grown to encompass these management strategies, management information 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 ... 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 (Appendix AH:4, emphasis added).

Bob provides evidence that a lack of cultural awareness and understanding between stakeholder groups of each other's worldviews and approaches to management has led to a lack of participation from some subsistence harvesters in collaborative management meetings (Figure 8). Furthermore, lack of cultural awareness and understanding between stakeholder groups has impeded achievement of a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in collaborative management of fish and wildlife (Figure 8; Appendix L:11; O:1; R:1; AH:3; 4; 9). Bob provides evidence that sharing information between stakeholder groups at management meetings has resulted in an increase in stakeholders' cultural awareness and a better understanding of the differences that exist between agency managers and rural subsistence harvesters. Clark Turner mentioned that he understands that managers are not bad people because he has spent years working together with managers; he has grown to understand their ways (Appendix Z:8).

In Level Five of Figure 8, there are important interrelationships between the dimensions, Flow of Information, Working Together at Meetings (and in communities), and Cultural Awareness. Accordingly, agencies need to increase the amount and frequency of their interactions with people in rural communities, including informal interactions outside of normal business settings (Jacobs and Brooks 2011; Dorantes and Brooks 2012). Agencies also need to improve how they share information with rural residents of Western Alaska before, during, and after meetings. These are examples of how agency managers can facilitate a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in the collaborative management process laid out in ANILCA.

Collaborative management meetings do represent “shared spaces” where stakeholder groups can learn about each other’s “purposes,” “directions,” and intentions (Zurba et al. 2012:11; Ross et al. 2005). To what degree cultural understanding between stakeholders increases due to participation in collaborative management meetings can vary between unique public participatory processes. I suggest that informal meetings have greater potential to enhance cultural awareness and understanding between stakeholders simply due to the fact that most stakeholders feel more comfortable while in an informal situation than when speaking in front of microphones at formal meetings (Appendix U:7; AC:8). However, the content of what is discussed during these interactions may be more important than the formality of the setting. Agency managers and subsistence harvesters must begin to talk about the realities of their current relationships and cultural differences. During the September 19, 2013 congressional hearing to examine wildlife management authority in Alaska, Mr. Jerry Isaac 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’re 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).

A general lack of understanding about the challenges and divergent meanings that surround collaborative management of fish and wildlife has remained an ongoing impediment towards achieving a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters' in Alaska for decades (Gallagher 1988; Case 1989; Morrow and Hensel 1992; Jacobs and Brooks 2011). Mr. Isaac's observations of an "attitude of withholding" and a lack of respect between stakeholders represent serious barriers to meaningful participation for both agencies and rural residents of the state. There has been and remains an atmosphere of frustration between stakeholders due to their shared lack of cultural awareness and understanding of the deep differences that exist between stakeholders.

More than twenty years ago, Morrow and Hensel (1992:38) wrote:
Ideological differences between the [Native and non-Native] systems of knowledge rarely surface in discussions on co-management discourse because the focus is on planning actions rather than understanding the varied justifications behind them, and because the politically powerful participants in the dialogue—the legislators, resource managers, and enforcement agencies—supply the vocabulary in which the debate will be framed.

Many of the features below the waterline in Figure 8 largely go unrecognized and are essentially invisible. Informal discussions between stakeholders to learn more about each other do not occur often enough to allow these differences to rise to the surface and become part of open dialog. The talk is all business. What agencies and subsistence harvesters need to realize is the divergent features below the waterline in Figure 8 drive the business of collaborative management of fish and wildlife in the State of Alaska.

Process

I observed two dimensions of the feature, Process: 1) Timing of stakeholder involvement in collaborative management and 2) Where and How Collaboration Occurs. These

observable dimensions of the feature, Process are interrelated with features both below and above the waterline of visibility (Figure 8). Timing and Where and How Collaboration Occurs can either limit or increase the meaningful participation of stakeholders. Process with its dimensions describes the basic framework of collaborative management; that is, the when, where, and how of the matter. Timing and Where and How Collaboration Occurs are interrelated with the features, How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive Their Participation in Level Six and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven at the tip of the iceberg (Figure 8).

As I discussed in the previous section, Alaska Native peoples' participation in agency planning and management requires substantial levels of cultural awareness and cultural appropriateness on the part of agency staff, especially when choosing which methods of public involvement to apply:

Cultural appropriateness is woven throughout the planning process and directly affects all interactions between agency employees and Alaska Native peoples. Communications, relations, and involvement are interconnected and cyclical, influencing each other in both directions. These elements are affected by logistics and are related to practices used by agency employees (Jacobs and Brooks 2011:98).

Data that I have grouped into the dimensions, Timing and Where and How Collaboration Occurs closely resembles dimensions of the theme, logistics illustrated by Jacobs and Brooks (2011:134; Figure 9). Within logistics, these researchers included four dimensions: 1) schedules/flexibility, 2) volume, 3) location, 4) funding. In my study, dimensions of the feature, Process are linked to dimensions of the features, Interaction and Communication also in Level Five (Figure 8). Factors related to Process, Interaction, and Communication each have the potential to impede or facilitate meaningful participation for subsistence harvesters.

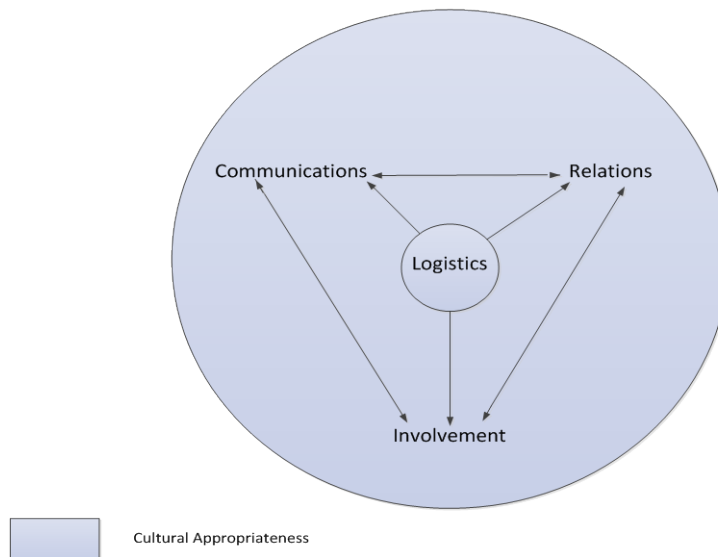


Figure 9. A Model of Alaska Native Participation in Conservation Planning (Adapted from Jacobs and Brooks 2011:98).

Timing

The timing of when stakeholders are involved in the collaborative management process and the order of events are important and affect meaningful participation. Often times, stakeholders feel rushed and under pressure to discuss decisions and/or make recommendations before they have had enough time to digest all the pertinent information. Table 2 provides a list of quotes I collected from stakeholders engaged in the September 27, 2012 meeting of the working group. This data demonstrates the frustration felt by many working group members for what they perceived as a hurried public participatory process lacking the evidence and historical data needed for their support.

Managers had previously set escapement goals for some of the tributaries of the Kuskokwim River. During the fall of 2012, Fish and Game submitted a proposal which ultimately led to the creation of the first escapement goal for the Kuskokwim River drainage. The proposal was released to the working group for their input in early September just a few months before the state Board of Fish meeting where Fish and Game’s proposal for Chinook salmon management for the Kuskokwim drainage was ultimately passed. Some participants and members of the working group were upset with the proposed escapement goal because they

felt that the escapement range was too low to sustain the run, and they had not been provided enough time and information to make an alternative recommendation (Table 2).

Table 2. Excerpt from the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group Meeting (Field Journal Notes, September 27, 2012).

Speaker	Concern
Working Group Member	I'm concerned with the long-term allocation issue. If we don't manage these fish properly people upriver are going to hurt. How are we going to manage these fish upriver?
Working Group Member	We have to take into consideration what is going to be the impacts on the ground before these scientific studies are put into place for escapement.
Working Group Member	I don't want to rush into set goals without stakeholder input. I think the allocation issue is important. I don't think we have access to all information yet.
AVCP Fisheries Scientist	I think that it is very important to see Fish and Wildlife in person and not relayed through.
Fish and Wildlife Scientist	We haven't formulated a formal position. There will be a formal response at the board. We did not come up with a formal response.
Working Group Member	I'm disappointed that Fish and Wildlife is not at the table today.
Fish and Game Manager	I have heard that we are pushing it. People don't want to see what happened in 2012.
Working Group Chair	We want to work together.
Working Group Member	Last year there was a lot thrown at us pretty fast.
Working Group Member	We need some more meetings for these radical decisions.
Tribal Fisheries Scientist	I think this is a strong argument for delay. If there is not enough money for more meetings, then I think we should delay.
Working Group Member	I need to see more, something I can understand that predicates this.

Working group member George Sanders expressed his frustration for what he perceived as a rushed approach to Fish and Game's newly proposed Chinook management plan for the Kuskokwim River. George stated:

I think that part of what the state is pushing here is ... and I said this at one of their meetings, and boy [an 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 number the less they will ever have to shut the fishery down there to protect the resource ... It is risky ... 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 ... 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 ... 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. ... we're all. Particularly those of us who are educated in western ways ... we believe evidence. The whole scientific methodology is built on presented evidence, proven evidence ... (Appendix AC:5).

A "jam it down their throats" approach is an example of a highly unsuccessful collaborative management technique, especially if the objectives are to enable meaningful participation and gain the support of subsistence harvesters. The dimension, timing is interrelated with the features, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of Their Participation in Level Six and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8).

Frustration over the timing of stakeholder involvement in collaborative processes is not limited to subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska. Other stakeholders often are asked to participate at stages in the process that are too late for them to be able to make a meaningful contribution and occasionally are excluded from the process entirely. For example, some managers with Fish and Game share subsistence harvesters' frustrations when excluded from or brought in too late to management meetings held by Fish and Wildlife. During the fall 2012 Council meeting, Jennifer Yuhas from Fish and Game testified regarding earlier interagency meetings held by federal managers to discuss amendments to the Memorandum of Understanding between the State of Alaska and the United States Government:

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 [Federal Subsistence] Board designed this to work. They designed the collaboration between the state and 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, Appendix AC:10).

Timing of stakeholder's involvement is part of the process in Level Five that is linked to the feature, How Managers Perceive Their Participation in Level Six (Figure 8). When agencies develop and implement collaboration, it is important to include all relevant stakeholders and involve them early and often in the process (Schuett et al. 2001). Not doing so leads to frustration, hardship, and ineffectiveness for stakeholders who feel disenfranchised (Davis 2010; Appendix AC: 5; 10; Table 2).

Where and how collaboration occurs

The dimension, Where and How Collaboration Occurs is grounded in two types of meaning units: 1) how well respondents perceived the collaborative process to work and 2) how the process could be improved (Appendix AC:1; 2; 4; 7; 9).

Adam Cooper of Marshall and George Sanders of Aniak have observed that not everyone's opinion is able to be expressed during Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association and working group meetings (Appendix AC:1; 4). Adam believes this is due to the large number of people participating on the teleconference and the lack of time allotted for people to say what is on their minds (Appendix AC:1). George questioned whether or not it may have something to do with "a natural reticence on the part of those people ... to get involved in that process ... [who may have] different levels of understanding of the process ... [and] the biology of fish" (Appendix AC:4). For some if not most Yup'ik peoples, appearing before formal boards to talk with agency managers can be an uncomfortable and intimidating experience (Appendix

U:7; AC:8; 9). Recall, John and Tommy Griffon of Kwethluk saying that microphones are intimidating and many people from Western Alaska are not used to speaking in public (Appendix U:7). During Council meetings, I observed that speaking and testifying at a public event often was an uncomfortable experience for Yup'ik people. At the Council meeting in February of 2013, Joe Adulocob stated, "I'm kind of nervous, because I never testify in front of groups like this" (Public Record, Appendix AC:8).

Factors and conditions related to Where and How Collaboration Occurs are closely linked and are best understood as a dimension of the feature, Process. Tommy said that speaking in front of microphones is intimidating to subsistence harvesters (Appendix U:7). I asked John and Tommy to provide me with some suggestions for how collaboration could occur differently to make it more meaningful for subsistence harvesters.

Tommy Griffon: Just like how they used to do it back in the old days, in the *qasgi* ... in the men's house. They sit around like this, and they talk. You know, some of them are real quiet 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 ... In the *qasgi*, 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. ... *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[rophone] 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 [to remote villages] (Appendix AC:3).

Before the arrival of federal and state managers in Western Alaska, problems were discussed by men in *qasgi's* without agendas and perhaps for substantially long periods of time

(Appendix AC:3). Coming to Bethel or Anchorage for one or two days and testifying in front of official boards, councils, and strange agency officials and relatively highly educated government employees using microphones does not provide a meaningful role for most subsistence harvesters, especially when limits are imposed on how much time they can speak. When less formal meetings occur in schools and/or other public places in communities, collaborative management can begin to be meaningful, less intimidating, and more effective (Appendix AC:3). Similarly, Jacobs and Brooks (2011:100) observed:

Public meetings do not provide a comfortable setting for most Alaska Native peoples and will not produce satisfactory results because formality discourages participation. Several informants mentioned that the best way to be effective when working with Alaska Native peoples is to make the process informal and socially engaging; providing food and door prizes was recommended.

Tommy said that Yup'ik peoples are quick to point out when they are not certain about something, and he said, "I don't know" twice (Appendix AC:3). For many Yup'ik people, it is considered proper to communicate with others in a positive manner and only about what one knows to be true (Appendix H). Where and How Collaboration Occurs is interrelated with the often unseen dimensions, How We Talk and Familial and Communal Bonds in Level One, both of which are linked to Working Together at Meetings in Level Five (Figure 8). When agency managers develop and use methods of public involvement that are inconsistent with these dimensions of Yup'ik culture, they create barriers to working together in meaningful ways. In addition, Where and How Collaboration Occurs is interrelated with Yup'ik Approaches to Management in Level Three, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of Their Participation in Level Six, and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8).

Similar to findings by Jacobs and Brooks (2011) linking the logistics of collaboration to communication issues, this analysis provides evidence that Where and How Collaboration Occurs is interrelated with Flow of Information (Figure 8). Matt Conley of Napaimute stated:

Yuk-to-Yuk [Kuskokwim radio program] will show you how respectful they are.

The Friday talk line ... 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 ... They let them talk (Appendix J:2).

In Yup'ik culture, people are allowed to talk, and they are not interrupted (Appendix J:2; AC:3). As a Euro-American living in Western Alaska, I quickly realized that I had a tendency to interrupt people when engaged in conversations, more so than I was aware. Yup'ik people are active listeners. Rarely, do they interrupt one and other when talking. Interrupting others is largely frowned upon.

Differences between Yup'ik and English speaking people pertaining to communication between stakeholders in collaborative management are not limited to language differences. Aside from language barriers, there exist substantial social and cultural differences between stakeholders that guide how they talk and listen to one and other. These differences present communication barriers and other challenges to effective collaborations between stakeholder groups and the achievement of a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters. How We Talk is an important dimension of Yup'ik Culture located in Level One and is linked to barriers and facilitators of meaningful participation in Level Five (Figure 8). This part of Yup'ik Culture has implications for both Communication and Process. When agency managers limit how much time subsistence harvesters may speak or interrupt them during meetings, their natural flow of speaking and passing on information is disrupted and their participation becomes meaningless to them. Likewise, holding meetings in settings that are uncomfortable for Yup'ik people and using microphones and telephone lines to communicate between stakeholders present barriers to meaningful participation. In other words, cultural differences in how stakeholders communicate act as a driving force that often exacerbates barriers to communication between stakeholders that are observable during real time collaborations. The driving force originates from divergent dimensions of cultural in Level One and is illustrated by a red line in Figure 8.

How one communicates in public participatory processes can affect their ability to effectively address their concerns when speaking before government officials and agency managers. How subsistence harvesters communicate impacts how agency managers value their information. Ultimately, the ways in which they speak about the issues and articulate their concerns will determine whether or not their concerns will be acted upon or considered at all. Similar to what Nadasdy (2003) observed, subsistence harvesters participation is limited in

Western Alaska because the agencies determine how collaboration will occur without first obtaining meaningful input from subsistence harvesters. Agency managers need to ask their rural constituents how they would prefer to communicate and handle the logistics of collaborative meetings and other stakeholder interactions. In *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, Nadasdy (2003a:5) explained:

First Nations peoples can of course speak to these [government] officials anyway they want, but if they wish to be taken seriously [by provincial managers], then their linguistic utterances must conform to the very particular forms and formalities of the official linguistic fields of wildlife management, Canadian property law, and so forth. Only through years of schooling or informal training can First Nations people become fluent in the social and linguistic conventions of these official discourses. Those who do not do so are effectively barred from participation in these processes, condemned, as Bourdieu (1991:138) put it, either to silence or to shocking outspokenness.

Natural resource manager and subsistence harvester, Josh Owens, shared his ideas for developing a more optimal approach to how collaboration should occur between stakeholders. Direct negotiations between subsistence harvesters and agency managers in remote communities across Western Alaska would improve the current situation. A similar approach was used by federal agencies during the planning stages that led to the amendment of the Migratory Bird Treaty in the early 1980's. Many subsistence harvesters thought this approach was more favorable in regards to their perceptions of how collaboration should occur between stakeholder groups (Appendix AC:7). Subsistence harvesters often defined their meaningful role as the ability to work together with managers as equal partners (Appendix U). Andy illustrated:

The most helpful is when ... 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 some things that the Department [agency managers in general] needs to do themselves ... But we all

need to bring in our share of thoughts, our share of solutions in our mind, and put that together. *Yup'ik* Eskimo women make ice cream. They use the shortening, and then they use the berries, cranberries, blueberries, whatever ... and then you mix them together. It doesn't finish the job until they mix everything and it becomes *agutak*. For each [regional advisory] council, each participant, each entity, organization, the traditional [tribal] 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 (Appendix AC:2).

Here we see how the often unseen cultural and epistemological features below the waterline influence the ways in which we approach management, problem solving, and/or collaboration with others. For many *Yup'ik* peoples, sharing information and working together are paramount for solving problems. When Andy stresses the importance of “paddling the same speed” he illustrates the importance of working together, which originates from the emphasis *Yup'ik* culture places on possessing strong Familial and Communal Bonds (Appendix AC:2; Figure 8). Andy used the analogy of making *akutaq* (i.e., *Yup'ik* ice cream) by using a process of mixing all the ingredients together. He indicated that all stakeholders' input is of equal value and necessary for making the final product a success. Similarly, Mark Page of Marshall explained that in order to tackle tough problems, one must go and talk with many people to understand the meaning of something and what to do about it (Appendix E:3;4). Andy and Mark demonstrate the importance of inclusiveness and sharing for the feature, *Yup'ik* Approaches to Management in Level Three. Similarly, Jacobs and Brooks (2011) recommended that stakeholders' practice sharing and listening during collaborations. Both practices are ingredients of a recipe for a meaningful role for Alaska Native peoples in collaborative management. Important interrelationships exist between Sharing and Familial and Communal Bonds in Level One; *Yup'ik* Approaches to Management in Level Three; How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four; Flow of Information and Working Together at Meetings in Level Five; and Where and How Collaboration Occurs (Figure 8; Appendix E:3; 4; AC:2).

One working group member desired that a neutral non-agency employee be hired to coordinate the meetings and the work for the working group. Currently, this position is held by a Fish and Game employee. Working group member George Sanders explained:

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 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 [other member], or all three of us ... 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]. Poor [state manager], he's not a secretary. He's a trained fisheries biologist. He's no better at being a secretary than I would be ... and I'm not worth a damn at it. I know because I depended on secretaries all my life ... every job I've had ... But, we just need one person designated to work with [emphasized] and for [emphasized] us. [State manager] works for [state manager] ... When you read the minutes and you read the observations from our meetings, it's skewed [emphasized] ... 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 ... If ... we had just one person working for us, then I wouldn't have to explain that to [all these state managers who call me] ... 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 ... in kind of an awkward position many times, and it makes us spend a lot of time ... 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 ... 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. 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 [someone else] ... A professional person like that who was hired, they'd be able to deal with that anyhow ... Then, when [upper level state manager] wanted to know what's happened on such and such he can just ... call right to that person. There's the answer right there. This has been done ... then he doesn't have to call me, or ... 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 [are] four or five people involved there. It's just inefficient [emphasized] ... That person then also could make all the travel arrangements, and do all these other things ... 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 ... At least it's just coming from the one person who is designated [emphasized] to be a complainer. ... It depersonalizes the situation (Appendix AC:6).

George said that summarizations of working group meetings provided to the public by the Fish and Game often do not represent what was said or what happened at working group meetings. He thinks that managers could improve the participatory process and the efficiency of the working group by hiring a coordinator from outside the agencies. The current situation is not optimal for working group members, and it is too heavily controlled by one stakeholder group (i.e., Fish and Game) that essentially determines Where and How Collaboration Occurs, including how it is documented for the public record.

Level 6: Perceptions of Participation

Interviews with agency managers tended to focus on their perceptions of the barriers and facilitators to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation in management of fish and wildlife. Because of this a limited amount of information was provided by managers concerning

how they perceived their own participation. It is likely that some interviewees in this group were hesitant to divulge more information in fear of reprisal from supervisors. I have observed what I called an atmosphere of fear among managers for speaking their beliefs on these matters.

First, I discuss results concerning how subsistence harvesters' perceive their participation in collaborative management. Then, I discuss one state manager's perceptions pertaining to how he and the State of Alaska perceived their participation. Next, I discuss how managers perceive the ways in which subsistence harvesters' perceive their participation. Finally, I discuss how subsistence harvesters have perceived their participation on the Council and their suggestions for improving the Council process to provide a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters.

How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation

Subsistence harvesters' perceptions of their participation in collaborative management in Western Alaska included feeling that managers do not always listen to them (Appendix AD:1); upsetting feelings of frustration (Appendix AD:3; 4; 6; 12; 13); a sense of meaninglessness (Appendix AD:8; 9; 11; 14); beliefs that agency managers dictate to subsistence harvesters (Appendix AD:7); and feeling they have been told by managers that their role is to cooperate, and the managers' role is to manage (Appendix AD:5; 10). Susan Carter explained:

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 (Appendix AD:1).

Natural resource manager and subsistence harvester Bobby Sterling said the composition of the various boards and councils are too heavily weighted towards commercial interests, and also heavily represented by members from outside the area (Appendix AD:2). Referring to a meeting in Juneau in which the Governor's staff discussed the Pollock bycatch of Chinook salmon, Bobby explained:

We cited our commercial fishery totally out the door, the local economy totally out the door, but the Commissioner's office and [state manager] at that time who was working for [state manager] told us that they had coastal economies to consider ... But that statement of saying we have coastal economies to consider,

you know, screw your way of life, screw your commercial fishery (Appendix AD:3).

Many subsistence harvesters I spoke with often mentioned that they felt as if the commercial Pollock industry was too influential and powerful. Subsistence harvesters were not pleased by what they perceived as the waste of their Chinook salmon by the Bering Sea Pollock commercial fisheries. Similar to Bobby Sterling, natural resource manager and subsistence harvester Josh Owens stated that it frustrated him that decisions which affect the resources of Western Alaska are often made by people who are unfamiliar with the land and its people.

I feel pretty bad that ... 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 ... Most decisions that ... effect my livelihood of living off the rivers and lakes and the land resources, the decisions are being made, are being effected by decisions made by grocery shoppers. So 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 ... 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 (Appendix AD:4).

Some subsistence harvesters feel that their participation in agency management and regulatory meetings is disappointing and limited because board members continue to vote down nearly every proposal coming from Native communities (Appendix AD:12; 15). Josh Owens, a member of the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-management Council, explained:

It gets very frustrating, and I walked out of a couple of the Migratory Bird Co-management Council meetings because every time we raised an issue the State of Alaska [Fish and Game] and Fish and Wildlife would say, we don't have the authority to support this proposal, therefore we'll have to vote no (Appendix AD:6).

While Josh has perceived his participation in the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council as frustrating and his role limited, Josh expressed that the collaborations between federal agencies and subsistence harvesters that led to the amendment of the Migratory Bird Treaty during the early 1980s were a success because federal agencies directly worked with subsistence harvesters in Western Alaskan communities (Appendix AD:8). Collaborations with subsistence harvesters ultimately resulted in an agreement between all parties involved (Appendix AD:8). Council member Greg Roczicka questioned the actual meaningfulness of Council members' roles in the process. Greg feels that the role of a Council member should resemble "a role that has a lot of meaning" (Appendix AD:13). However, Greg goes on to say, "Sometimes I think we are sitting as more tokens" (Appendix AD:13). Greg provides evidence that some subsistence harvesters engaged in collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska want their roles to be more meaningful. This demonstrates evidence of the interrelationship between the feature, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four and How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive Their Participation in Level Six (Figure 8).

Council member and elder Harry Wilde of Mountain Village made an impactful statement during this research. Harry Wilde is a true listener and often he does not speak, but when he speaks everyone listens.

When I was younger, (In Yup'ik), when there first became 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, dip net. 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 was 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 [managers] 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. Quyana (Appendix AD:11).

Reflecting upon his decades of service collaborating with managers, Mr. Wilde's final testimony illustrates the breakdown in trust and working relations that have slowed the development of effective collaborations between stakeholder groups for quite some time. In the Yup'ik culture, what elders say matters, is respected, and is especially influential among the youth. Later, during this same meeting, Mr. Wilde exclaimed:

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. Quyana (Appendix AD:14).

It is important here to take special notice of the words: "When you get to 83 years old, I think before you learn something to satisfy your people" (Appendix AD:14). Comments like these from elders are examples of how, in Yup'ik societies, one becomes a knowledgeable person. For elders like Harry, they have learned that it is important to listen and observe for a long time before speaking. This is critical and provides evidence that there are many Yup'ik subsistence harvesters who sit, listen, and think about many things at meetings without voicing an opinion because in Yup'ik culture the youth and even middle-aged people understand that their role is to listen and observe.

Subsistence harvester and natural resource manager Josh Owens wanted to ask agency managers "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" (Appendix AD:7). Later in our conversation, Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council member Josh Owens explained:

In the past when I participated with the migratory issues like the [Yukon/Kuskokwim] Delta goose management plan they [agency managers]

stated it was 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 (Appendix AD:5).

It would seem that at least some members do not consider their participation on the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council as equal and representative of true co-management. The perception that agency managers are really saying to subsistence harvesters “we manage and you cooperate” (Appendix AD:5) is not limited to subsistence harvesters engaged in the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council. Nick Larson shared his perception of his participation in the working group:

Yeah, then at the end, they always say the Department [Fish and Game] 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 ... 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 (Appendix AD:10).

The words “you don’t know how we live” (Appendix O:14) or similar phrases from subsistence harvesters were repeatedly used in reference to their perceptions of agency managers’ cultural and ecological understanding of the people, land, and animals of Western Alaska. Nick Larson and Josh Owens provided evidence of the interrelationship between How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive Their Participation in Level Six and the dimension, Cultural Awareness in Level Five (Figure 8; Appendix AD:5; 10). When stakeholder groups do not possess cultural awareness of the other stakeholder groups involved in collaboration, some stakeholders will feel that their participation is meaningless because those with whom they are trying to work do not understand their ways of doing business and their relationship with fish and wildlife. Lack of cultural awareness contributes to Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8).

How Managers Perceive their Participation

Bob Riley from Fish and Game explained:

It's not just the stakeholders [subsistence harvesters] that are suffering, wondering whether or not this process is working for them. We're [Fish and Game] wondering whether or not it's working for us ... I mean there's two sides to this whole story ... 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 ... I probably was more candid with you than necessarily my supervisors would have liked me to be (Appendix AE:1).

Similar to subsistence harvesters, some managers feel doubts about whether or not collaborative management is working to their benefit. Interestingly, Bob mentioned that he “was more candid with [me] than necessarily [his] supervisors would have liked”. Statements like this from managers may illustrate an atmosphere of fear among agency managers. I observed two particular events that help to illustrate what I mean by the existence of an atmosphere of fear among managers. First, while observing the first working group meeting on June 20th, 2012, I recall being shocked by some of the things managers said that day in reference to subsistence harvesters’ reactions to fishing closures on the Kuskokwim River. These managers and I were participating telephonically in Anchorage while subsistence harvesters were participating telephonically from several Western Alaskan communities. Realizing that I was a conditional new hire without a permanent position and completely disposable, it was understood that to voice my concerns here at this meeting would have most likely resulted in negative repercussions. I recall feeling that I had been placed in a moral conundrum unable to say what I wanted without fear of reprisal.

In a second and similar circumstance, I had just finished delivering a presentation to the Council in February of 2013. Before delivering this short speech of thanks and recognition for the many elders and Western Alaska peoples that participated in my research, I was nervous to say the least. Prior to this presentation, I had been struggling over whether or not to mention something on the public record I had observed during this research that I knew would be a particular hot button with many of the biologists and managers in the room. I did it anyways, and the air was silent when I spoke. In front, the people clapped, and to my rear I could swear I heard grumbling. Upon finishing my presentation a Fish and Game employee approached me

and said that while I was speaking she quietly said, “Thank you. Somebody said what I can’t say” (Field Journal notes, February 27, 2013). It remains unclear how and to what degree this atmosphere of fear is affecting the collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Alaska. When biologists and managers sit silently at meetings in fear that something they say might have negative repercussions on their careers, most likely there is a limiting effect on potential outcomes of collaborative management due to the likelihood that critical pieces of information are left unidentified and undiscussed.

Manager’s Perception of How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation

Bob Riley with Fish and Game provided some information about how some managers perceive the ways in which subsistence harvesters view their participation.

With respect to the Kuskokwim working group ... the biggest disconnect that I feel that we have ... and I've heard this from a number of members ... it's not from everyone ... The working group feels that once it's made a decision, it feels like the state should be compelled to abide by that decision once it's [the working group] heard all the data that we have to present and ruled on what it thinks should be done, that that's how the fishery should be managed. And, they think that when and if those decisions are not necessarily adopted ... It's very daunting for the working group and it's very upsetting. They don't understand what they're doing here. They don't understand why they're being asked. They've been given a lot of messages about how important their participation is, how much they have to do with the management, and they don't necessarily see it. What they see is a different decision being made (Appendix AF:1).

Bob has heard from a number of working group members that their experience with the collaborative management process is less than positive. When subsistence harvesters are able to work closely with agencies, and they feel that their input is received and incorporated into the management plans, as was the case with the collaborative process leading to the amendment of the Migratory Bird Treaty in the early 1980’s, subsistence harvesters’ satisfactions concerning their participation appear to be more favorable and positive. In contrast,

subsistence harvesters feel frustrated, angry (Appendix AD:4), disappointed (Appendix AD:12), and as if their participation has been meaningless (Appendix AD:14) when all or most of their proposals are rejected by decision makers, especially those stakeholders who feel that the agency managers who continually trump their recommendations do not understand the people and the land in Western Alaska (Appendix O:14). Some agency managers are aware that subsistence harvesters who are engaged in the process often feel disenfranchised; they are also aware of the many barriers to meaningful participation that exist (Jacobs and Brooks 2011).

Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council

Subsistence harvesters' perceptions of their participation serving on the Council included: 1) there are excessive amounts of paperwork (Appendix AG:2; 4); 2) it is a highly formal process (Appendix AG:2; 3); 3) because Council meetings are no longer held in remote communities, subsistence harvesters lack exposure to the Federal Subsistence Management Program (Appendix AG:6; 11); 4) when their concerns are not addressed in a meaningful way, travelling to meetings is both expensive and frustrating (Appendix AG:6); 5) their knowledge is not appreciated by agency managers (Appendix Y); 6) meetings are excessively long and tiresome; especially for elders (Appendix AG:7; 10); 7) meeting information and materials are not provided to Council members in a timely manner (Appendix X:5; AG:8); and 8) serving on the Council was not worth their time and effort because they lacked a meaningful role in the decision making process (Appendix AG:2; 4). Subsistence harvesters' suggestions for how to improve the function of the Council included the need for managers to conduct formal tribal consultation before selecting Council members (Appendix AG:5) and the need for Council members to be compensated for their work on the Council (Appendix AG:7; 10; 12).

One former Council member (Appendix AG:2) perceived her role as lacking the capacity to affect regulatory decisions much in the same way Greg Roczicka earlier stated, "Sometimes I think we are sitting as more tokens" (Appendix AD:13). Susan Carter explained:

I didn't like the process of the decision making and that we were just advisory ... capacity ... Sorry, if you want my opinion, I want it to have some weight. If you want me to volunteer my time ... I want it to have weight ... My time to be meaningful ... and that whole paperwork process [of the feds] ... of the RAC

[Council] was a little over the top. Even when you travel ... Even just to ... get on the board [Council], it was a process, and I just didn't like it. I just didn't like the feel of the meetings ... I just didn't feel like I was adding much ... My voice wasn't ... I just didn't feel that it was worth the time and effort. I just think the working group concept is a good concept ... and we have [Council] members on there ... I think the working group ... is more fulfilling to me even though I have ... great frustration with [participating] ... than I had with the [Council] groups ... yes, felt so formal and you had each man speaking into the microphone ... If you're going to create these groups ... and not give the equality of the vote on decision making process ... It's not about the compensation ... To me, that's not even as important as. Just ... give my vote and my opinion a vote ... Give our people the opportunity to say, yeah, we're all a part of this, this is our decision (Appendix AG:2).

For Susan, serving in a role where she possesses a meaningful vote in the decision making process is paramount to whether or not she perceives her participation as meaningful. Although she explains that excessive paperwork and the formal nature of the Council process had limited her meaningful participation, clearly her perception that Council members are not afforded a meaningful role in the decision-making process was the greatest factor driving her decision to stop participating on the Council (Appendix AG:2; 3; 4). Susan demonstrates the interrelationship between the features, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four and Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council (Figure 8).

A second former Council member explained that it is especially difficult to attract young people to participate because of the lack of compensation paid to Council members for their duties. While trying to recruit young people to participate on the Council, Nick Larson recalled young people asking him,

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 ... 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 (Appendix AG:10).

Both Nick Larson and Bob Aloysius (Appendix AG:10; 12) said that lack of compensation for their time spent at meetings and away from their families is deterring many subsistence harvesters from applying to serve on the Council, especially young people. There are other reasons why many young people are not applying for membership on the Council. Recall that young Yup'ik people most often do not perceive their roles as decision makers for their communities. Instead, young Yup'ik people like John and Tommy of Kwethluk perceived a meaningful role in collaborative management of fish and wildlife as listening to and observing the directions of their elders (Appendix U:7). This provides evidence that the feature, Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven is linked to How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four (Figure 8).

Concerning the process of Council meetings, Nick explained:

These types of meetings, they're time consuming ... 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 ... Between three and four ... five in the evening, people start to walk out losing interest, tired. They're brain-washed all day ... Especially, you've seen our RAC [Council], all the elders. It's very tiresome for them to sit all day long (Appendix AG:10).

The practice of agencies holding excessively long public meetings are not limited to the Council. Often, meetings held by agencies are long with very few breaks. While this may be routine for agency managers, subsistence harvesters perceive such meetings as frustrating and exhausting, especially elders. Recalling his time spent on the working group, Nick stated:

If the working group sends you over [to Anchorage for a meeting], 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 (Appendix AG:7).

Natural resource manager and subsistence harvester Bobby Sterling expressed concerns with how the Council process was created.

The RAC [Council] itself ... was developed out of the eyes and visions of probably the regional directors, people pretty high up in these management agencies ... and I believe they were done without consulting people in the villages, how they would like to see a meaningful ... process and participating in...the management of the resources (Appendix AG:5).

Furthermore, Bobby expressed his desire for the United States Government to consult directly with federally-recognized tribes to negotiate the selection of Council members (Appendix AG:5). It is a commonly held belief among subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska that negotiations with federally-recognized tribes should occur directly with the United States Government as was implied in the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (Appendix L:11; U:3; AG:5). The failure of the Federal Subsistence Management Program to provide tribes with the capacity to be engaged in the selection of members for the Council and Federal Subsistence Board frustrates many if not most subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska (Appendix AG:5). A dimension of the feature, Process in Level 5, Where and How Collaborations Occurs is linked to the features, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven at the tip of the iceberg (Figure 8; Appendix AG:5).

Nick Larson provided an example of a barrier to communication between stakeholder groups engaged with the Council.

They'll [federal managers] expect you to be on top of all them materials they send in. Half the time, better than half the time, they don't send them early enough for us to review them (Appendix AG:8).

Recall, Greg Roczicka mentioned that the Office of Subsistence Management has regularly failed to get meeting materials out to Council members in time for them to familiarize themselves with the material being discussed. This is an issue that has substantially limited their meaningful participation at meetings (Appendix X:5). This problem significantly adds to the frustration of Council members serving as volunteers and desiring to meaningfully participate in the regulatory decision making, which affects the lands they refer to as their homes. Greg (Appendix X:5) and Nick (Appendix AG:8) provide evidence of the interrelationship between the feature, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council and Flow of Information in Level Five (Figure 8).

Many subsistence harvesters desired that agencies hold Council meetings in villages outside of Bethel (Appendix Z:11; 13; 15; AG:6; 11). Failure to do so has limited subsistence harvesters' exposure to the Federal Subsistence Management Program (Appendix AG:6).

Natural resource manager and subsistence harvester Bobby Sterling explained:

Ever since they quit meeting in the villages, managers cannot get people to participate or submit their names to be a regional Council member when they are soliciting for regional advisory council members. Because they do not meet in the villages there's no local exposure to the Council process, in that ... people lose their interest; people lose their perception; people lose their feelings of worth in participating in the process. *Interviewer:* So you think that may be leading to fewer applications being submitted? Bobby Sterling: Yes ... and I'm sure they [subsistence harvesters] share the same frustration as I do. Many people submit their proposals ... through their tribal councils and a lot of time they come to the ... RAC [Council] meetings, they go to the Federal Subsistence Board meetings ... If they submitted through the other management body, the state side ... they have to go to those meetings as well. It becomes very expensive and they [subsistence harvesters] don't achieve what they want from those meetings. They get frustrated ... They feel totally alienated ... and their point of view ... is not appreciated. And in this day in age, with the high transportation costs and ... high everything cost ... it's just going to be more and more impossible for people to actually come in and participate ... in these meetings ... Going back to the [Council's] inability to meet in the villages, I think it's a bureaucracy that prevents that from happening, and it's having a very negative impact on federal management (Appendix AG:6).

For Bobby, reasons why many subsistence harvesters are not participating in the Council include: 1) the high transportation costs incurred traveling to meetings in Bethel, 2) a lack of exposure to and knowledge of the Federal Subsistence Management Program (exacerbated by the lack of interaction between stakeholder groups in Western Alaskan communities), and 3) feelings of alienation and frustration felt by subsistence harvesters who travel to meetings only to fail to achieve what they came for (Appendix AG:6). Overcoming these challenges will require

the Federal Subsistence Management Program to begin holding more meetings in multiple communities outside of hub cities. The feature, Working Together in Communities in Level Five is interrelated with the features, Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven (Figure 8). The lack of exposure that many subsistence harvesters have to the Federal Subsistence Management Program and process is most likely linked to meetings being held outside of their communities and has limited rural residents' roles and participation in collaborative management. I assume that other subsistence harvesters living in remote communities of Alaska face similar challenges because other regional advisory council meetings tend to be held in regional hub cities or in Anchorage. If this trend in meeting venues continues, subsistence harvesters' participation at Council meetings will likely remain low.

Level 7: Why Subsistence Harvesters' Participation is Declining

Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are not Participating is the most visible feature in the iceberg model, and it is a documented outcome (Figure 1) of how collaborative management has occurred in Western Alaska. Many of the transcript excerpts associated with the single feature in Level Seven have something in common. Most of these quotations are *penetrators*, or meaning units that penetrate multiple levels of the ice berg. They are often lengthy but provide comprehensive evidence of numerous interrelationships between multiple levels of visibility. Depicted by the blue dashed lines in Figure 8, penetrators connect often unseen features below the waterline with participatory outcomes that are observable (i.e., visible) during real-time negotiations and collaborations between stakeholders. Although penetrators are empirical units of meaning found in the data, they provide substantial theoretical insights into how divergent worldviews and approaches to management between stakeholder groups exacerbate barriers to meaningful participation and drive outcomes of collaborative management.

The words of key respondents associated with the feature at the tip of the iceberg clearly illustrate the interrelationships among the features and dimensions discussed in Levels Five, Six, and Seven (Figure 8; Appendix AG; AH). However, to more completely understand why subsistence harvesters' participation is declining, one must look closer at the interrelationships

between features deep below the waterline in Levels One through Four and how these affect the barriers and facilitators located at the waterline in Level Five. In these linkages, there is evidence of needed reforms to the collaborative process currently used to manage fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Much of the information presented in this section is related to implications and recommendations for improving collaborative management between stakeholder groups (see chapter four).

Key interrelated features and dimensions linked to the tip of the iceberg in Figure 8 include: 1) the dimension, Respect for Elders within the feature, Yup'ik Culture (Appendix AH:9); 2) Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals (Appendix AH:7); 3) Managers' Approach to Management (Appendix AH:7); 4) How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role (Appendix AG:1); 5) Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge (Appendix AH:5; 7; 9); 6) Cultural Awareness (Appendix AH:4; 9; 10); 7) Working Together in Communities (Appendix AH:2; 5; 8; 9; 10); 8) Working Together at Meetings (Appendix AH:7); 9) Flow of Information (Appendix AG:1; AH:3); and 10) Subsistence Harvesters Perceptions of Their Participation (Appendix AG:1; AH:1; 6; 9) (Figure 8). These examples represent where key respondents explicitly linked particular features of the iceberg to Why Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating in Level Seven.

In addition to the empirical evidence shown as blue dashed lines, divergent cultures, worldviews, and approaches to management exist between subsistence harvesters and agency managers. These divergent meanings are based in culture and drive the outcomes of collaboration that we see above the waterline. The influence of these cultural drivers is shown by red lines in Figure 8. The red lines converge at the feature, Interaction and its dimension, Cultural Awareness in Level Five. In other words, infrequent interactions slow the progress towards developing increased awareness of these important cultural differences between stakeholder groups. When combined in a complex management environment, these pronounced differences, lack of cultural awareness, and infrequent interactions between subsistence harvesters and agency managers impede meaningful participation and hinder the development of meaningful roles for subsistence harvesters in collaborative management of fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. These conditions ultimately lead to hopeless frustration and a visible decline in participation (Figure 8).

With seriousness, concern, and purpose in his voice, Council member Bob Aloysius penetrated to the heart of the matter, commanding the attention of every person inside the Bethel Cultural Center.

For me, there's only one thing that has come up over and over again this summer. Where is the Council and the Federal Subsistence Board, because we are dealing with subsistence. 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 ... there has to be something done. And the other thing ... the subsistence hunters, fishers, trappers, gatherers are always dictated [to] without their input. They have no input. That's what they [subsistence harvesters] say, that we have no input. How come they [agency managers] never come and ask us what we need? How come they never ask us ... 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 ... We have a way of life dictated to us by the seasons. There's a hunting season ... fishing season ... gathering season ... and a season to prepare ... 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 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 ... That's our way of life and that's the way we think. It's in our mind, our hearts and our spirits. ... we have to be able to harvest those foods at those times of the year. It's hard for people to understand that [who] 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 ... 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 ... I went out [and] 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 ... 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 ... 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. ... that's my personal report and take it for what it's worth. ... 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. Thank you (Public Record, Appendix AH:9).

The lack of cultural awareness from managers for the Yup'ik culture and way of life has impeded subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation in collaborative management (Appendix AB; AH:4; 9; 10). Bob and other subsistence harvesters provided evidence of the interrelationship between the dimension, Working Together in Communities in Level Five and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating at the tip of the iceberg (Appendix Z; AH:2; 5; 8; 9; 10; Figure 8). Bob also explains that there is a lack of understanding between stakeholders for each other's worldviews on land and animals. He said that the lives of Yup'ik people are dictated to them by the seasons, not the calendar used in the United States and other Western European societies. Tommy and John Griffon explained:

We don't follow a calendar ... It's when they're [fish, animals, and birds] here, or not ... when it's time, or not. It's ... when the land and weather says it's time to go ... When it's rough out, when it's bad weather, when the ice is bum, we don't go nowhere. When it's open [when the waterways are not frozen] you can take your boat and go up river to spring camp, that's when it's time to go.

Interviewer: So not a calendar, but when the land tells you it's time. No, not the calendar. I hardly ever look at the calendar. But I know when ... [it is] spring time, it's birds, beaver, muskrat. When the weather gets warm, and the ice gets free. You can tell when they're going to come. You can see them coming too (Appendix L:12).

Most Yup'ik peoples do not perceive themselves as having control over nature. Instead, the land, animals, and nature provide directions to the Yup'ik people concerning harvesting activities and what needs to be done (Appendix AH:9).

The Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge is a shared concern among subsistence harvesters and linked to Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating (Appendix Y; AH:5;9; Figure 8). Recall, Bob stated, "The pen that writes on paper is mightier than the way of life of the people that live here" (Appendix AH:9). Ron Gable's comments illustrate why some subsistence harvesters like Nick Larson and Bob Aloysius might infer that managers may hear them but do not take their knowledge seriously:

And this is why people interpret ... 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 it's unanimous, nobody likes it. The state goes ahead and vetoes it and implements whatever it's gonna do ... That smacks ... people out here ... on two different fronts. One ... what you hear is why they're [subsistence harvesters] ... inept because their vote didn't matter. It was vetoed by the state or the feds, regardless. And two, they're [managers] just not listening to what the working group is saying. And you hear that from working group members ... Ninety percent of the time we [all] agree ... It's fine, okay we gotta do this, we gotta do that. It's this other ten percent. It's probably less than that. ... we don't agree ... for whatever reason ... And, I heard this a lot last year from the ... chairwoman ... 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 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 ... if there were reasons why we didn't do ... why we didn't agree with the state, we tried to articulate that back to ... the working group ... but sometimes they just ... 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 ... but sometimes they [subsistence harvesters] make the wrong decision ... *based on the numbers ... based on what's legal, based on ... what's the best thing for the long-term sustainability of the fishery* ... We can't ... and it's unfortunate when that happens because it does, it causes everyone to get very ... tense with each other and ... that's not what ... 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 (Appendix AH:7, emphasis added).

Ron provides evidence that some subsistence harvester interpret agency managers' veto of the working group's recommendations as an affirmation that their role in collaborative management does not afford them the capacity to equally and meaningfully engage in decision making (Appendix AH:7).

Subsistence harvesters defined a meaningful role as the ability to work together and have equal decision making authority on issues related to the management of fish and wildlife (Appendix U). When subsistence harvesters do not possess a meaningful vote in decision making, they often ask the question "why are we here" (Appendix AH:1;7). This provides evidence of the interrelationship between the features, How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role in Level Four and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating (Figure 8). When Ron says "sometimes they [subsistence harvesters] make the wrong decision based on the numbers" (Appendix AH:7), he demonstrates why Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals in Level Two are linked to the Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge in Level Five (Figure 8).

When stakeholder groups possess divergent views of nature, differences in approach to conservation, and lack of understanding of one and other's ways of dealing with land and animals, the value those groups assign to each other's knowledge tends to be less than they would normally assign to that of their peers. In other words, knowledge constructed through processes which seem foreign to one's own accepted epistemologies, or ways of knowing (e.g., science, law, and sustained yield), are often seen as lacking importance and thus not a part of what is considered sound and effective tools for managing nature. Illustrated by a red line, divergent worldviews and approaches to management between stakeholders exacerbate

barriers to Communication between stakeholders in Level Five (Figure 8). The outcome is a devaluation of subsistence harvesters' knowledge (Figure 8).

How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role and subsequently How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation are both features which are linked to Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating (Figure 8). Susan Carter explained that some meetings of the working group in June of 2012 left her feeling powerless to participate. Feeling powerless to participate made her want to quit participating, especially when managers began to privately discuss the issues without working group members or other subsistence harvesters present to participate. Susan recalled:

I was chairing the meeting, and they [agency managers] were wanting to add more closures and were going to the back room to talk and ... you could feel the frustration in the room from the stakeholders, and they [agency managers] were really clueless as to ... how difficult of a time people were having ... It just was real frustrating ... 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 ... It's just black and white for them ... The compassion ... just couldn't be ... in their minds. They just, the emotion ... just they were mandated by law and that was frustrating ... It had to be that way. Yeah, I wanted to leave. I wanted to quit. I wanted to not go on radio ... I mean to be on radio with those guys [agency managers] too is really hard, taking calls, and then having the federal representatives look at me like I was the bad person for disagreeing with them. It is frustrating because you know that you're gonna ... I'm the one ... that [is] gonna have to go back from our meetings and say I'm sorry they didn't listen to us and it's frustrating ... Yeah, there were times I just felt like, okay, I had enough, I wanna quit, and I can't ... I don't know why they [agency managers] feel that ... right now we're just an advisory. It's silly (Appendix AG:1).

For Susan Carter and Bob Aloysius, managers see and think in black and white (Appendix AG:1; AH:9), which demonstrates why many subsistence harvesters may conclude from their participation that the pen Euro-American managers write with is mightier than Yup'ik knowledge and ways of life (Appendix AH:9).

Rather than understanding their relationship to their world in black and white, Yup'ik peoples interpret their relationship to their world from a shared and holistic perspective. In the Yup'ik worldview, all living beings hold an equal and reciprocal relationship with their world. Recall, for Yup'ik people, the land is understood to be alive and possess the ability to punish those who do not respect it (Appendix L:6).. Yup'ik people's way of life is about more than simply getting food. Among other significant elements, it is about sharing, caring, interacting appropriately with the land and other beings and fulfilling one's unwritten obligations to their communities. As Susan Carter mentioned above, when collaborating with agency managers on decisions that affect fish and wildlife, it invokes many emotions and feelings because unlike biologists who think about animals in numerical terms, Yup'ik people's think about and associate with animals in terms of cultural and spiritual connections. For the Yup'ik people, fish and wildlife are not to be counted, summed, averaged, or played with, like us they are beings, have emotions, and desire respect.

Susan talked about the frustration she feels when having to go back to communities and tell others she is powerless to do anything about their concerns (Appendix AG:1). Similarly, Bob Aloysius mentioned that it is extremely difficult for elders to tell young peoples who are concerned about what to do that they cannot do anything because their hands are tied (Appendix AH:9). Susan and Bob (Appendix AG:1; AH:9) provide evidence of the interrelationship between the dimension, Respect for Elders in Level One and Why Some Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating (Figure 8). Failure to listen to and work with elders is a serious barrier to meaningful participation for subsistence harvesters. If agency managers continue this practice, participation in the process and applications to serve on the Council will most likely also continue to decline. This will require agency managers to listen to elders and respect their knowledge as worthy of influencing management decisions. If agency managers do this, they will increase the meaningfulness of subsistence harvesters' participation and enable those involved to become real people.

Ron Gables claimed that many subsistence harvesters do not participate because they have no desire to participate and do their homework to learn about and understand issues pertaining to the management of fish and wildlife (Appendix AH:8):

To be honest, a lot of the villages just flat don't participate. Now is it my and the Fish and Wildlife's responsibility to go out and make sure they participate in ... these other venues that are out there? I mean ... there's a free number. They can call in to every working group meeting, right? How many folks ever call in and listen and participate? They don't. I mean, that's part of it ... It's not just a lack of resources on our part. It's a lack of will on ... some of the villages part. They don't want to be bothered. They don't want to participate. ... don't want to make the effort to put in the homework that has to be done to understand ... You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make 'em drink. ... I think there's plenty of ways that they can get involved and participate ... but there just doesn't seem to be that desire (Appendix AH:8).

This is starkly different from subsistence harvesters' perception of the primary factor affecting why their participation is declining, which is the lack of interaction between stakeholders in Western Alaska communities and the lack of exposure subsistence harvesters receive to the Federal Subsistence Management Program (Appendix Z; AH:2; 10). Senior Council member Harry Wilde explained:

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're not seeing any people from the villages (Public Record, Appendix AH:10).

Stakeholder groups disagree on whom or what is to blame in regards to the declining participation of subsistence harvesters. Both stakeholder groups observed factors affecting subsistence harvesters' participation, which I have grouped in the dimension, Working Together in Communities in Level Five (Figure 8; Appendix AH:7;10). The observed lack of cultural understanding and interactions between stakeholder groups are the greatest impediments to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation. Hensel explained:

To the extent that beliefs about the world are shared, interactions are likely to be understandable and generally predictable; if not, interactions may easily falter... Similarly, those moments (particularly in cross cultural interaction) when it becomes clear that [those engaged] understand a situation in very different terms often lead to a breaking off of communication (Hensel 2001:220).

Achieving a better understanding of the cultural and epistemological differences between stakeholder groups will require more informal meetings between stakeholders. These differences need to be discussed frequently and in both formal and informal settings. Official meetings between stakeholder groups focused solely on business related issues will not have the same positive effect towards developing cultural awareness between stakeholder groups as informal, off-the-record interactions.

Chapter Four: Management Implications, Recommendations, and Conclusions

I focus on presenting management implications designed to improve public participation in fish and wildlife management in Western Alaska. A management implication is, “A deductive or inductive decision aid that provides evidence from completed research on how to achieve a management objective in the future” (Guthery 2011: 520). Guthery (2011) suggested that the presentation of management implications not include a re-hashing of results. However, I provide brief references to data in various appendices to provide the reader with key evidence to validate the prudence of the management implications and recommendations. For clarity of presentation, I present management implications as if-then propositions (Guthery 2011). I provide managers with some useful recommendations for enhancing public participation. Finally, I provide research implications and conclusions. I discuss management implications in relation to three levels of the iceberg model (Figure 8) and three primary research objectives described in chapter one. To organize the presentation, I separated management implications into four sections: 1) barriers and facilitators, 2) meaningful role, 3) factors contributing to subsistence harvesters’ declining participation, and 4) additional factors affecting participation.

Level Five: Barriers and Facilitators

Communication

It was discovered that Yup’ik peoples commonly speak using definitive statements (Appendix H:4). Yup’ik subsistence harvesters observed that biologists and managers often use “guess words” when speaking (Appendix H:2; 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 (Appendix H:1; 7; Field Journal Notes, March 02, 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 (Appendix L; M; V:2; 3; 4; W; AC:4; AG:5).

Audio difficulties with the teleconferencing system used at the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group (working group), and Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council (Council) meetings have limited the meaningful participation of some subsistence harvesters (Appendix X:7; 8). Furthermore, some subsistence harvesters find it difficult to say what they would like to on teleconferences because there are too many people speaking (Appendix AC:1).

Council members often do not receive meeting materials from the Office of Subsistence Management in time to review them before meetings occur (Appendix X:5; AG:8).

Finally, there is some evidence that subsistence harvesters do not receive information about regulatory closures resulting in some subsistence harvesters unknowingly breaking the law (Appendix X:1; 3; Z:7).

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 they are speaking about.
- 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 predominantly 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 participate will be limited.

5) If audio difficulties exist with the teleconference systems used at meetings subsistence harvesters participation will be limited; especially 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 a lot of people on the teleconferences, and it is difficult to hear what is being said.

Recommendations

Managers should frequently remind subsistence harvesters that scientists and managers do not intentionally use guess words but often refrain from discussing outcomes as absolutes because they have been trained to consider the potential for error and uncertainty.

Managers should consider creating and making cultural education classes a requirement for scientists and managers who will be working frequently with Alaska Native subsistence harvesters 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.

Managers should consider contracting the services of a professional Yup'ik translator 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.

Managers should avoid presenting materials at meetings using highly complex terminology and technical jargon.

The Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge should consider hiring two or three outreach specialists to frequently talk with elders and other community leaders about their concerns regarding subsistence and fish and wildlife management. Local hires should be prioritized.

While it may seem difficult to travel to communities and interact with subsistence harvesters, there is some evidence that meetings like the working group have resulted in

stakeholders increased understanding of each other's goals and practices which can produce increased trust and cultural understanding between stakeholders (Appendix AH:4). In addition to formal business meetings, informal meetings between stakeholders should occur more often in Western Alaskan communities to provide stakeholders with opportunities to increase their cultural understanding of one and other and to learn more about each other's differences and similarities.

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.

When the flow of information between stakeholder groups is poor, stakeholders who do not get information, or those who receive it late, will become frustrated, resulting in barriers to meaningful participation. To address these concerns, 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, trust, and relationships between stakeholders.

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 relationships of trust 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 (Appendix K). During many interviews with subsistence harvesters across Western Alaska it was observed that managers and biologists were either rarely or never seen by subsistence harvesters (Appendix Z). This indicates

infrequent interactions between the two and has led to a poor cultural understanding between stakeholders engaged in collaborative management (Appendix AB). Some subsistence harvesters and managers asserted that sharing more information more frequently would increase mutual learning and improve relations and cultural understanding between stakeholders (Appendix G). In addition, 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 (Appendix Z:4; AB:1; 2; 6; 8; 9).

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

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 Fish and Wildlife Refuge Information Technicians along 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, 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 Western Alaska 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 at best 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 incompatible between stakeholder groups and opportunities for interaction and sharing of information are infrequent, then collaborations between stakeholder groups will likely result in confusion and disagreement.

Recommendations

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. 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.

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 be about business only. It is often important for managers to meet with community leaders for more than one day without rigid agendas (Dorantes and Brooks 2012; Jacobs and Brooks 2011). This allows 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. Furthermore, 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. Improving trust and relationships will require stakeholders to get to know one and other 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.

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. Outreach staff should be responsible to regularly communicate with communities and tribal liaisons to the federal agencies. 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

Several Yup'ik subsistence harvesters expressed that formally testifying in front of microphones is something that they are not used to or comfortable doing (Appendix U:7; V:2; AC:3; 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 (Appendix AC:3).

Differences between subsistence harvesters and managers' approaches to problem solving contribute to the confusion and uncomfortable feelings experienced by subsistence harvesters (Appendix N; O; AG:5). 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 (Appendix E). 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 (Appendix AD: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 (Appendix AC: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 Washington, D.C. (Appendix S:1; 3). At least one subsistence harvester desired tribal consultation and involvement in the selection process of Federal Subsistence Board and Council members (Appendix AG:5).

Some subsistence harvesters were frustrated when changes in management plans or other decisions were perceived to be rushed forward in the absence of substantial evidence (Appendix AC:5).

Finally, one member of the working group expressed that he would like to see the coordinator position be held by a third party consultant or contractor, not by a federal or state agency employee (Appendix AC:6).

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 are perceived to be rushed and formulated without enough evidence or time for stakeholders to consider and discuss, subsistence harvesters 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 constituents rather than agency directors and departmental secretaries in Washington D.C.
- 5) If tribes were directly involved in the selection process for appointing Regional Advisory Council and Federal Subsistence Board members, subsistence harvesters would be more satisfied with their participation in the collaborative process.
- 6) If the coordinator for the working group was a neutral third party consultant unaffiliated with either the federal or state agencies, members of the working group would be more satisfied with meeting summary reports and general administration of the working group meetings.

Recommendations

First, managers should consider holding meetings with subsistence harvesters around one table promoting a comfortable collaborative atmosphere of equal involvement.

Second, proposals from managers to be voted on during the regulatory cycles of the State Boards of Fish and Game and the Federal Subsistence Board should allow for early consultation with tribes and early and frequent discussions involving members of rural communities.

Third, state and federal agencies should consider providing for the equal representation of stakeholder groups on regulatory boards. Federal agencies should consider involving tribes in the selection of Federal Subsistence Board and regional advisory council members who hold positions of authority pertaining to the development of management plans and regulations. This would increase the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters in collaborative management as directed in ANILCA section 801 (5).

Finally, the Office of Subsistence Management should consider proposals from the private sector to fund the role of the working group coordinator. This position should be filled with a neutral third party facilitator, not an agency employee. An alternative would be to use three co-chairs, representing state, federal, and local stakeholders to facilitate and coordinate working group meetings.

Level Four: Meaningful Role

Most subsistence harvesters engaged in collaborative management desire to be meaningfully involved in management and planning (Appendix X:10; Z:5). However, many subsistence harvesters engaged in collaboration with managers feel that their participation is meaningless (Appendix AD:8; 9; 11; 14).

Subsistence harvesters define a real or meaningful person as one who openly and consistently shares resources and information with others (Appendix K). Both subsistence harvesters and managers expressed that they did not like being excluded from discussions with other stakeholder groups (Appendix U:1; AA:1; AC:10). One manager explained that closed door discussions held exclusively between managers leads to a decrease in the level of trust subsistence harvesters have for managers (Appendix N:3). Subsistence harvesters frequently

defined meaningful involvement as possessing an equal stake in decision making and working closely with managers (Appendix U; AC:2). One fisheries scientist described the meaningful role of subsistence harvesters as the ability to “advise, sway, and convince” managers (Appendix Q:4). Failure to make decisions based upon a consensus agreement of engaged stakeholders has resulted in frustration on the part of subsistence harvesters (Appendix Y:8; AD:12; 15; AG: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 (Appendix L:11; U:3; AG:5). 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 (Appendix AG:5). During past management planning for migratory birds, it was often expressed by subsistence harvesters that negotiations were successful because federal managers worked directly and closely with tribes and communities (Appendix X:10; AA:2; AC:7).

Implications

- 1) If most subsistence harvesters desire to work together and make decisions based on a 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 occurred in adherence to the Indian Reorganization Act, which expressed that negotiations between tribes and the federal agencies will occur directly, 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 be 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

Managers should work to make decisions based on consensus agreement between engaged stakeholders when possible. Also, federal and state managers should involve subsistence harvesters in discussions on how the process of collaborative management should occur to increase meaningful roles of rural residents in fish and wildlife management.

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.

All stakeholders should refrain from engaging in discussions which exclude other stakeholders, especially 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 altogether avoided.

Federal and state agencies should consider defining what they perceive as a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in collaborative management. Following the development of a definition for a meaningful role for subsistence harvesters in management, federal agencies should consult with federally-recognized tribes to reach an agreed upon definition.

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.

Level Seven: Why is Subsistence Harvesters' Participation Declining?

Interactions between managers and subsistence harvesters in rural communities in Western Alaska currently are too infrequent to be effective (Appendix Z:1; 6; 7; 9; 10; 12; 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 (Appendix

Z:4; AG:11; AH:2; 5). This indicates infrequent interactions and too few opportunities for rural residents 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 public was greater (Appendix Z:4; AH:10).

Many subsistence harvesters shared that they do not feel that managers value their knowledge (Appendix Y). One manager demonstrated some hesitancy accepting subsistence harvesters' knowledge as valuable or legitimate (Appendix AH:7). Some subsistence harvesters asserted, when they feel they are not being listened to by managers they cease to participate (Appendix AD:6; AG: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 (Appendix AD; AG:1; 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 (Appendix AG:1; AH:9).

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 (Appendix AG:7;10).

Implications

- 1) When stakeholders possess two very different worldviews on land and animals, the legitimacy of each other's knowledge will be minimal at best. This is further exacerbated by a lack of cultural understanding for both groups 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 the regulatory decision-making process, fewer applications will be submitted to serve

on the regional advisory councils because elders are frustrated with having to explain to their constituents that they are unable to do anything about their concerns.

5) If meetings are long, lasting in excess of eight hours, subsistence harvesters and especially elders will become tired and frustrated, indirectly resulting in their non-participation, and even directly at times in their withdrawal from participation.

Recommendations

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.

More frequent and shorter meetings, both informal and formal, would decrease the frustrations of subsistence harvesters and provide both stakeholder groups with more opportunities to increase their cultural awareness of the other. 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 council if they knew more about the Federal Subsistence Management Program.

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 necessary management actions, but more importantly why they perceive certain management actions as necessary.

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 among the youth (Appendix E; I; U:7). Also, because 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 (Appendix E; AB:4; AB:5; 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 (Appendix X:4; Z:1; 7; 9; 10; 12; 14). In Western Alaska, a common practice of problem solving is to discuss a problem with many elders (Appendix E:3; 4; AC:3). There is some evidence which suggests that when elders work closely with managers the success level of regulations to reduce harvests increases (Appendix I:4; Z: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 (Appendix N:3; AE:1; Field Journal Notes, February 27, 2013).

Implications

- 1) If managers have something that 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 govern from outside Western Alaska, 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 are not being shared with members and other subsistence harvesters.

Recommendations

Managers should meet and work more frequently with community elders on management, planning, changing subsistence harvest regulations, and implementing rules. Managers should visit Western Alaska and learn about the land and its people if they wish to be perceived by Western Alaskans as knowledgeable.

Federal and state managers should work on promoting an atmosphere of openness and intellectual freedom at the workplace so employees are not afraid to freely express their concerns, especially when such concerns are related to discussions on regulatory decision making; planning and management; and the implementation of regulations.

Future Research Needs

External forces often affect the features shown in levels Five, Six, and Seven of Figure 8. All 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 on high in 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 upon the collaborative process used to manage fish and wildlife in Western Alaska. Better understandings of the degree to which external forces impact the features shown in Figure 8 would provide stakeholders with the knowledge needed to best 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 collaboration.

It would be useful to conduct similar studies in other regions of Alaska to see if the observed decline in applications for the regional advisory council for each of the other nine

federal management regions is linked to a similar or different set of cultural drivers and key features presented in Figure 8. I assume that many of the challenges faced by subsistence harvesters in Western Alaska are barriers 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. Such a pattern warrants further research and may be linked to economic factors and some of the barriers described in this research. It is likely that subsistence harvesters' perceptions of a meaningful role in other regions of Alaska also do not match the actual roles they are afforded by the current process of collaborative management used by the agencies. Levels One through Four of Figure 8 may be linked to why participation is declining in other places in Alaska.

Conclusions

To achieve a more holistic understanding of collaborative management in Western Alaska, stakeholders need to look beyond the visible outcomes of public participation such as a decline in applications to serve on regional advisory councils. Deep below the waterline in the larger portion of the iceberg, a number of cultural drivers have been shown to influence the more observable challenges and unsatisfactory outcomes of collaborative management located above the waterline (Figure 8). Because stakeholders demonstrate a large number of social and cultural differences and divergent, often conflicting worldviews on land and animals, barriers to stakeholders' participation are magnified. How we perceive our world and our relationship to our world greatly influences our approaches to problem solving and managing our world. 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 in Levels One through Three (Figure 8).

At present, stakeholders lack a significant 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 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 in cultural understanding of land and animals, including what it means to conserve or manage subsistence resources across cultures.

How Yup'ik peoples define a meaningful and real person is directly related to their perceptions of meaningful roles in collaborative management of fish and wildlife. 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 whom other Yup'ik peoples look to 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. Interestingly, 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 a much better understanding between stakeholders of each other's perceptions of a meaningful role and the differences between how stakeholders characterize a meaningfully involved person.

I observed what I describe as an atmosphere of fear among some managers and biologists employed by government 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. More than once, I was made aware that some federal and state

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 resource management issues could result in potentially negative outcomes.

I learned that some of the key factors that influence why subsistence harvesters' participation is declining are interconnected with barriers to what they consider to be meaningful roles and interactions. Barriers to subsistence harvesters' participation included infrequent interaction between stakeholders; communication difficulties related to conversation and the sharing and/or flow of information between stakeholders; and factors related to the process and operating procedures that direct the timing of stakeholder groups' engagements and where and how participation and collaborations occur. Additional factors related to why subsistence harvesters' are not participating include their lack of exposure to the federal and state subsistence management programs due to infrequent meetings in rural communities; the high costs subsistence harvesters face when having to travel to meetings in Bethel or Anchorage; and the perception of many subsistence harvesters that their meaningful participation in collaborative management is limited at best.

Although this research did not focus on external forces affecting subsistence harvesters' participation, there was some evidence that federal and state dual management of subsistence and the economics of commercial fishing on the high seas, for example, have added to the confusion and frustration, respectively, that I observed on the part of subsistence harvesters. Together, these social, cultural, and political challenges have most likely impacted collaboration between subsistence harvesters and managers. Some of the more visible and internal outcomes include lack of trust, lack of legitimacy afforded to each other's knowledge, and 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 goals, interests, concerns, 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 working directly with managers, sharing decision making authority, and 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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Appendix A:

Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Subsistence Harvesters

Do you ever see fish and wildlife or fish and game in your community? How often do you see them? If so, when talking with either fish and game or fish and wildlife what have you found to be helpful in your experiences with them?

How do you get information concerning fish and wildlife regulations, seasonal closures, and openers? Do you find this helpful? What do you feel could be done to improve the flow of information (communications) between your community and fish and wildlife or fish and game?

Can you recall a time when things became difficult between you or your community and fish and wildlife or fish and game? What do you think could have been done to avoid these problems?

If and when you speak with fish and wildlife and fish and game do you find it difficult to communicate freely with them? Do you feel that your knowledge about animals and the land is listened to and taken into consideration by fish and wildlife and fish and game?

Have there ever been times when talking to fish and wildlife or fish and game when you wanted to say something about the care of fish and wildlife, but felt as if you were unable to? Could you explain to me why?

Do you have any suggestions that you would like to make to fish and wildlife or fish and game that might improve yours and your community's ability to participate in the care of fish and wildlife?

In the ANILCA, in section 801 (5) it states, "Congress shall enable rural residents to have meaningful involvement in the management of fish and wildlife and of subsistence resources". However, the word meaningful involvement was never defined in ANILCA. If you could define your meaningful participation in the care of fish and wildlife how would you define it?

Interview Guide for Managers

Please tell me about your work with subsistence users. What sorts of things have you or are you involved in with subsistence users?

When working with subsistence users what are some things you have found that were helpful in your experiences working with them.

Please tell me about an experience you had with subsistence users when things became difficult?

How often do you travel to communities each year? What do you think prohibits the Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game from visiting more remote communities each year? When you go to communities what are the primary reasons why you go to the communities?

Do you think visiting communities to talk with community members about the goals of the Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game improves the relationship between Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game and community members?

Why do you believe fewer subsistence users are applying for membership on the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council?

How effective do you feel the formal communication process at subsistence meetings with subsistence users are?

For those subsistence users living in communities who cannot attend meetings, what is done to allow for or encourage them to participate in the management of fish and wildlife?

What suggestions do you have that could improve participation between managers and subsistence users at meetings?

Do you think that the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group or Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council is a co-management process for fisheries?

How do you define a co-management process?

Does the Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife have an outreach program? If so, how many communities do you think managers visit in the Delta each year? If not, what do you feel prohibits the Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife from visiting communities in Western Alaska?

Do you ever have difficulties getting subsistence users to participate on the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group, Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council, Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, or the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-management Council? Are there specific regions of the YK Delta where participation at meetings is low? If so, what are some of the factors that you feel have contributed to low participation in certain regions of the Delta?

Appendix B: Manager Synopsis

Ron Gables—Federal Scientist

Bethel

February 15, 2013

Total Interview Time: 1 hour and 42 minutes and 03 seconds

Synopsis Iteration 4

Note: This document represents the result of 4th synopsis iteration or hermeneutic cycle of meaning units arranged by emergent themes derived from the interview with Ron Gables.

Origins of the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group

Ron claims that the working group formed because of the fighting over fish between upriver and downriver communities. He also provides further explanation of how the working group began.

Role of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife and the State of Alaska on the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group

Ron confirms that the Fish and Wildlife is not a member of the working group. He asserts that the authority ultimately lies with the State and Feds on the working group.

Perceived Role and Objectives of Managers and Agencies—Agencies Approach to Management and the Differences between Them—Dual Management Issues

Ron states that the shared objective of the Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge, the working group, and other Native organizations is the sustainability of the fishery. He confirms that the management directives of the Fish and Wildlife are to number one ensure conservation of the species and secondly to provide for a subsistence opportunity. Ron asserts that the United States Government has to implement restrictions on subsistence and commercial harvest in-river when fish returns are low in order to comply with the directives of the Fish and Wildlife. He believes that his role as a fisheries scientist has been pretty much like a classic example of fisheries management where he tries to figure out what the escapements are, how many fish we need, how many surplus fish there are, and how that surplus fish will be distributed. In sum, Ron asserts that the objective of fishery management is simply to reduce harvest when scientists believe it is necessary in order to ensure escapement objectives.

Ron asserts that the United States Government co-manages the fisheries of Alaska with the State of Alaska. He points out that in Western Alaska the jurisdiction between the State and the Feds overlaps. Ron asserts that ANILCA provided a legal framework that directed federal agencies to conserve fish and wildlife and protect subsistence resources. However, it did not specify federal management authorities. According to Ron the Katie John Decision

determined that the State of Alaska was not meeting its obligation to provide for a subsistence priority, and subsequently the United States Government was granted authority to manage fish and wildlife within federal conservation units. Ron explains that to the State of Alaska any Alaska resident is a subsistence hunter and fishermen.

He asserts that the United States Government has veto authority over the State of Alaska due to the Katie John decision because the Katie John decision established the priority of federal jurisdiction over State jurisdiction concerning fish and wildlife. Ron believes that there are a lot of people who do not understand the intricacies of the shared co-management between the State of Alaska and the United States Government. According to Ron the authority within the federal refuge lies with the refuge manager.

Ron admits that the United States Government will pretty much always go along with whatever the State of Alaska is proposing concerning fish and wildlife proposals unless the States position is divergent from the United States Governments management plan. He gives an explanation of the process by which the United States Government can take over the management of fisheries or wildlife; a process he calls the "federalizing of the fishery". According to Ron, once the fishery has been federalized all non-rural residents are precluded from participating in the fishery. Ron clarifies that the Katie John decision defined when the United States Government could invoke veto authorities against the State of Alaska and federalize the fisheries.

Ron states that in-season and out of season management changes the role of the United States Government in the management of fish and wildlife. According to Ron the Feds have the ability to exert federal jurisdiction only during in-season management. He states that the MOU between the State and the Feds also governs fisheries and wildlife management in Alaska along with ANILCA. Ron states that the United States Government is always trying to cooperate with the State of Alaska.

Ron admits that there were things concerning the State of Alaska's 2012 Kuskokwim River management proposal and modeling research for escapement goals for Chinook on the Kuskokwim that the Feds did not agree with. He asserts that the State of Alaska's Kuskokwim River management proposal for lowering the escapement goal was based upon valid science which shows that this management plan will provide for optimal Chinook returns allowing for higher commercial harvests on the Kuskokwim and not because of any political interests. Ron recalled that Federal and State scientists heavily critiqued the research that led to the development of the new Kuskokwim River Management Plan before it was voted on at the Board of Fisheries. However, Ron admits that there were some issues with the Kuskokwim Management Plan that were identified that cannot be addressed until there is more data. Ron states that missing data in a model is not enough to stop a management plan from being implemented.

Ron asserts that the goal of Fish and Game Commercial fish is to flat line the return of salmon populations so that the maximum number of fish can be harvested each year sustainably. He does not believe that the fisheries in Western

Alaska are currently being managed according to the right variables, goals, and information. Instead, Ron asserts that fisheries in Western Alaska are just being managed in order to meet escapement. Also, he does not believe that managing fisheries according to escapement only is the best long term management plan. For Ron, fisheries need to be managed in order to maximize the genetic biodiversity of salmon stocks.

Managers Perceived Role of Subsistence Users in Natural Resource Management

Ron believes that subsistence users in Western Alaska do not understand that they are civil servants of the United States. Furthermore, he goes on to say that because Western Alaska subsistence users are civil servants of the United States they should engage and participate with the United States Government because he believes that all citizens are civil servants and obligated to serve their country. He perceives the role of subsistence users in collaborative management as people who share information with those who do have the vote. In sum, Ron believes that subsistence users are there at management meetings to advise, sway, and convince managers of the way that they would like to see things happen.

Managers Perception of Subsistence Harvesters Goals, Objectives, and Intentions in Natural Resource Management

Ron recalls that subsistence users on the working group did not want to lower escapement goals on the Kuskokwim demonstrating that subsistence users are very much concerned with the conservation of the fish. Ron believes that many people still put themselves first before the resource. It frustrates Ron to hear from subsistence users that they only take what they need because he believes that people need more today than they did in the past. Ron believes that basing current harvest practices on what was historically sustainable is risky because there are so many things going on differently in the ocean today that may not have been happening in the past that could cause more injury to fish stocks when coupled with high harvests. According to Ron, regardless of whether the rolling closure procedures are implemented on the Kuskokwim River subsistence users are going to harvest the number of fish that they need. Ron states that research has proved that rolling closures does not limit the harvest of fish on the Kuskokwim. However, Ron admits that he is not really sure how many fish are harvested on the Kuskokwim each year.

Ron has observed that a lot of subsistence users in Western Alaska support a sovereign rights movement.

Barriers and Facilitators

a) Working Relations

Ron believes that the relationship between the State of Alaska and the working group is the most cooperative and functional group in the State.

b) Interaction and Involvement

Ron has observed that one of the RIT's goes to villages at least once a week. However, Ron admits that the Refuge does not visit all of the communities each year. He states that there are some villages in Western Alaska that the Refuge is not welcome in. Ron asserts that the Refuge goes to about 20 percent of the communities in Western

Alaska each year. He argues that the Refuge manager focuses the limited resources of the Refuge to go to communities where the most good can be done. Ron claims that he only goes to visit villages when he is invited by the village because he asserts that it is not part of his job as a fisheries scientist to go out to communities. He admits that he mostly visits nearby communities to Bethel. Ron goes on to say that he visits the nearby communities because they are the ones who worked with, participated with, and engaged themselves with the Federal managers in the past. He believes that the cost of travelling to villages and the limited personnel for doing so are the greatest barriers to the Fish and Wildlife for visiting communities. As a fisheries scientist, Ron argues he does not have the time or the money to go out and canvas all of the villages because that would take a huge effort. He states that if his job was canvassing communities that's all he would be able to do because of the monumental task. Ron asserts that he goes to RAC and working group meetings.

c) Legitimacy of Subsistence Users Knowledge

Ron believes that subsistence users believe managers are not listening because they feel that their vote does not matter and that they are not listened to when the State of Alaska or the United States Government vetoes their recommendation. However, Ron claims that about 90 percent of the time the working group agrees with the State and the United States Government about fish management issues. Ron recalled that last year the chairwoman of the working group frequently claimed that the State and the Feds were not listening to the working group. Ron asserts that the Federal and State governments do value and use the information that subsistence users share with managers. However, Ron points out that the State and the Feds don't always agree with it. Furthermore, Ron asserts that the Feds and State try to factor in subsistence users concerns into the management plans.

d) Belief that Either Subsistence Users or Managers are the Most Qualified to Manage the Natural Resources of Western Alaska

Ron believes that sometimes the working group members make the wrong decisions based on the scientific numbers, what is legal, and what is the best thing for the health of the fisheries. Ron asserts that when the United States Government or the State disagree with the working groups recommendations and implement their own decisions it is usually the correct decision. However, Ron admits that Federal and State fisheries scientists don't know what the outcome of their management actions will actually be on the Kuskokwim fisheries.

e) Sharing Information

He asserts that Federal managers try and make the shared management process as open and transparent as possible. Ron states that the United States Government, State Government, and fisheries scientists do not want to try and create conflicts with the Working Group members. Instead, Federal and State agencies are trying to improve and strengthen the relationships between them and subsistence users by discussing fisheries issues at Working Group meetings.

f) Political Factors Affecting Participation (i.e., External Forces)

Ron states that working group members have the luxury of prioritizing issues that are important to them that the state and federal agencies cannot always consider priority concerns based upon the specific laws governing fisheries management in Alaska that fisheries scientists and agency employees are forced to follow. He asserts that by law, the agencies are obligated to meet their escapement objectives, and if that does not allow people to fish it's just unfortunate.

g) Evidence that there is a lack of Understanding for the Goals, Interests, and Objectives between Subsistence Users and Managers

Ron believes that subsistence users don't always comprehend that meeting the escapement goal doesn't always only require that managers shift harvest opportunities around. Sometimes managers have to remove specific harvesting opportunities. He asserts that rolling window closures were extended last year in 2012 to protect the pulse of Chinook salmon because managers believed that shorter rolling closures desired by subsistence users would be ineffective at ensuring the escapement objectives.

h) Communication and Language

Ron acknowledges that the language barrier between subsistence users and managers contributes to the problem surrounding participation from subsistence users in the management of fish and wildlife. RIT's at the Refuge or someone else usually translates for him when he goes to communities. Ron admits that having a translator in the communities of Western Alaska aids him in communicating with Yup'ik subsistence users tremendously. He provides evidence which suggests that having a translator aids with not only the language barriers but also the cultural barriers between subsistence users and managers.

Meaningful Involvement

Ron believes that subsistence users and working group members don't understand that the working group, State Advisory Committees, and the regional advisory councils are advisory groups only that do not have any authority. Furthermore, Ron states that you cannot give a group of citizens' authority over a common property resource. Instead, Ron believes that only a government agency can be responsible for common property resources. Furthermore, Ron claims that only entities that have a legal framework can actually possess positions of authority.

Ron makes comments which suggest that there is unwillingness from the Federal and State Governments to share power with subsistence users. According to Ron subsistence users do not have any authority and legally the state or federal agencies cannot simply share their power because that would take an act of Congress to relinquish power. He believes that in order to have inter-tribal management it would have to be adopted by Congress as a Congressional Act. Ron admits that when Congress passes a law that grants authority so that another subsistence user can sit at the table and make decisions he will happily support it.

He has observed that subsistence users often times feel that they are ineffectual at participating in management meetings because they don't have the authority to make decisions. However, Ron asserts that it is a meaningful endeavor for subsistence users to participate in management with Feds and State. Ron argues that the ability of subsistence users to share opinions and recommendations with managers without being able to vote is meaningful involvement.

Ron believes that co-management is not defined by the ability of all parties involved to participate in decision making. Ron acknowledges that subsistence users do not have a vote in the decision making process in many of the shared management groups between subsistence users and State and Federal stakeholders pertaining to the management of fish and wildlife.

Ron admits that the process by which the working group operates allows the working group members some level of ownership in the decision making process that is not occurring in the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association teleconferences. Ron believes that that if subsistence users participate in the decision making than they will own it. The interviewer asks Ron how someone can own the decision if they are not part of that decision. Ron avoids answering this question.

Ron acknowledges that information provided to managers by subsistence users does not always sway the decision of managers. He believes that the ability for subsistence users' information to have an effect on decision making by managers is dependent upon how open and transparent the management process is. Ron asserts that Federal managers try and make the shared management process as open and transparent as possible.

Ron believes that natural resources can never be managed through consensus. For Ron, when managing natural resources their always has to be some entity that has decisional authority over everyone else because you can't make everyone happy. Also, he believes that when management of natural resources is done through consensus it will lead every time to the downfall of the resources because it puts people's interests first and the interests of the resource second. This Ron argues is the reason why the United States Government does not manage by consensus.

Ron claims that the working group is being held up as a model for fisheries co-management worldwide. However, Ron has observed that there are some people who believe that the working group is not co-management. Ron points out that there are many other fisheries that do not allow the participation of stakeholders like in the case of the working group.

Ron admits that when the United States Government has to implement restrictions it puts them in a difficult position. Also, Ron admits that it is unfortunate when the State or the Feds have to disagree with the working group members and exert their power to force their decisions because it causes the working group members to become frustrated and tensions between the State, Feds, and working group members to increase.

Meaningful Involvement--Perception of the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association and Comparison with the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group

Ron believes that Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association has tried really hard and is doing a better job in recent years.

Ron admits that the process by which the working group operates allows the working group members some level of ownership in the decision making process that is not occurring in the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association teleconferences.

Perceived Differences between Yukon and Kuskokwim Relations

Ron has observed that on the Yukon River the friction between upriver and downriver communities is even greater than the friction between upriver downriver communities on the Kuskokwim. He believes that there is not a cooperative atmosphere between upriver and downriver communities on the Yukon River. Ron acknowledges that cultural differences between populations on the Yukon River probably contribute to the lesser degree of cooperation that he has observed between communities on the Yukon River when concerning the conservation of fish. He recognizes has heard of hostile comments being made by lower Yukon River peoples aimed at other areas of the Interior Yukon concerning fisheries, but he admits that hostilities have lessened in recent years. However, he cautions that hostilities on the Yukon River could intensify again if the abundance of fish continues to decline on the Yukon River.

Factors Contributing to Declining Participation

Ron asserts that a lot of the village communities in Western Alaska do not participate, and he questions whether or not it is the United States Government's job to force them to participate.

He has observed that once the State and Feds disagree with the Working Group members some of the working group members express to the State and Feds that they believe that they are not being listened to and he believes that subsistence users then begin questioning why they are participating if they are not going to be listened to. Ron believes that there is a strong majority of people in Western Alaska who feel that if they participate in management with managers than they are validating managers' authority. Furthermore, he believes that many Yup'ik subsistence users believe that if they don't participate than they can point the finger at managers and talk about how much better things would be if they were managing their own resources.

Ron believes that one of the issues also affecting participatory management surrounds the belief that many people [In Western Alaska] have concerning their wish for sovereign rule over the resources on the lands they live on.

Ron asserts that it's not just the state and federal agency's responsibility but also the subsistence users' responsibility to collaborate and participate in the management of fish and wildlife. He suggests that the primary keys to increasing trust and cooperation between subsistence users and managers is the need for subsistence users to get involved in

management and participate with managers, own the decisions that are made, show up at meetings, come to the office and talk to him, request that he go to their communities, and do their own homework to try and understand some of the Western science that he is talking about.

Ron believes that the reason participation is low from subsistence users in villages is not just because Federal resources are low, but also because subsistence users from villages do not have the will or want to participate, and they are not willing to do their homework to try and understand. He asserts that there are currently many avenues by which subsistence users can participate in the management of fish and wildlife, but he believes that subsistence users simply do not have the desire to participate.

Pollock Fisheries Impact on Western Alaska—United States Government’s Role in Regulating the Pollock Fishery—Managers Perception of Subsistence Harvesters Response to Declining King Salmon

Ron does not believe that the bycatch of King salmon from the Pollock Industry significantly impacts the return of King salmon to Western Alaska. He asserts that the high numbers of bycatch of King Salmon by the Pollock Industry during the mid-2000s could be due to years of high abundance of King Salmon in the Bering Sea. Ron admits that 30 to 50% of the King Salmon caught in the Bering Sea are bound for Western Alaska. However, Ron goes on to explain that since scientists have been looking at the effects of the Pollock Bycatch since 2010 only about 2,000 fish are caught by the Pollock fleet that are headed to the Kuskokwim. Ron explains that not all of the Chinook caught each year in the Bering Sea bycatch would be returning to Western Alaska because of differences in ages of King Salmon caught.

Ron believes that there are multiple factors at play that are contributing to the observed decline in King Salmon returning to Western Alaska. However, he asserts that the only factor contributing to the decline of King Salmon that we can control is the human factor on fisheries. Ron believes that subsistence users do not understand that the Fish and Wildlife does not have jurisdictional authority to do anything about the Pollock fishery. He asserts that it is the National Marine Fishing Service that has jurisdictional authority over the Pollock Industry in Alaska, and he believes that they have been working hard on this bycatch issue.

Ron acknowledges that the Magnuson-Stevens Act made the waters that the Pollock Industry fishes in federal waters. When asked by the interviewer if the federal waters where the Pollock Fishery is fishing apply to ANILCA Ron replies that they are federal waters and in certain circumstance the United States Government can exert-extra jurisdictional authority [what he earlier referred to as “federalizing the fisheries”]. Furthermore, Ron asserts that if the evidence was overwhelming that the Pollock fisheries high seas interception significantly affected the return of Chinook salmon then the YK Delta Refuge manager could make a case to exert extra-jurisdictional authority over the Pollock Industry to curtail that fishery. However, Ron states that there is no evidence to support that the Pollock fishery is significantly affecting the return of King Salmon.

Ron states that Chinook, halibut, and other fish are not being thrown overboard by the Pollock Fisheries anymore. He claims that bycatch caught fish are now being processed instead of thrown overboard. When Ron worked as an observer on Pollock fishing vessels he observed that that the fish that are being brought up in the trawler nets are beat to a pulp. Ron believes that fish thrown overboard in the Pollock bycatch are not waste. Rather, he believes that dead fish return to feed the ecosphere. Ron claims that he would rather see a fish returned to the ocean dead than end up in someone's fish meal because of his belief that dead fish feed the ocean.

Ron questions where the United States Government should focus their efforts on King Salmon when we have observed that 50 to 60 percent of the fish are being exploited by subsistence users while only a half of a percent are being exploited in the Pollock bycatch. Later, Ron states that the subsistence harvest on Chinook salmon harvest in the Kuskokwim River is 50 to 70 percent of the total return. He has observed that subsistence users want to point the finger everywhere else as to why the Chinook Salmon are declining, but they don't want to point the finger at themselves. Ron believes that finger pointing is a classic response to declining fisheries.

Fisheries Scientist Perception of the Impact on Chinook salmon from Subsistence Users

Ron asserts that 60 to 70 percent of the exploitation of the Chinook salmon by subsistence users occurs in Bethel along the Kuskokwim. He reiterates that he believes that subsistence harvests have the greatest impact on Chinook fisheries on the Kuskokwim. However, Ron has observed that very few people want to talk about the potential effect that subsistence harvest of Chinook salmon could be having on the decline of King Salmon.

Fisheries Scientist Perception of the Status of Western Alaska Chinook salmon

Ron believes that the large gear used in the Chinook subsistence fishery may have the greatest long term impact on the Kuskokwim Chinook stock. However, he is hopeful that the lowering of the gear size in the Chinook fishery to 6 inch gear will help to bring back older females in the Kuskokwim River. Ron asserts that scientists know that the 6 inch gear catches fewer big Kings from observing the catches of the commercial industry who are made to use 6" gear. Also, he believes that the returns of extremely small King Salmon on the Yukon is an indication that the Yukon King Salmon have lost genetic biodiversity, and this he believes is likely an indicator that the Yukon is on the verge of a Chinook salmon collapse. Ron asserts that if we continue down the same path we will see a collapse of the King Salmon fishery in Western Alaska.

Appendix C:

Subsistence Harvester Synopsis

Clark Turner—Advisory Group Member

Tuntutuliak

February 12, 2013

Total Interview Time: 3 hour and 37 minutes and 27 seconds

Synopsis Iteration 4

Note: This document represents the result of 4th synopsis iteration or hermeneutic cycle of meaning units arranged by emergent themes derived from the interview with Clark Turner.

Social Welfare, Health Care, Schools, and Transportation

Clark recalls that in the past there were no airplanes or hospitals. Then, babies were delivered in the house or at fish camp. Also, in the past there were no stores in Tuntutuliak or close by. In addition, when Clark he was young there were no schools in Tuntutuliak, and there was only one small church. Then, people only went to church once on Sunday. Now there are church services being held all week. Furthermore, there were no four wheelers or snow machines. Only dog teams were used to travel. Because there was no electricity when Clark was young he recalls that things were really quiet in those days. Clark recalls that in the 1970's he and others flew planes by compass and time and not by GPS. In the past, distance was measured by time and speed.

Clark recalls that when he was a child there were no social welfare programs or food stamps. Before food stamp programs black fish was an important fresh fish for Yup'ik peoples during the winter time. Clark acknowledges that he does not qualify for welfare assistance because he worked, and even though he does not get welfare he has to work very hard to get what he needs to survive.

Clark recalls that in the BIA schools in the past no one was allowed to speak Yup'ik. When he first went to school he didn't know a single English word at age 12. Clark admits that he did not mind having to speak English only in school. However, some parents hated that the children had to speak English only in school because they would be punished and spanked for speaking Yup'ik.

Subsistence Activities

a) Fall

After putting their fish from summer camp in the storage shacks at the winter village, Clark recalled that the Yup'ik people would go to their fall camps where they would catch whitefish and other fish for the winter. Even after it got cold, Yup'ik people would continue to fish for whitefish and pike for winter food. Yup'ik peoples also caught ptarmigan and snowshoe hare at fall camps.

b) Winter

In the fall, after the silvers are gone the Yup'ik people would go to their villages and store fish in storage shacks up on stilts to keep the fish from being damaged by water and moisture. During the winter the Yup'ik people used to hunt seals by kayak and dog teams. They would also fence the rivers and dip fish out of the ice. Clark recalls that in the past there used to be periods of starvation. Blackfish were harvested during winter and eaten both fresh and dried in seal oil. Clark recalls in the past during the winter he travelled by boat from Tuntutuliak to Aniak and then jumped on an air taxi to go moose hunting.

c) Spring

After returning from fall camp, the Yup'ik people would return to the village for a short time and then go to spring camp. In the past, people traveled a lot during spring and summer to spring camps to hunt muskrats and birds, and to dry fish at fish camps.

Clark points out that sealing collides with time for harvesting Chinook salmon. In the past, when sealing was completed in the spring the Yup'ik people would begin fishing for Chinook upon returning from sealing. If sealing was missed, the Yup'ik people would focus their efforts at fish camp and maybe catch a few more Kings.

d) Summer

In the past, people also survived off of Chum salmon and not just King salmon. In addition, only a few kings were caught because of timing and smaller gear and motors being used.

Furthermore, then, fish was the dominant food of the Yup'ik peoples along the coast of Western Alaska.

In the past, people weaved their own nets by hand and long nets were about fifteen feet in length. People measured their net sizes by their hands when they were making them so net sizes were not precise measurements the way they are nowadays. Also, nets in the past were made of cotton or twine and not nylon like they are today. These traditional nets required a great deal more care and had to be dried right away after using them, or else they would rot. Clark explains that manufactured nets entered Western Alaska from cannery workers bringing them back home. Later, fish processors began selling nets in Bethel.

Clark recalls that when fish were dried in storage shacks their fish were never moldy the way they are today, and Clark believes this is because the shacks had big cracks in the floor boards and on the sides that allowed air to get in unlike the closed sheds many people use today that only have a small vent at the ceiling. When Chums were stored in the storage shacks for drying they were tied in bundles of 25 fish and hung in the shack. In the past, Yup'ik people would not lock their drying shacks because no one stole anything in those days. Clark points out that a lot of Yup'ik people also half dry fish because they like to retain some of the oils from the fish. In the past, there were no freezers and the Yup'ik people would smoke and dry meats to preserve them. The Yup'ik people use to can fish before they used jars and freezers to store fish. Clark recalls that his mother taught him to can fish.

Regulations and Outcomes

Clark remembers that prior to 1968 there were no restrictions on moose and a person could land and shoot the animal, and then leave the same day. Then, sometime in the late 1960s or early 1970's there was a big meeting in Bethel at Swanson's that announced the regulation for hunting only Bull Moose. Clark remembers that at the time when the regulations began restricting hunting to Bull Moose only most of the Yup'ik people if not all of them didn't understand the difference between cows and Bull Moose.

Clark asserts that over the last two years people have been unhappy and arguing about the fishery closures. Clark admits that he was not happy that he was accused and slandered in the press for illegal fishing last year when he was not fishing illegally. Clark suggests that the Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife should inform people in the villages of the regulations. Clark claims that when people begin to learn what the regulations are they will be more relaxed when dealing with managers, and they would begin to talk to managers.

Clark concurs with the interviewer that the people of the Delta do not want to see the Kuskokwim River become a combat fishing river where everyone is forced to fish in one small cramped area of the river like it is done in the Kenai Peninsula and South Central Alaska. Clark believes that if the commercial fishing line is extended further downriver on the Kuskokwim then there will be a lot more people fishing along the coastal communities of the Kuskokwim.

Observed Changes in the Land, Animals, and Human Populations

Clark recalls that there were a lot of reindeer around Tuntutliak in the past. Also, he remembers that in the 1940s and 1950s there were no beavers or moose in Tuntutuliak or around the coast of the Kuskokwim. Today, there are many more moose on the coast of the Kuskokwim. Clark has observed that the populations are growing in some villages of the Delta, and he points out that Tuntutuliak has grown from 100 people in 1940 to 400 people today. He admits that the Yup'ik people are cognizant of the impact that a growing population could have on their ability to conduct subsistence and hunt wildlife.

Dimensions of Yup'ik culture

a) Sharing

Clark provides evidence and examples of the importance of sharing and caring among the Yup'ik people. He recalls that in the past sharing occurred often between communities in Western Alaska. Clark recalls that when he was 17 he worked in a cannery. When he was young he was told by people [likely elders] that he could never keep the money he earned. Instead, money was to be shared. Money earned in the canneries was used to buy boat motors, flour, and sugar. Clark acknowledges that he shares information with people because he does not like to hide stuff from them. Clark states that in Yup'ik culture everything including information is supposed to be shared. In fact, Yup'ik people do not like to hide information and possessions from each other because they believe it is the same as stealing. Clark acknowledges that his mother used to trust everything she heard.

Clark asserts that when you share something with someone else you will receive things in return. The things that you receive in return are not just resources, but they are also wishes that you will receive more in the future. This is evidence that Yup'ik peoples believe that intentions are powerful. Clark acknowledges that he learned from his mother that it is important to help people because giving is important and will make you feel better.

Clark acknowledges that when he was younger he was shy but as he got older and became an elder he was not shy anymore. Clark points out that elders obtain not just knowledge, but a desire to help everybody. Clark expresses firmly that his information is not just for me and him but for everyone to hear. This provides evidence that when everyone knows about something things will improve.

b) Moving

Clark provides evidence that in the past Yup'ik peoples were always moving around from camp to camp following the animals.

c) Learning

Clark recalls that at 15 years old he began trapping animals on foot. He wanted to run a dog team, but his mother told him he was too lazy to own dogs and that they would starve under his care. Clark believes that she told him this in order to make him strong. He recalls that trapping made him strong and taught him how to survive. Clark acknowledges that he learned by doing when he learned to trap on foot alone, and later in life he learned to be a maintenance worker also by doing the work on his own.

Knowledge is learned by doing and engaging. Clark believes that the Yup'ik people possess the ability to cut meat rapidly and effectively because they learned by doing it often. Clark recalls that when he used to hunt caribou with others using his plane other people would see him cutting meat and they would be amazed at how fast he could do it. He recalls that others would use a skinny knife because it was supposed to be faster, but he, moving slowly, would be done cutting bigger animals before the other people using the skinny blade to cut smaller animals would be. Clark also points out that Yup'ik people are very innovative and always open to learning new ways of doing things faster and better.

Clark points out that he still does not speak very good English, but he does his best. Clark concurs with interviewer that it is a cultural characteristic of Yup'ik people to always do their best at everything they do.

Yup'ik Epistemology on Land and Animals

The interviewer acknowledges that he has observed that Yup'ik peoples interpret the land as their home and Clark concurs.

Clark explains that fish are sensitive to foreign things in the water like sewage and chemicals that drain into the river. When fish detect foreign substances in the water they will take off. Clark believes that animals are sensitive and aware of their surroundings, and he explains that when they are suspicious they will go away and travel to another place. He asserts that if there are too many boats travelling on the same stretch of river that it will cause the fish to not go to their spawning grounds. Also, there are many more barges on the Kuskokwim than there used to be, and he believes that barges scare the fish away. Clark states that the spawning grounds are sacred.

Clark concurs with the interviewer that animals have intentions and when they give themselves to you as gifts you are not supposed to refuse their gifts. Also, Clark agrees with the interviewer that one of the big differences between biologists and indigenous peoples is in the understanding that animals have intentions. Furthermore, Clark concurs with the interviewer that animals and fish are very sensitive, aware of your presence, and have intentions.

Yup'ik Approach to Management

The Interviewer acknowledges that he has observed that there seems to be a difference in the way managers and Yup'ik peoples perceive management. Clark acknowledges that in the 1940s and 1950s Yup'ik people had never heard of Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife. Before Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game, the people managed their own lands and animals. In addition, Clark asserts that in the past the Yup'ik people did not catch everything they hunted for, but they were instructed by their elders to catch all that they could to prevent starvation.

Clark points out that there are village rules, State rules, and Federal rules in Western Alaska. He asserts that people need to remember that villages are still in the learning process for managing fish and game since the ANCSA law was enacted.

Clark suggests that small pieces of information are very helpful for managing fish and wildlife because small problems can turn into big problems later if not corrected.

Yup'ik Perceptions of Agency Management and Managers

Clark acknowledges that he understands that the Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game are trying to help the Yup'ik people because of his involvement on the many advisory committees over the years. He states that he has no ill feelings against the Fish and Wildlife, Fish and Game, or the Yup'ik people. However, Clark has observed that he has heard some Yup'ik people complain about Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife Service even though they are not supposed to complain. Clark asserts that he only complains about Fish and Wildlife when they do things that people don't expect without them knowing it. He explains that managers are seen as often doing their own stuff and not working with the people. Clark has observed that managers think they know everything, but he cautions that it is very important to open your mind to learn from others because they may be able to teach you a way to do something better.

Clark acknowledges that village police are seen as helping to correct the problems, and he believes that this is the way Fish and Game should be seen by villagers instead of as enforcement and bad people. Clark acknowledges that many Yup'ik people do not know the difference between law enforcement and protectors and if they did it would help a lot. Also, Clark has observed that there are many people who interpret the Fish and Game as bad people. Clark reiterates that he does not believe that Fish and Game are bad people. Even still, Clark points out that he has heard Yup'ik people in the Delta talk about Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife service as enforcement people rather than protectors of the resources. Furthermore, Clark states that the public believes that Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife personnel are all law enforcement people. He explains that "protection people" are defined as "policeman" and separate from Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game. He recalls that when he used to be an RIT for the Fish and Wildlife some Yup'ik peoples did not like that he was wearing the uniform because they saw him as enforcement. Clark admits that he tries real hard to get the word out on the KYUK radio station when meetings between managers and subsistence users are happening. However, Clark points out that when he speaks out about when meetings are occurring there are some Yup'ik people who do not like him because they think that he is on the side of Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife.

Clark concurs with the interviewer that researchers come and go and spend lots of taxpayer money and often times very little is done to impact the communities of the Delta in a positive way.

Teachers as Leaders and Models of What Subsistence Users would like to see Managers be more like

Clark recalled that in the past teachers at the BIA schools were very involved in the community of Tuntutuliak. Nowadays, teachers are not as involved with the communities. Clark believes that the kids would work better with the teachers today if they knew the teachers were more involved with the village. Clark refers to the teachers in the past as real teachers because they taught school and were leaders in the church and the communities.

Clark points out that he does not know the names of a lot of the teachers nowadays even though he goes to the school every day, and this he asserts is because teachers are not involved in the community anymore. He explains that one of the reasons he believes teachers are not involved in the communities the way they used to be is because they come and go so fast.

Clark and the interviewer exchange dialogue on the social changes they have both observed in the youth today due to high speed communication devices. Clark concurs with the interviewer that teachers coming to Western Alaska from the lower 48 are in shock when they arrive in villages because they are not able to function without the amenities they are accustomed to in the lower 48.

Barriers and Facilitators

a) Interaction and Involvement

Clark acknowledges that survey people come from the Fish and Wildlife once or twice a year to Tuntutuliak. Clark asserts that with the exception of occasional surveyors the only time Fish and Wildlife come to Tuntutuliak is when

there is a problem in the village with illegal harvesting. Furthermore, Clark asserts that he has never seen a fish and wildlife or fish and game staff member come to Tuntutuliak just to talk to the Yup'ik people when there wasn't a problem. The interviewer admits that he does not recall hearing anyone in the Delta tell him that they have witnessed Fish and Wildlife or Fish and Game managers come to their villages just to talk to and engage with people. Clark claims that if managers would come and just talk with the Yup'ik people more than the Yup'ik people would be more relaxed in dealing with managers, and trust would be enhanced between Yup'ik peoples and managers. Furthermore, Clark suggests that it would be beneficial to the relationships between the Yup'ik people and the Fish and Game and Fish and Wildlife if managers would come and talk with the Yup'ik people in the villages. Also, Clark asserts that if meetings between managers and the Yup'ik people were held in villages than it would give managers and subsistence users an opportunity to learn each other's goals and intentions. Finally, he would like to see managers at RAC meetings and AC meetings so that the members of the villages can see who represents their villages.

b) Evidence that there is a Lack of Understanding for the Goals, Interests, and Objectives between Subsistence Users and Managers

Clark states that if the Yup'ik people understood more about the intentions and goals of the Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game then they would trust them more.

c) Importance of Possessing a Cultural Understanding for All Stakeholders Involved in the Participatory Process

Clark concurs with the interviewer that a program for managers that took managers to fish camps and other subsistence activities for a week would give managers some understanding of additional factors to consider that affect cultural and customary practices and better qualify them for making decisions that impact people's lives in Western Alaska and elsewhere in Alaska. In addition, Clark concurs with the interviewer that the best way for an outsider to understand the Yup'ik people is for them to go out and engage with the Yup'ik people on their lands. Furthermore, Clark argues that if culture camps were held for managers than there would be two way learning between managers and Yup'ik peoples that would help to build trust between the two and a better understanding of each other's goals.

d) Working Together

He asserts that participation between managers and subsistence users is very important and helps people. Clark suggests that if subsistence users and managers worked together it would be helpful. He clarifies that when he refers to managers he is referring to Federal Subsistence Board members.

e) Sharing Information

Clark suggests that if information is shared between the Yup'ik people and the managers then it would improve the trust and relationships between the two. Furthermore, he asserts that Yup'ik peoples sharing information with managers and managers sharing information with subsistence users would help both managers and subsistence users to do a better job of managing fish and wildlife. Clark admits that when managers do not share all their information

with subsistence users it becomes a problem later on. Clark concurs with the interviewer that when information is shared the trust between two people is increased. He has observed that there are always some people that come to the RAC meetings that don't want to share the information that they are given or accept it. For Clark, the optimal way for managers to tackle problems would be to gather information and act on that information to improve the situation. Also, he asserts that the Federal Subsistence Board members should collect the information from the regional advisory councils and use that information to manage fish and game.

f) Legitimacy of Subsistence Users Knowledge

Clark provides evidence which supports that when managers do not consider all of the factors and suggestions from subsistence users that are affecting fish and wildlife than subsistence users are unhappy. He suggests that when Yup'ik people share knowledge with managers about things that subsistence users believe are affecting the fish and wildlife that managers should actually think about that. Instead, Clark believes that managers are only listening and not acting upon the knowledge shared with them by subsistence users. In the future, Clark suggests that managers should approach problems by working together with subsistence users. Furthermore, Clark believes that managers should be getting information about problems from the villages to try and tackle the bigger problems.

g) Communication and Language

Clark points out that he still does not speak very good English, but he does his best. Clark concurs with interviewer that it is a cultural characteristic of Yup'ik people to always do their best at everything they do.

Clark recalls that one time he was fishing in closed waters and didn't know it and it scared him once he learned it was closed. He has observed that it is a lot easier now to get information about regulations and openers and closures than in the past because of radio, VHF, and phones. Also, he acknowledges that the Village Council will broadcast regulations and openers and closures on the VHF radio and that helps to get the information out to the subsistence users. Clark suggests that informing the Village Council on changes in the regulations and when openers and closures will be is the best way to get the information to the Yup'ik people of Western Alaska in villages because the Village Council works Monday through Friday. However, Clark points out that it makes it difficult for fishermen to not be involved in criminal acts when closures are announced with little warning time and fishermen are out engaged in fishing and not paying close attention to their VHF radios because they are working. Clark also suggests that when faxes are sent and people can post regulations for people to see it also helps to get the word out to the public.

Clark acknowledges that he speaks publically in the village at the Fish and Game advisory committee and elsewhere about what happened at the RAC meetings. He tells the people of his village that the RAC represents their villages to talk to the Federal Subsistence Board Chair. Some people in the village are very interested in hearing from him about what happens at RAC meetings and he is happy to share with the people in the village publically about what goes on at RAC meetings. However, Clark admits that it is not easy to tell the people of his community when a fishing or hunting proposal they wanted didn't pass.

Meaningful Involvement

Clark defines participation as frequent and daily interaction between the Yup'ik people and outside peoples. Clark defines what he perceives as meaningful involvement. Also, he believes that sharing with each other publically is the best way to enhance involvement between subsistence users and managers

Factors Contributing to a Decline in Participation

Clark concurs with the interviewer that elders work very hard in the villages. In addition, he provides evidence that elders are often times involved in many leadership roles and their time is very taxed. Clark admits that he quit working on the village tribal council because he has too many things to do and not enough time.

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 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 it is Subsistence Users that are in Need of Educating and 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 (i.e., Later understood to be external forces affecting collaborative management; see Figure 8)
- 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 Western Alaska Subsistence Users Declining Participation and RAC Membership

Applications

- 48) Why Fewer RAC Applications are Being Submitted
- 49) Why RAC Members Participate
- 50) Why Subsistence Harvesters Do Not Participate
- 51) Historical Information on When RAC Participation was higher and why
- 52) Political Factors Affecting RAC Participation (i.e., external forces in Figure 8)
- 53) Suggestions for and Perceptions of the RAC Application Process and the RAC 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:
Becoming a Knowledgeable Person

E: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>
E: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 was no snow machines 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>
E: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.</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>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>
E: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>]</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p>

	<p>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>
E: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>
E: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>
E:7	<p>Interviewer: You know my friends, he shows me, he says you can look at the clouds and tell a lot.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>Interviewer: He says when the clouds are stretched out, like this, it's going to be windy.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Uh-huh, and you don't need the weather man to tell you that.</p> <p>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 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].</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. There is no shortage of bits of knowledge, you know.</p>

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

Appendix F:
Caring and Respect

F:1	<p>Susan Carter: Yeah, and when you talk to the people of the river, the stakeholders, they might not be in ah, official management positions, but we've always been, ah, the greater percent of us, say ninety-nine percent of us have been good stewards of the river, um, subsistence-wise. No waste, everything's used, our families have done this for generations and thousands of years as [working group member] puts it and maybe, um, the Kass'aq side of my family maybe less but for generations. And ah, it used to commercial ruled, everything commercial ruled, I never was a fisher. Everything as an adult was ah, subsistence. We put up dry fish, and fish in the freezer and we jar fish and every—I mean you know, ah, kippered fish and ah. . . 1:3</p>
F:2	<p>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."</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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."</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep, uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And ah, and I really liked that, what he was saying there. 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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: Because for them, animals have no intentions. And that is a big difference.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep, that's right. 8:6</p>
F:3	<p>Translator [Translating Eugenia Hayes]: And um, she said that um, she's taking the example of her house. She said she try to take care of this, you know, her residence, try to keep it clean, and especially not letting crumbs and, and food particles that are on the floor, remain on the floor and be trampled on, because that's against the Yup'ik rule. You know, we've been told, she said people have been told not to do that. Make sure that you don't trample on your food that's on the floor. She says that um, now day's people are getting careless. And she was taking care of ah, rather, she was also, she, I almost forgot, she</p>

	<p>mentioned her fish camp down, down on the bank. She said she try to take care of this house, but ah, she can't help it when she's taking care of harvested food and the fish camp the way it is, you know, even though she remembers, ah, her, her advice from the Elders, that they should not step on any food on the floor. We call edible harvested resources food in Yup'ik, and that's what she was mentioning. She said that now days, people are getting so careless that you would see food particles or fish laying on the ground out there, and everyone would be stepping on it. And the ah, Yup'ik unwritten rule was that, you know, if you do that, the fishery, especially fishery resources will lead to decline. And um, that's, those are the main things that she wanted to mention. 9:1</p>
F:4	<p>John Griffon: It's a big relationship.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: One that cannot be broken.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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 [animals] teaching you, you know, they're showing you, you don't do, you don't, you know—</p> <p>John Griffon: They're taking opportunities too.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: a civilized life.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: You know, we're not animals, we're human beings, you know, people say that and stuff.</p> <p>John Griffon: We're at the top of the food chain, you know.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: No we're not.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>John Griffon: Yep, not in Alaska. And in Las Vegas, maybe, there's nothing.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: But here...if you don't do stuff the right way, you're basically at the bottom of the food chain.</p> <p>John Griffon: Like that falls into the relationship thing, you're not at the top of the food chain, you're . . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Part of it?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

same, we all got spirits.

Interviewer: What I heard 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 nunapak, 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? 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

	<p>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.</p> <p>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 <i>Yup'ik</i>]. This is what you're supposed to say [speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]. You know.</p> <p>John Griffon: May you come back plentiful...</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: The same thing with bones, and any kind of stuff. You know, mammals, water-dwelling mammals, beavers, muskrats, seals.</p> <p>John Griffon: You put it back in the water.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: You put it back in middle of the river, in the middle of the river, and say the same thing. [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>John Griffon: That's what we were taught. I'm going to remember it for the rest of my life.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: That's the way it is. 10:20</p>
F:5	<p>Translator [Translating Mark Page]: And another thing that he mentioned is that um, in some, toward the spring, people become more secure about food supply. They know there's fresh fish coming up, you know, not too long after spring breakup. Not too long after spring breakup, so what some of those people do is they dispose of some of those fish on the ice. So when it breaks up, it's taken down river. And what he said was people, there's wanton waste going on, and it goes against the Elders advice in the past. They used to advise fishermen, subsistence fishermen not to dispose of any fish in the river, because fish will not be abundant in the future if you do that. So that's what he was saying earlier. 14:1</p>
F:6	<p>Matt Conley: 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</p>

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. 15:21

Appendix G:

Sharing

G: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, 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]</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh that's good, <i>quyana</i>.</p> <p>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]</p> <p>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>
G: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ooh, wow.</p> <p>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>
G: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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p>

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, too. And ah, I rarely heard people say anything negative to each other.

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 ah, and I really liked that, what he was saying there. 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. And I believe it, because I've seen it, you know. And ah, and I wasn't always that way. But I've learned that. 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. And when I'm fishing, you know, other people get out there and they throw the hooks at him. And when I'm fishing, I climb up the hill, and I sit and I eat, and I wait. And I notice bears do this too, they don't go out there right away. Sea lions, when I

	<p>used to fish in northern California, they won't jump in the river, until the fish come. They will sit and they will wait. And you can watch. And when the fish come, then you can go down.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: But you don't have to sit there, because fish are aware of you. And if you stand down there next to them, they'll be scared and they will run from you.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep. 8:6</p>
G:4	<p>Interviewer: People are busy, hey 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.</p> <p>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 more busy, ah, 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 maqi, 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 these 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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah, that's right. That's what my mom used to tell me a lot.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah, it is.</p> <p>Interviewer: It's a better way of life.</p> <p>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>
G: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].</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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."</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yeah.</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, if you don't say it, yeah, tell people, yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: And so everything was meant to be shared.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I wonder sometimes, when the Fish and Game or the Fish and Wildlife is not sharing everything they know,</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: . . . if that effects, you know, people see that as being—</p> <p>Clark Turner: That becomes a problem later on.</p> <p>Interviewer: That's a problem, huh, huh. 'Cause that's sharing, you know, it's—</p> <p>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 nothing against you and I, or those other people too.</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm, hmm. Sharing of information?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, sharing information.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I'm thinking, you know, when you share, you increase the trust between two people.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep, that's true. You trust me, and I trust you. 8:8</p>
G:6	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right, yeah.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Because we see millions of guys come through, live the life for a year, go write a book, you know.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>knowledge, Elders instructed that to be shared. It is to be shared.</p> <p>Matt Conley: It's like food.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Huh.</p> <p>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 and ah. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: To make somebody else's life better. 15:4</p>
G:7	<p>Interviewer: Let me—let me ah. . .before I forget this—this—this is kind of important that's why I asked if you had a pen is ah. . .oh it's the wrong one. . .there we go. This right here Matt is—it's a consent to use ah. . .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 name. And ah. . .so you'll be ah. . .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 ah. . .we you know, this—this is gonna be confidential and ah. . .and it's saying here that ah. . .I don't expect there to be any—any—any risk to yourself or your—or anyone from your community for that matter. And then these—this is my contact information right here and I'm gonna give you a copy of this too so you can contact me at anytime, my cell phone number's always working. And ah. . .but ah. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah, yeah I wouldn't mind my name being used. I've been quiet too many times. I'm getting old.</p> <p>Matt Conley: You ain't paying me.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah. . .ah. . .no, no—I actually, please take this you know and—</p> <p>Matt Conley: Nope. No way.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, I—I—</p> <p>Matt Conley: No way.</p> <p>Interviewer: I worked really hard you know, to get—</p> <p>Matt Conley: Give it to somebody else. I ain't taking no money.</p> <p>Interviewer: Well you know, the truth of it is, if the—if the—whatever doesn't get used goes back into this project and ah. . .it ah. . .it pays for—for the airfare to take me out to these places you know, so. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: Put that away, I don't. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: But I—I you know, I—I would appreciate—</p> <p>Matt Conley: That's that thing about not making money off of knowledge. 15:29</p>
G:8	<p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: You mean that the sharing—</p> <p>Mike Wallace: The good ol' days are gone, let's put it this way.</p> <p>Interviewer: Like the sharing of information and—</p> <p>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</p>
G:9	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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,</p> <p>Nick Larson: And the grandparents . . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, and they, maybe they kept a few pieces, you know.</p> <p>Nick Larson: That's how most of us hunt over here.</p> <p>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 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.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. When a Native person hunts, he hunts for everyone in the community and tries to</p>

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. Cause 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, when I talk to people, you know, you give respect by not giving direct eye contact. You don't have to say a lot, you know. But one day it occurred to me, when I was with the boys. When I'm with them, I share everything with them. They want my snow machine, they don't even have to ask. You know, you go get on it, I'll see you in a hour, you know. Ah, ah, "Kevin, can I get a can of that soup?", or whatever, you know, they don't ask, we share everything. And they are like brothers to me. And—

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.

	<p>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."</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>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."</p> <p>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."</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Nick Larson: But better than half the time, they'll give you some excuse.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, and pilot bread and coffee, we can do that, take a break.</p> <p>Interviewer: Sure, yeah, okay. 17:3</p>
G: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 siddle.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>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]</p> <p>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—</p> <p>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</p>

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 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

Appendix H:

How We Talk

H:1	<p>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</p>
H:2	<p>Interviewer: Ooh, oh, okay. Ahh, I see, yeah, huh. Yeah, no that's, I really appreciate, I really appreciate all that you've given me today, because you know, it's, I take that burden that that woman placed on me to be real serious, you know. And the only way that I'm going to do the best that I can do, is if I listen. And I talk, but I listen and try to comprehend that, so that I can acknowledge the truth.</p> <p>Andy Rollins: There is 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm, ooh. Thank you for that.</p> <p>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's some people, too, in the audience that won't even listen, they'll do that too.</p> <p>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've noticed that it's different from when many Western people start talking. They bounce around, rather than saying, "This is what I have seen, I have seen this." Or, "I have heard these people say this." You know, and now I see what you're saying, because 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? That's very helpful.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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." You know, put the starting point in the brain. Light it up, put your lighter and light that, that whatever. 4:2</p>
H:3	<p>Andy Rollins: [Inaudible] you write down this information, even it's not ah . . .</p> <p>Interviewer: I'm glad you told me that, because you know I ah, you know I never thought about it like that, you know that's a good point. Yeah, huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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. To withhold information from someone and not share it, was the same as stealing. And I, and I ah, you know I always remembered that too. I think it's a big difference I think between Western culture, too, and Yup'ik culture, because like I think about ever since that woman told me that, 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, and then they want to talk about it before they make a decision, while not talking in front of the other subsistence users. And I think, that can only be interpreted to people as stealing, or not sharing. And it can't help people when it comes to trusting. And I learned something the other day, you know, 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.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Huh, huh. Quyana.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm, huh, that makes sense.</p> <p>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>
<p>H:4</p>	<p>John Griffon: That's the way it is. Just like my grandma said, that's the way it is.</p> <p>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 knot's, 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 of definity. It's "That's the way it is."</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: You either get 'em or you don't, that's the way it is.</p> <p>Interviewer: And it's also, I think it parallels to , "You don't try, 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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: I couldn't have said it better myself.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, that's something that I have learned just listening to, you know, from multiple people.10:9</p>
<p>H:5</p>	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: He went back to what he told you earlier. He said that when you compile all of the information you gather, whether it be a regulation or a policy, because there's many meanings in one word, if there is one word missing in a document, no matter how many meetings are held, it won't become reality, what that goal of that regulation is. For example, um, if there is a proposal to make regulation or law, if there's one word missing, whether it's a <i>Yup'ik</i> word or English word, missing in that document, it will not be a good document, and no one will agree upon it. But if, along the line somewhere, one word is picked up and is incorporated into the document or law, or regulation, then it'll be agreeable. He said that's the way, even unwritten law is. That's the way everything is in the language.</p> <p>Interviewer: A consensus of everybody's knowledge.</p> <p>Translator: Yeah, yeah.</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Translator[Translating for Mark Page]: Along the same thing, if there's one word missing on a document, um, it will not be agreeable. But when that one missing word is incorporated into the document, then it will be agreeable to everybody. 14:13</p>

H:6	<p>Translator[Translating for Mark Page]: That question leads back to the answer that he gave earlier. Um, something, when something is missing, nothing works. But when something is incorporated into whether it's a person's life, you know, being, struggling to survive, and then down the road, it becomes successful. You know, doing something you know, like work for an example, that's exactly the same thing. Everything works that way, in that same manner, including dealing with issues or documents.</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm, I like that. It's, and I guess what I'm hearing is, in order for something to be effective, it requires a consensus of people's knowledge? Is that what I'm hearing?</p> <p>Translator: Yeah. [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Sherry Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Translator[Translating for Mark Page]: It leads back to what he was explaining to you earlier, um, he's taking a different example, for an example, when something is blown away, we don't hear it anymore. And when you hear a loud noise, like something coming through, when it's at a distance, you can't hear it anymore. So when, when an issue or a document was resolved, when it's resolved, no one say anything about it anymore, like it's blown away. Nobody is concerned about it anymore, it's resolved. He's using that as an example. It all leads back to where, the answers that he gave. But I think the important part of it is, we don't understand what he's telling us now, while we're interviewing, someone else will bring the same answer up, and at the end, it will be same concern, or same concept.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ooh, ooh. <i>Quyana</i>. I understand.</p> <p>Translator: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Translator[Translating for Mark Page]: What he said was um, that what the researchers doing, for example, affects everything. Even little unleashed dogs that are visible out here in the roads, you know, sometime they run into some problem and can't do what they want to do. Um, and other thing is um, other example he was using is transportation tools, like snow machines. When it's broken, you can't go anywhere until you fix it. Or when something else has a problem, you can't, you know, like for example, something runs into a problem, until you fix it, it can't continue. So that's exactly the same thing, everything. It effects everything. [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>Translator: Did you understand that?</p> <p>Interviewer: I did, I did, thank you. <i>Quyana</i>. 14:24</p>
H:7	<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 kind 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</p>

	<p>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>
H:8	<p>John Griffon: Like this is, you know how this is how we live in this bunkhouse, this is our home. And to have, it's hard having people come and go. Like, I don't diss the bunkhouse manager, I don't diss him at all but, to ah, it's kind of like they don't understand, right? Like the dishes, and the—it's kinda does feel the same as the managers out there, and they don't understand. Am I making sense at all?</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh that totally makes sense.</p> <p>John Griffon: Like if we would've, like golly, you know.</p> <p>Interviewer: And you know, another thing is, I've always thought that what is pretty honorable about <i>Yup'ik</i> people is, I don't hear a whole lot of, "It frustrates me," and what not. And you started it saying, "I don't diss him. And I don't have any ill feelings towards him." But I think it would be safe to say that it is discouraging to see people come in and they're transients. They come in here for a temporary amount of time and they go. And then when they're here, what they're thinking about the whole time is leaving, and you said that.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Yep, they all do that, every single one of them.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, and I even have to admit, it makes me feel bad. When I'm leaving on Friday, knowing that I'm part of that group too. You know, my home is, my birth home is in Kentucky. And my home for the last five years has been in Anchorage. And I, I came out here to learn. And, but as I'm getting ready to leave, it makes me very sad at the same time. You know, because I know what I've been given. And the, you know the friendships that I've made, just the overall experiences has been something that you know, touches me deeply. I hope you guys understand that, you know, off the record it's just.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: We know, [says interviewers given <i>Yup'ik</i> name, <i>Tallilik</i>]</p> <p>Interviewer: Dammit you know, I, <i>Tallilit</i>?</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: <i>Tallitlit</i>.</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>Tallilit, Tallilit</i>.</p> <p>John Griffon: [Laughter]</p> <p>Interviewer: I am still having trouble with my own name, I tell you what man. When your mom gave me that name, you know how proud I was? You know, even as sick as I was. And proud is not the right word. It's more like humbled and thankful that your mom would show that kind of care and respect to me. And it made me</p>

	<p>feel good inside.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: And I remember that you smiled from ear to ear, as sick as,</p> <p>Interviewer: As sick as I was.</p> <p>John Griffon: Sick as you were. You smiled from ear to ear, I remember that. Then after you drank that water, and let it out, you came back and said you felt better.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, I went and threw up pretty much right away.</p> <p>John Griffon: [Laughter] Less than five minutes, I would say. 10:52</p>
H:9	<p>Interviewer: Let me—let me ah. . .before I forget this—this—this is kind of important that's why I asked if you had a pen is ah. . .oh it's the wrong one. . .there we go. This right here Matt is—it's a consent to use ah. . .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 name. And ah. . .so you'll be ah. . .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 ah. . .we you know, this—this is gonna be confidential and ah. . .and it's saying here that ah. . .I don't expect there to be any—any—any risk to yourself or your—or anyone from your community for that matter. And then these—this is my contact information right here and I'm gonna give you a copy of this too so you can contact me at anytime, my cell phone number's always working. And ah. . .but ah. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah, yeah I wouldn't mind my name being used. I've been quiet too many times. I'm getting old. You ain't paying me.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah. . .ah. . .no, no—I actually, please take this you know and—</p> <p>Matt Conley: Nope. No way. No way.</p> <p>Interviewer: I worked really hard you know, to get—</p> <p>Matt Conley: Give it to somebody else. I ain't taking no money.</p> <p>Interviewer: Well you know, the truth of it is, if the—if the—whatever doesn't get used goes back into this project and ah. . .it ah. . .it pays for—for the airfare to take me out to these places you know, so. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: Put that away, I don't. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: But I—I you know, I—I would appreciate—</p> <p>Matt Conley: That's that thing about not making money off of knowledge.</p> <p>Interviewer: You got it you know and I respect that, you know and so I. . .I'd still offer it to you, but ah. . .ah. . .and—and—and I, as God as my witness there will be no money made on this project, you know and ah. . .</p> <p>Matt Conley: Well, you've got a good heart. 15:29</p>

Appendix I:
Respect for Elders

I: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.</p> <p>EUGENIA HAYES: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>TRANSLATOR: Do you have anything else for her?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>TRANSLATOR: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>EUGENIA HAYES: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>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.</p> <p>9:2</p>
I:2	<p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm. And well, cause 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 are 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>Nick Larson: A lot of little tricks, if you live long enough out in the bush, you'll learn a lot of little tricks.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh I bet.</p> <p>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>

I: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 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.</p> <p>MR. BARTLEY: (In Yup'ik)</p> <p>CHAIRMAN ROCZICKA: Any other.</p> <p>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>
I: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 childrens 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.</p> <p>MS. GREGORY: Good.</p> <p>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>

Appendix J:
Familial and Communal Bonds

J:1	<p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: It's the right way. That's how 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.</p> <p>John Griffon: You were always there to tie it.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>John Griffon: I don't need to learn it, you were there to tie it. But I do need to learn it sometime.</p> <p>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 good, than we're going to do that. Only have to see it once. Yep, we're still learning.</p> <p>10:49</p>
J:2	<p>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</p>

Appendix K:
Who is a Real Person

K: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: So you're saying today it's not, the teachers are not as involved as they used to be?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, you know [Upriver Kuskokwim Caucasian elder who has been living in Western Alaska for over 40 years—Name Removed]?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep, you feel better too.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And ah, when ah, many of the Elders in that community, they know him, you know, they talk to him all the time.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah, that's what I, that's what I mean. That's why I mentioned involvement helps. Both for the</p>
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	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Because they come and?</p> <p>Clark Turner: . . . because involvement helps.</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you think it's because they come and go so fast?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah. 8:37</p>
K: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]</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I think that, between that and making it a priority of getting out to communities, and talking.</p>

	<p>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 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 way—I mean, the people in the fish camp learns from somebody who comes, and the other way around.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yes, yes.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>Clark Turner: That's involvement, that's what I mean. 8:65</p>
K: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>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.</p>

	<p>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?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay.</p> <p>Clark Turner: They collect the RAC's information, and use them for, to manage Fish and Game.</p> <p>8:72</p>
K: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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah. Just by how you do little things, you know.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah. 15:3</p>
K: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</p>

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 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 your 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 comes from the outside. But true change comes from the inside.

Interviewer: Oh absolutely.

George Sanders: It 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.

Interviewer: Or it won't happen. It kind of makes me wish I had the tape recording going when you told that

	story. George Sanders: Yeah. 11:16
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Appendix L:

Yup'ik Worldviews on Land and Animals

L: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>
L: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?</p> <p>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—</p> <p>[Phone rings]</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Huh, that makes sense.</p>

	<p>Clark Turner: Puzzling using small things, even they are small things, they add. The big problems, the small problems, they add together.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Because those barges would be finding the channel and the fish want to travel on the channel too. 8:52</p>
L: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.</p> <p>TRANSLATOR: Okay, [speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>EUGENIA HAYES: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>TRANSLATOR: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>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 don'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.</p>

	<p>TRANSLATOR: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>EUGENIA HAYES: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>TRANSLATOR: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>EUGENIA HAYES: [Speaks in Yup'ik]</p> <p>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. And um, what she also said is that um. [Speaks in Yup'ik to respondent] 9:3</p>
L: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?</p> <p>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</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: or all that factory shit, that chicken, hormones and steroids, that stuffs no good.</p> <p>John Griffon: And when you're out there, it's like a home, it's like our home.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: But the, how we respect them</p> <p>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,</p> <p>John Griffon: or on the third.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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, 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.</p> <p>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."</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>thinking it's cold. I don't say that, you know, and ah, but you're right, it is work, it is work.</p> <p>10:4</p>
L:5	<p>Tommy Griffon: And so um, can you repeat the question?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Okay, so I have more to say about that, but it's in here, but I can't. Um, so ah.</p> <p>John Griffon: It's a big relationship.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: One that cannot be broken.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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—</p> <p>John Griffon: They're taking opportunities too.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: a civilized life.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: You know, we're not animals, we're human beings, you know, people say that and stuff.</p> <p>John Griffon: We're at the top of the food chain, you know.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: No we're not.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>John Griffon: Yep, not in Alaska. And in Las Vegas, maybe, there's nothing.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: Like that falls into the relationship thing, you're not at the top of the food chain, you're...</p> <p>Interviewer: Part of it?</p> <p>John Griffon: Yep, just like, just like a fish and a eagle, you know, it's all the same, you know. I don't know how to say it.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: No that said it perfectly. You know, the important thing I heard there is, humans are not higher</p>

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 nunapak, 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.

	<p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: May you come back plentiful.</p> <p>Interviewer: May you come back plentiful?</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: The same thing with bones, and any kind of stuff. You know, mammals, water-dwelling mammals? Beavers, muskrats, seals.</p> <p>John Griffon: You put it back in the water.</p> <p>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]</p> <p>John Griffon: That's what we were taught. I'm going to remember it for the rest of my life.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: That's the way it is". (10:20)</p>
L: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,</p> <p>John Griffon: There's no badge, no badge.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: The land don't need a badge.</p> <p>John Griffon: Nope</p> <p>Interviewer: And even said in those terms, the land itself, is alive.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Oh yeah.</p> <p>John Griffon: It'll live longer than anybody else, anybody else here.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: So do they.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Hence the name, fieldwork". 10:26</p>
L: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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Oh man, they do.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p>

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, 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 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,

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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>
L: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Man.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Human nature I guess, you know if you can make money. We all need money I guess, to some</p>

	<p>degree. But they teach us you know, that waste animals won't come back. You fight over 'em they'll go away, you know. 15:9</p>
<p>L:9</p>	<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.</p> <p>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 truth and I believe that is—man you grabbed it by the tail? Oh man.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Two times. I told this story and it depends, there's hunters and there's 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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Well bears—just hearing you say that made me think of bears. I used to work in Katmai.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Fish, they'll just take a bite.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>Matt Conley: If there's lots of fish.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah.</p> <p>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.</p>

	<p>Matt Conley: Because there's nothing else.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>Matt Conley: When I found her she was dead. 15:11</p>
L: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, ah. . .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. Ah. . .but I picked up some of those guys to work for Napaimute you know, with our wood. In fact you know, 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?</p> <p>Interviewer: No, tell me.</p> <p>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, you know. They're killing themselves with suicide or alcohol or they're getting in trouble and going to jail. 15:30</p>
L:11	<p>CHAIRMAN ROCZICKA: Qu yana (In Yup'ik). There was a gentleman on line that--from the village. Would you</p>

	<p>please identify yourself, and then if you had some comments for the Council, go ahead.</p> <p>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 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.</p> <p>CHAIRMAN ROCZICKA: Quyana, Ivan. 20:21</p>
L:12	<p>Tommy Griffon: Well, the first thing I want to say is that we don't follow a calendar.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: It's when they're here, or not. You know, when it's time, or not. It's the, when the land and weather says it's time to go, it's time to go. When it's rough out, when it's bad weather, when the ice is bum, we don't go nowhere. When it's open, you can take your boat and go up river to spring camp, that's when it's time to go.</p> <p>Interviewer: So not a calendar, but when the land tells you it's time.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: No, not the calender. I hardly ever look at the calendar. But I know when.</p>

	<p>Interviewer: That's a good point man, I like that.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Spring time, it's birds, beaver, muskrat. When the weather gets warm, and the ice gets free.</p> <p>John Griffon: You can tell when they're going to come.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: You can see them coming too. 10:16</p>
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Appendix M:

Managers' Worldviews on Land and Animals

M: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 ah. . .that was in nineteen eighty and right after I got out of there I ran an environmental education program ah. . .for—ah. . .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 masters 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 bachelors 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— 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: What year was this?</p> <p>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</p>
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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. . .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. . .

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 dec—the gravity of decision is—is—is high. A good example would be [inaudible] ah. . .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

	<p>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.</p> <p>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>
M: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, a 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>
M: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</p>

	<p>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 individuals 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—</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: Right.</p> <p>Interviewer: Of what's happening currently.</p> <p>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>
M: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?</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: You know, it's [inaudible] 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. Ah. . .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—as—as just that. . .it's that part of their person is to respect life. I mean so. . .so I think that if we see respect for something, whether you use it or not is something we can learn from</p>

	<p>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, to. . .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. Ah. . .and—and I—and I—and I think that you know, a very long winded way of answering that question. 5:8</p>
M: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 your 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 ah. . .and—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 ah. . .of ah. . .you know, of—of—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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Malthusian, yeah.</p> <p>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>
M: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay, the managers being the?</p> <p>Rick Strickland: Fish and Wildlife service, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Are not accountable to?</p> <p>Rick Strickland: To the federal board or to the ah. They all got their own policies that they. That is the nature.</p> <p>Interviewer: So the missions of each one of those agencies is not accountable?</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>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—is so ah. . .ah. . .ah. . .I guess the word—</p> <p>Rick Strickland: Ignorant. It's been institutionalized. It's a Farley Mowat syndrome. It's institutionalized. It's something that's ah. . .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>
M: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 ah. . .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.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Ten thousand?</p> <p>Interviewer: Ten thousand fish. I hope that if we</p> <p>Ron Gables: Each?</p> <p>Interviewer: Cut it from the high of a hundred some odd thousand bycatch to under twenty-five, thirty thousand like they have reported.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Right.</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you think that's a pretty good number?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: All age classes, right.</p> <p>Ron Gables: All the age classes not every one of the thirty percent of fish in that thirty percent would have</p>

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

	<p>waters out to one hundred and fifty, two hundred miles, whatever that was ah. . .to include the Bering Sea, did that not then make those waters federal waters?</p> <p>Ron Gables: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: And do those waters then apply to ANILCA?</p> <p>Ron Gables: Ah. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: You know if we're managing for subsistence ah. . .</p> <p>Ron Gables: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: Does it get bodied. . .</p> <p>Ron Gables: They're federal waters and in actuality you can in certain circumstances exert extra-jurisdictional authority.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: So the federal government has the power to do that.</p> <p>Ron Gables: We do.</p> <p>Interviewer: If there is enough evidence.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Compelling evidence.</p> <p>Interviewer: Compelling evidence.</p> <p>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>
M: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.</p> <p>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. . .you know. . .</p> <p>Ron Gables: In Chinook salmon? The commercial fishery?</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, it's not just Chinook, halibut and everything else get thrown overboard, you know from those trollers. You know, I think that upsets people. I mean it's. . .</p>

<p>Ron Gables: I don't think those fish are getting thrown overboard anymore.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh their not?</p> <p>Ron Gables: I think they're being processed.</p> <p>Interviewer: They're being processed?</p> <p>Ron Gables: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: That's good, I didn't know that.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Interviewer: Visually no, with my own eyes. You worked on 'em didn't you?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: None of those fish should be thrown overboard as waste, you know. That's just my own personal opinion.</p> <p>Ron Gables: But it—it's not waste.</p> <p>Interviewer: When they die and nobody eats them it's waste, you know.</p> <p>Ron Gables: But things die in nature all the time. Everything gets eaten in nature. Not by you but nature.</p> <p>Interviewer: It feeds the ecosphere.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Nature needs those fish.</p> <p>Interviewer: Back into the ecosphere.</p> <p>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. . .I mean again. . .let'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</p>

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

Appendix N:
Managers' Approaches to Management

N: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 you know, when—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.</p>
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	<p>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>
N:2	<p>Bill Cartwright: You know, where we can say this was a harvest issue or this was you know, a 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—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>
N: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?</p> <p>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 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 department 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</p>

	<p>that and the—the department 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 department and the federal government 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>
N: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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: I agree a hundred percent.</p> <p>Bob Riley: But that doesn't build trust. Not in this environment. 7:13</p>
N: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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>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—is so ah. . .ah. . .ah. . .I guess the word—</p> <p>Rick Strickland: Ignorant. It's been institutionalized. It's a Farley Mowat syndrome. It's institutionalized. It's something that's ah. . .has become institutionalized with the agencies. 18:4</p>
N:6	<p>Ron Gables: But, I mean sometimes its—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>
N: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 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. Ah. . .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</p>

	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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Appendix O:

Yup'ik Approach to Management

<p>O:1</p>	<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, Tom Dolittle 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 nat—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 lov—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 which 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. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: That's a good point.</p> <p>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>
<p>O:2</p>	<p>Interviewer: I wanted to tell you this, ah, what happened to me yesterday because you said on the phone,</p>

	<p>when I talked to you, you said, "I want you to remember the four things: listen, observe, acknowledge and execute."</p> <p>Andy Rollins: To me there's four words. Let me reiterate, observe. When you observe, you come to know what it is. Comprehend.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ahh, I did get it wrong, I did get it wrong.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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." You know.</p> <p>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>
O: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 words 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>
O:4	<p>Interviewer: How do you see that, the way that you see your relationship with the care of, not just the fish</p>

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 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

	<p>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].</p> <p>Interviewer: I've noticed that a lot [laughter].</p> <p>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>
0:5	<p>Bob Riley: Well then the other thing is ah. . . 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</p>

	<p>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. We're—when we're just thinking about fish we're just thinking about fish. So, we both might—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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Bob I—I really appreciate this because this is substantive ah. . .ah. . .discussion on factors that could be contributing to why people see things differently, how that affects trust. 7:16</p>
<p>O:6</p>	<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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And maybe counting them, and watching them. But I, I want to try to bring home to these managers, these same managers that there is a difference between the way Native peoples see—I don't even know if there is a term for management. Was there ever a term for management? No, probably not, but. And I started to think in my mind that, one day. I heard a man tell me, he said, "Here we have no police." And I was in Marshall.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: He said, "We try to teach the, the young children, the importance of the Yup'ik tradition of caring for one another." A couple days later, I was thinking to myself, you know, caring goes beyond just respect for your fellow people.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: It's the, it's the whole—it's the animals, it's the land, and it's the stewardship.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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>
0:7	<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 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Let me ask you this, let me ask you this: Why do you, ah, 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? I mean, if you had to think about it, I mean, what you say would be—</p> <p>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—</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh, and the law enforcement?</p> <p>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. But ah, people think, right away about law enforcement people when they hear about Fish and Game, or Fish and Wildlife. 8:27</p>
0:8	<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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh yeah</p> <p>George Sanders: You follow me.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh yeah.</p> <p>George Sanders: You know. I had a vested interest. I still own my home out there. If I had a place that I</p>

	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
O: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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>Josh Owens: And today their able to hunt, ah, for moose out in the lower Yukon whenever they want to. 12:1</p>
O: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?</p> <p>Josh Owens: There's a lot of difference.</p> <p>Interviewer: There's a lot of difference?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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>
O:11	<p>Translator [Translating for Mark Page]: 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>
O: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>]</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Sherry Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>Mark Page: [Speaks in <i>Yup'ik</i>]</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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 <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>
<p>O:13</p>	<p>Interviewer: One thing I'd ask you Nick [pseudonym] 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 he said, and it was some days later, when I said, you know I'm asking people about the management of fish and wildlife, but I'm starting to realize that there's probably no <i>Yup'ik</i> word for management, and when I hear people talk about animals and the land, it's about caring and stewardship of the land, and respect.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>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, so that we can, or so hopefully I can give a description of how these are very different, and so these managers can understand this.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Ah, like in fishing they always ask us to go out as early as possible in early part of the season, letter 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,</p>

	<p>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, maybe only for a week or two, that's it.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know in the old days, when, ah, before people started settling in these communities, and they used to move a lot—</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Give the plants, and to keep the area not to get over grazed, they keep moving them.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah yeah, to keep the herds on the move, so they don't over-graze and eat everything up in one area?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>17:8</p>
O: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 exper When other environmental factors were not even considered. When other environmental factors were not even considered.ts, 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>

O:15	<p>MR. J. WILLIAMS: Good afternoon, RAC. (In Yup'ik) I'll do this in Yup'ik, because most of them are Yup'ik, and I'll do my best to translate it. (In Yup'ik)</p> <p>CHAIRMAN ROCZICKA: Jackson, you want to conclude your statements here and then for the recorder?</p> <p>MR. J. WILLIAMS: Yeah. Okay. You want me to translate it as much or.....</p> <p>CHAIRMAN ROCZICKA: Yes. And then if there's questions that are from the Council, we can ask you.</p> <p>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, 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 1 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, one of -- 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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Appendix P:

“Have you ever taken a maqi?”

Truly, nothing could prepare the foreigner’s body, mind, or soul for the blessing of *maqi* or steam. Although difficult to describe in words, I hope that you find this story comical and heartwarming.

When a Yup’ik person asks you if you want to *maqi* you should prepare for a sensation that will surpass even your most wild imaginations. If one approaches this from an open mind they will receive a true gift, and likely leave yearning for their next *maqi*. Let me take you on a journey. Imagine you have just been asked by total strangers to partake in a traditional Yup’ik activity. In English, this *maqi* means steam bath. One might go into their memory and picture walking into a sauna at a local fitness gym. Maybe they will think to themselves, *maqi* is like a sauna, but a bit hotter. Thinking about this similar thought running through my mind before I experienced my first *maqi* makes me giggle even now as I recollect.

The door opens to a small room. Two benches are fastened to the sides of the walls in this room. One begins to think, “hum, I wonder where the heat comes from, and when does it start getting hot.” They might say to themselves, “I hope it is soon, the air is cold outside tonight and this room is not much warmer than it is outside. Is there some sort of valve that you must turn to get the heat come on?” You watch the other men as they begin taking off their clothes. Not wanting to look confused and nervous, you too begin taking off your clothes and placing them into the plastic trash bag that you were given. A kind stranger gives you two towels. Wondering what they are for you look around and try your best to act like you are not nervous.

Then you notice another small door. About the time you notice the second door a man opens it and steam pours out as he quickly goes in. A friend hands you a small wooden stick and says, “You might want to put this in your mouth and breathe slowly”. It’s now your turn to enter. A million thoughts race through your mind as you think about the steam cloud you just witnessed flooding the small room where you first entered. Soon you are about to realize that this first room is what some Yup’ik people refer to as the porch. You open the door and quickly enter and close the door behind you as the man before you did.

In seconds, your body begins to send messages to your mind. The mind of the foreigner says ESCAPE NOW! The Yup’ik mind says, “remain calm and let the medicinal steam enter your pours”, for *maqi* is tundra medicine. Barely 30 seconds have passed and you begin helplessly praying that your Yup’ik hosts will instruct you on how to bare this intense burning sensation. Yes, your skin is literally burning. A friend says, “Kevin, wrap the small towel and tie it around your head. This will keep your ears from burning. Lower your head when the heat gets really hot and breathe slowly. Don’t be afraid to roll on the floor. It’s not as hot on the floor”.

By this point one begin to question, “How could this get any hotter than it already is?” Oh, but you have not yet begun to *maqi*. With an open mind and trust that your hosts will not allow harm to befall you, you hang in there to receive the gift of tundra medicine. Yes, I tell you, it is a gift. Your friend picks up a long wooden spoon with a tin soup can attached to it and dips the can into a metal bucket of water. The water is then poured across the rocks. In a European sauna, fewer than 20 or 30 rocks are in the stove. Here inside the *maqivik* more than a hundred rocks are stacked in a long stove. Only seconds after the water is poured over the rocks, a burning sensation one could never possibly be prepared for scorches your skin. Then you realize quickly what newcomers do with the second towel.

You begin draping it around you like Superman's cape for any protection you might receive from the steam. While you crouch in fear, out of the small opening of your towel you realize that your Yup'ik hosts have no towel around them. With only their heads lowered they take the scorching heat on their skin. The second can is poured only seconds after the first can. Your mind begins to race. Can I take this any longer you ask? Will I be seen as a coward if I leave? How do they bare this you ask yourself? A third can is poured over the rocks, and this time you tell your hosts that you must get out. They quickly tell you don't be afraid. Lie down. Without hesitation, you quickly lie on the floor in the pool of sweat beneath you. A fifth can is poured. A voice from a man you cannot see due to the towel shielding your body tells you, "Roll on your other side".

Finally, the burning sensation of your skin reaches a crescendo and you escape through the door with sweat pouring from all the pores of your body. The cold air in the porch relieves your pores the way a long awaited glass of ice water quenches your thirst on a hot summer day after hours of strenuous work. Even this comparison does not come close to describing the relief that you feel once you are seated in the porch outside the *maqivik*. That was only the first wave. Soon you become aware that this will be the first of several trips inside that you will take. With each repeated trip your body continues to detox until, after several trips in the *maqi*, your host says to you, "Now take your hand and rub your skin". After doing this, you look down to discover that your hand is covered with grease and dirt from your pores. As you sit on the porch, clouds of vapor so thick that you cannot see the man less than a foot in front of you fill the porch. Then you notice an intense euphoric feeling that could only be described as an intoxicating high overcoming your body from your head to your toes. This natural high is the healing power of the *maqi*, one of many tundra medicines.

Appendix Q:

Managers' Perceptions of Subsistence Harvesters' Role

Q:1	<p>Bob Riley: Ah. . .how the State perceives the working group, how the working group perceives itself and how other users see the working group. And I think that to some degree, parts of the river, other users do see the working group as the deciding body. And they hold the working group accountable. So when decisions are made, whether the working group has agreed with them or not, they may get the blame. Ah. . .chances are they won't get credit because people are much more quickly going to give blame than credit. And so, it's unfortunate that when things are going well people just don't pay attention, when things are going badly, they like to blame. And so a lot of times these folks who are all volunteers, put in a tremendous amount of their personal time and then they're just getting yelled at by their friends, their family, their community members, the people around them. Ah. . .and they may or may not have agreed with the decision that was made. And that goes for a wider—the working group may or may not have. And as the State sees the working group as a conduit for users to bring information and advice back to the management process. The management of the fisheries and the game in the State of Alaska is mandated under the constitution to be the responsibility of the State. And the State then has to manage the fisheries and the game resources of Alaska through regulations that are decided upon. By the Board of fish and the Board of Game. Ah. . .those things are binding. And the advice that they receive from the working group, although very valuable ah. . .may not dictate the decision because other information that comes in may indicate that a different decision is—is necessary. And following those State statutes and those Fish and Game regulations they have a course that they feel that they must take, ah. . .which may or may not be satisfying to the working group. So that's the way the State uses the working group, that's the way stakeholders see the working group. The way the working group sees itself is sort of a mixture of those things. It seems to—it seems that members feel that they should have more of a say and they recognize that they have less of a say ah. . .than they would like. Ah. . .and so they feel compromised and yet they'd rather be involved than not involved. Which is what keeps a lot of the people that are a little bit jaded from leaving. Because that's the table that they can come to. So, even if it isn't perfect they'd rather be there than not. 7:15</p>
Q:2	<p>Interviewer: what I meant to say was ah. . .have the ability to talk with the department, amongst the department to have the best decision after the working group has been held. You know, 'cause you're right, otherwise why have the working group? There would be no point. If it's about a formulated position every time, then it would mean there's no reason to have participation.</p> <p>Bob Riley: I guess what we could do is we could. . .we could ah. . .we could go through the meeting like we normally go through it and we could get to the point where ah. . .where we normally suggest that the working group take a particular position, we usually call it the recommendation and there's been some confusion as to what that is, who's recommending what to whom. And what it's really supposed to be is the working group recommending something to us, but somewhere along the line the working group wanted the professionals to suggest a recommendation and then they would either adopt it or not adopt it. And so now,</p>

	<p>I think members think that we're recommending to them that they take a certain action. Well, that's not the case. We're taking the action. They make the recommendation to us and they can still suggest one, they make a recommendation and then we adjourn the meeting. And we do what we decide to do, but the decision isn't made at the meeting.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, it just occurred to me—</p> <p>Bob Riley: But that would not be really acceptable I don't think.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right, why, I mean why, I mean this is just a guess you know, but I'm always wanting to know why people do the things that they do you know, and so if you were looking at why some people on the working group wanted to hear the department's recommendation first. I can only assume that some people may be thinking that the department—they want to hear if...they want to know if the department's position is able to be influenced by the Kuskokwim Working Group's recommendations. So maybe they're wondering, man does the State just have a formulated plan that they're going to go with and our feedback really—</p> <p>Bob Riley: Makes no difference.</p> <p>Interviewer: Makes no difference. So let's let the department go first and then maybe we'll agree with them, maybe we won't and then we'll see what they do. I mean you've gotta be wondering if, I mean it's just I'm curious—my curiosity makes me wonder.</p> <p>Bob Riley: I—I imagine it—and that's—that's a perfectly acceptable scenario and that may have been the way certain people saw it at the time and I can also imagine a situation in which—I can imagine two other situations. One in which ah. . .ah. . .stakeholders heard all the reports, were trying to interpret it in their minds, it's a very short notice and they're like, you know, before we go on why don't you tell us what you would do? And then I'll tell you whether or not I think that sounds like a reasonable interpretation of the information.</p> <p>Interviewer: The state said this or the Feds?</p> <p>Bob Riley: The working group. You know, I mean, we're not the professionals, we're not the biologists. You guys are—you guys are—you guys are giving us all this information and you've interpreted it for us and based on that information what would you do? And—and then we'll tell you whether or not we think that that's reasonable or whether or not we think you should open the fisheries sooner, I mean in the case of a commercial fishery, for example. Or whether or not you know, ah. . .it's gonna work for us or whether or not the weather's right or what have you. Another possibility that I could see with respect to that is that ah. . .now I had—I had two of them in my mind and the other one. . .so let's run through the scenario. They're providing—the departments providing the information. 7:41</p>
Q:3	<p>Rick Strickland: I started with the working group when they first started in nineteen eighty-eight and I was working for [inaudible] and I ended up being their staff person. Writin' up the minutes for them. Get—gettin' the agendas out, basically what [Fish and Game fisheries scientist] is doin' now with the department of the interior. I did that for about two years. . .no, a little closer to four from eighty-eight through ninety-two. And then I stepped sideways and got more into the wildlife aspect of things and for about those eight years following that I wasn't involved in the fisheries, I was more on the wildlife side of things. And I know they did</p>

	<p>have some rough times there but I think more just in expectations of what ah. . .not realistic expectations perhaps, it's on the working group. . .members at the time may have had. That ah. . .they felt they should have. . .their understanding maybe was that they were. . .had more power and authority than they really did. 18:12</p>
<p>Q:4</p>	<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 advi— 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—that authority has to be derived from legal—a legal framework.</p> <p>Interviewer: What do you think about the inter-Tribal management in Washington?</p> <p>Ron Gables: Well see that—well, but that's—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—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>
<p>Q:5</p>	<p>Ron Gables: It's not just. . .and I can't emphasize this enough...Ah. . .it's not just the State's responsibility. It's not just the federal government's responsibility. It's the citizen's responsibility. So there isn't this—this sense out here of ownership in these decisions that are made. And part of that is because I really believe that there's—there's been this attitude that has been very strong out of this part of the world, that if we participate then we're—we're. . .we are, what. . .we are validating their authority. So if we don't participate</p>

then we can stand back and—this is classic, then we can stand back and we can throw darts and talk about how bad all the decisions are and how much better it would be if it was us making the decision. So some of it is this whole, I believe this whole. . .what, idea of sovereign rule over these resources in these lands.

Interviewer: That's interesting I might ask people what they think you know, what you know, what do they think about that.

Ron Gables: Because again, they will own it if they participate in the decision then they will be a part of that decision.

Interviewer: Do you think it's because they don't feel like they—they ah. . .it is their decision. You know, like—like in order to own a decision you gotta have—you gotta have ah. . .you gotta have ah. . .you gotta be part of the decision. Right?

Ron Gables: Exactly. You have to be part—

Interviewer: You have to be part of the decision but so if you're not part of the vote. . .

Ron Gables: Even—

Interviewer: The decision then how can you be part of—how can you own it?

Ron Gables: Right. Even--even deeper than that its there's, I think in general it's been my experience is, there isn't a, I think a full understanding of the fact that I'm a civil servant, right? I work for them. I'm a civil servant, they're a citizen of this country, I work for them. The State works for them, they're a civil servant also. So they should be you know, engaging with us, participating in this process instead—instead of this it's us and them kind of attitude often times.

Interviewer: Yeah, but that's what I'm sayin' you know, or what I meant to say that if. . .if you don't have a meaningful vote in the decision that's made how can you own it? Do you see what I'm sayin'?

Ron Gables: Yeah. Ah. . .but you do, you have a. . .you don't have a vote, okay, in a lot of these processes but what you do have is an opinion or idea or position that you can share with the people that do have the votes, the authority. . .

Interviewer: Huh.

Ron Gables: To make that decision. And does that sway those individuals? You know, I can't say in all cases, every time that that is the case everywhere. I don't know, it really depends on how open and transparent the process is ah. . .in our situation we try to make it as open and transparent as possible. And I think that's the best we could do without the—you—you cannot manage the—let me—let me make this really clear. . .You are aware of the tragedy of the commons paradigm, right? And—and it's a classic example, you can't manage a natural resource through consensus, ever. There always has to be a decisional authority somewhere, whether it is the king you know, or whether it's the state or the federal government. Somebody always has to have overriding authority to make the decision because managing natural resource through consensus has been sho—over and over and over again been the downfall of that resource. Okay? Because you have too many competing interests and what happens is you compromise, you compromise, compromise, compromise to the extent that the resource becomes compromised. Right? Because you can't always—when you're talking about fish or moose or ah. . .you know whatever, you can't make everybody

	<p>happy all the time which is what consensus strives for. Your first and foremost—that puts the peoples' needs before anything else. . . and before you—and that's why the Fish and Wildlife doesn't do that. Our first obligation is to the resource and the long-term health of that resource not to provide for people. And that's by design—that's by. . .intentional. Because that's what has been shown over and over again. 19:24 and 19:30</p>
<p>Q:6</p>	<p>Ron Gables: What it is—what it is is people are hung up out here in Western Alaska and I don't know what other parts of the State you've been in but, you know, there—there's a very strong ah. . .cultural, what. . .movement out here for sovereign rights. Okay and so a lot of times a lot of this stuff all comes back to that. Right? And the whole idea of, you know, Indian country and sovereign rights and. . .and all that and so people hear a lot of that and they think that, oh it's just a matter of us, you know, making the decision, you need to just give us the authority to make the decision. Well it's not something I can grant. It's not something Fish and Wildlife can grant. It's not something that the State can grant. It's something that has to go all the way back to Washington DC and congress has to act on it. And when congress acts on it and makes a decision and passes law I would be more than happy to have a, you know, another person sitting at the table that could make the decisions. Help us make the decisions. It would still be a co-management ah. . .ah. . .kind of scenario but it would be—you would have another person at that had authority to actually make decisions.</p> <p>Interviewer: Decision making authority, or a vote or—or a weight in the stake, you know. Ah. . .you know, when I'm—when I'm—when I'm out talking to—</p> <p>Ron Gables: I would love for that. I would welcome that.</p> <p>Interviewer: It's a good point though, you know.</p> <p>Ron Gables: I think that we would make the decision and would hopefully be more ah. . .would be better and would be more accepted. 19:26</p>
<p>Q:7</p>	<p>Bob Riley: I think right now our trust between the two. . .the two facets, between the agencies and the working group and even somewhat between the agencies and each other. . .each of the agencies, has been on the rocks. But I don't necessarily see that going on forever. I mean, I think it's natural that the fact that we are having low abundance years and everybody's very, very concerned about that. Managers are very concerned about it from one stand point, from the stand point of preservation of the fishery, from the stand point of ah. . .and from a professional stand point whereas the stakeholders are very concerned about it from the stand point of continuation of—of their lifestyle versus continuation of—of the species. You know, some of them see the conservation need and some of them don't see the need to continue the lifestyle as being paramount. And so, ah. . .it is not a bit surprising that emotions are high right now. And that relations are strained. And that the working group would be more difficult or you know, any group would be more difficult under these circumstances. It's totally understandable and—and when our staff gets really, really frustrated you know, it helps them to—to put that into words because sometimes you're just like, they're under fire or—or everyone's being combative. Well, just remember from—from the point of view of some of these people, their whole lifestyle is under fire. And so you know, if you remember that maybe it will be a</p>

	<p>little bit easier to take and for a little while it is. And so that's—that's a good thing. In years of higher abundance when there's fewer problems there will be less contentious, and people will feel a lot closer. But in the end, yes this group, although they have. . .they have an influence. . .they can't compel the decision, and they're aware of that and it's very, very bothersome to them. They're you know, it's a problem, but I don't really see a way out of it because the agency that is responsible is considering legal aspects, and those things that are laid down to them by statute and when ah. . .when the working group comes and says, you have to do this because we say you have to do this, and we look back at what our edicts are and we see what we have to do under those same circumstances, they don't necessarily line up. They can move the needle one way or the other. It's just not sufficient to making everyone feel good. 7:32</p>
Q:8	<p>Ron Gables: And in this—this basin here on the Kuskokwim and the working group and the State—to their credit this is the—as sad as it is to say, this [the working group] is probably the most cooperative, functional group you will ever see anywhere in the State. This is actually being held up as a model for co-management of a fishery, world-wide actually because it is, it's—even though people tend to think it's not, you know, that's a really an unfair characterization, in my opinion because those are people who don't—haven't been to other places, and seen how other fisheries decisions are made, obviously, because if they had they would not make that statement.</p> <p>Interviewer: Certainly there are—there are ah. . .varying abilities to participate from region to region—</p> <p>Ron Gables: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: And even river to river [In reference to the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers]. 19:27</p>

Appendix R:

How Managers Perceive their Role

R:1	<p>Interviewer: what suggestions do you have that might improve ... participation between managers and subsistence users? And along with that, do you have any outstanding questions that you would like information on? Because that's always helpful for me to understand what are the needs.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Well. . .we're—we're in kind of a developmental phase along—along the lines of answering that question. Last year we feel like we embarked on a pretty extensive ah. . .effort. To. . .to ah. . .to bring the stakeholders up to speed on what we were doing. To really be as open as we could, to actually go to—some effort to, like almost have ah. . .classes to teach fisheries management science to ah. . .to just—just ah. . .lay people that didn't have background in it. I mean, yes you have a background in fisheries as a lifestyle and so some of these concepts are going to make sense to you, but a lot of it isn't. And so he had you know, Kevin Schaeberg specifically had to go to an awful lot of effort to ah. . .to put this stuff in terms that somebody off the street could understand it.</p> <p>Interviewer: See and you know, when I hear you say that I'm thinking ah. . .'cause I'm one of those people too when it comes to these fisheries issues and ah. . .</p> <p>Bob Riley: It wasn't enough was it?</p> <p>Interviewer: No. I'm being very honest with you and ah. . .and ah. . .</p> <p>Bob Riley: Okay and just to finish my point—The—the effort—the effort was made and it was—and it was as much as he could do to try to ah. . .you know, and that effort was made ah. . .to go to such what we thought were inordinate lengths to try to explain things. Because in the past we've heard that this stuff is all way too ah. . .nebulous, we don't understand it, you're not explaining it to us, explain it to us, so we did. And now. . .well, and—and Travis Ellison did have a lot of meetings in Villages and there was a lot of outreach that way. And some of the outreach that occurs ah. . .has to occur sort of. . .on a smaller scale and then we hope that the people that we're contacting on our advisory council will be part of our outreach. You know, I mean so we have thirteen seats. We have multiple alternates on many of those seats and we feel like that's part of our outreach. And we invest a significant amount of resources, time, money, mostly time. Mostly time and working into these—into these meetings. And then that information is either getting outside of that circle or it's not. And ah. . .but ah. . .we can't have that, we can't do that in every Village. What Kevin did last year, we can't do that in every Village. We're just—we're just not going to be able to. And so. . .and then—and then this year you have some of the same people that were saying, you're not explaining your process to us saying, you're beating us over the head with all this quantitative stuff and they were getting pretty much lost. What do we do now? You said you wanted that and you didn't want it. So how much is enough? Because we're out of resources. And we're out of patience. And so, and to some degree they're out of patience with us and we're out of patience with them and we're trying to still ride that line and do that good—good work and still be collaborative. But it could break down and it's not necessarily going to be all our fault. In fact it—we don't feel that we have much more that we can do. And so, that makes it very, very difficult that no matter what</p>
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	<p>you do it's the wrong approach. But—but—but in the answer to your question, what do you think that we can do, well, that's what I beat my colleagues over the head with last year and they responded. And I'm not sure it was worth it. I still think that maybe in a couple years that people will look back on this and say, look at what they tried to do. They tried to bring us along and we appreciate that. Right now they don't, but we're hoping that it will have that effect in the future. I am still hoping that.</p> <p>Interviewer: You said that you beat ah. . .your colleagues ah. . .</p> <p>Bob Riley: Well, when they get frustrated and say you know, we're a management agency, we're not here to teach—teach fisheries science to. . .to ah. . .to normal citizens. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: What did they say, I mean just out of curiosity what—what did people say? What were—what was the strategies that they offered? What did they say when you—</p> <p>Bob Riley: Well, they don't—they don't understand quite as much about the importance of it ah. . .and—and it's partly my job to remind them. You know, just like it's my job to facilitate the working group, I keep the working group relevant to the staff. I remind them that it's important, even though they you know, they—I get their frustration too because they can manage without public good will. . .they could. I mean if this process fell apart they'd still be able to do their jobs. It's happened in other places. It's the norm in most. It's not necessary. But we prefer it and we're still committed to it and we all need, and right now I'm the cheerleader, it's my job, but we all need to be reminded of that so we don't lose sight of positives, of the value of that process especially in a year when it's this contentious. 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. 7:3</p>
R:2	<p>Bob Riley: The department has a responsibility to manage for all uses. The first most important use, I mean you'll hear the most important thing that happens with those fish is escapement. The most important use is subsistence. Once that's satisfied, if there still seem to be a lot of fish in the river then the department has to make some of those fish available to commercial users. 7:37</p>
R:3	<p>Interviewer: That year, or soon after did you become involved with the—the working group?</p> <p>Ron Gables: Yeah, the working groups been around since, I think nineteen eighty-seven. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>Ron Gables: And ah. . .and the Fish and Wildlife survive, there's always been—we're not a member of the working group. But ah. . .we're a cooperating agency. We co-manage. . .in Alaska the federal government co-manages the fisheries with the state. And ah. . .we typically ah. . .these are places in where our jurisdiction overlaps. So, for instance, out here ah. . .any of the systems that are within or predominantly within the refuge boundaries are considered federal waters. And so it's limited areas where we have. Those are areas where we have federal jurisdiction.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right. I mean, educate me on this because I'm just, you know, I've been wondering when it comes to these water issues. Ah. . .if, you know, if this twenty-two point one million acres is the YK delta refuge, ah. . .and I assume all waters on—on—ah, within the refuge are federal waters, correct or not? And if they're federal waters, why is it that state is even involved in that?</p>

Ron Gables: Well, you have to. . .

Interviewer: I know I don't get it, you know, sometimes ah. . .when it comes to the jurisdiction ah. . .if ANILCA is—is regulation of federal lands and waters. . .

Ron Gables: Ah-huh.

Interviewer: How do we—

Ron Gables: It's because of the Statehood Act. When the State—the federal government transferred over management authority of fish and wildlife to the State of Alaska when—in the Statehood Act. You know, that was regardless of whether or not these fish were within federal or state jurisdiction.

Interviewer: Was this—was this. . .the Statehood Act, I mean, are—are we talking at ah. . .the time the Statehood was proposed. . .

Ron Gables: Become a state. Yeah, at the time of statehood. Prior to that federal government managed all of it because it was a territory. Ah. . .

Interviewer: But ANILCA came after.

Ron Gables: And ANILCA came after that and so. . .and then it really wasn't, well, ANILCA ah. . .provided a legal—legal framework. That ah. . .ah. . .directed federal agencies to ah. . .conserve fish and wildlife and protect subsistence resources. It didn't—it didn't specify ah. . .federal management authorities or anything like that. What happened is was there were—there was a series of decisions, starting with the bolt decision that Katie John—

Interviewer: Katie John, yeah.

Ron Gables: [Inaudible], that came through the Supreme Court that determined that the State was not meeting its obligation for subsistence priority. Ah. . .for rural subsistence priority. And because of that, that stood up in the Courts and still does to this day, what the result of that legal decision was is that it granted the authority to federal entities to directly manage—have in season management for fish and wildlife within federal conservation units.

Interviewer: And that would be here?

Ron Gables: And that would be here. Right so basically in the end it established the—the priority of federal jurisdiction over state jurisdiction. So what it amounted to was you have a dual management system, state and federal. And we—so we co-manage the fisheries and the—and the wildlife for that matter too.

Interviewer: But you always have the—the stronger arm. Correct or not?

Ron Gables: Because of that legal decision we always have, essentially, veto authority over this. So if we for whatever reason don't agree with what the State is proposing to do and we—we feel that it's—it's not in the best conservation interests of the resource or it's—it's not providing subsistence opportunity that could be provided then we can exert federal jurisdiction over the fishery and wild—or whatever and implement our own regulation...Yeah, a lot of people don't understand. A lot of people don't understand it and that—it gets ah. It causes a lot of confusion and when they. . .and what's really kind of unfortunate about it is that under the federal authority that is actually, the—that—that authority actually lies with the refuge manager. He's the individual who is designated as the in-season manager. And then I support that—that manager with, you

know, my analysis and my opinion and everything and so . . .

Interviewer: Kind of like the inter-agency staff committee supports the Federal Subsistence Board, you know, it's just

Ron Gables: Yeah advisors like [Federal natural resource manager; name removed]

Interviewer: Right.

Ron Gables: And then I'm his support staff. I advise him on actions to take or not take or things like that so . . .but he's the guy that has the legal authority, signs the documents. Ah. . .so a lot of people don't understand that there is that co-management aspect to—to fisheries management here in Alaska. Ah. . .and the state—the state understands it. And we—we do our very best, we have agreements with the state, we do our very best to try to not ah. . .intervene unless it's absolutely necessary. And we'll—we'll pretty much always go along with what the State is proposing. . .or what we—what we do is we try to come to a mutual agreement. A—ahead of time, before we take—they take any action. Ah, and the only time we have to take action is when their management is divergent from what our management would be. So, they wanna open a fishery and we strongly disagree and we have a biological concern that we could validate—we have to be able to validate it, support it, then we can say, State, sorry we have to disagree with you on this. And what the first step you take is you have to, what's called federalize the fishery. So that—what it—that does is that, because we don't have control over ah. . .well, we do. . .over ah. . .urban fisheries. We have control over rural.

Interviewer: Rural fisheries?

Ron Gables: Fisheries per the law, but as per the Katie John decision, the priority lies in a rural. So, the first step you take, is any time we have to take an action, we have to federalize the fishery, which then precludes any non-rural resident from participating in that fishery. So it's just rural folks at that point. Then we can implement a regulation, a closure, a opener, a whatever the regulation is. The State, they don't recognize that. Any Alaska resident is a subsistence fisherman or hunter, so. . .

Interviewer: Well this—this has been really helpful, I—you know 'cause ah. . .

Ron Gables: Well and that—that's what's at the heart of the—the disagreement between the state and federal government. Ah. . .because the state would have to amend its constitution in order to comply with the federal government. With the court decision that came out of the Katie John.

Interviewer: Right. And—and ah. . .ah. . .so ANILCA—ANILCA essentially lines out what it is our priorities will be.

Ron Gables: Ah-huh.

Interviewer: But authority really ah. . .the precedent for the authority really lies in the decisions that came after the ah. . .the ah. . .be it the Katie John and. . .

Ron Gables: It's—it's lined out in ANILCA as well. Those authorities. Ah. . .

Interviewer: Federal and.

Ron Gables: Right, federal and State. But yeah, as far as ah. . .those court decisions go those—those defined kind of the ah. . .oh, what. The when.

Interviewer: The when in.

Ron Gables: The when you would implement it and. . .

Interviewer: The authority.

Ron Gables: Pretty much the when you could invoke those authorities. Ah, it's what it did. And that's basically when—

Interviewer: Conservation.

Ron Gables: The state—well, no it's basically when our management decision is different from the State's management decision.

Interviewer: Was this year with the Kuskokwim management plan an example of that? Or could it have been, even though ah. . . in the end feds went along with the State's plan ah. . . at the Board of Fish. Ah. . .

Ron Gables: Yeah well, we're talking about in season authority here.

Interviewer: In season.

Ron Gables: Is what we were talking about.

Interviewer: Okay, okay so right now it's not in season.

Ron Gables: Right. There's a big difference between in season management and out of season management. Out of season management is essentially a planning effort, right? So yeah, and we've always ah. . . and it—that varies from unit to unit really. As far as how involved you get in development of those pre-season plans strategies and the plan—the overall management plan for a particular area of fishery. Ah. . . we—some areas are very involved in that and some areas are not so involved in that. This area's unique in that it has historically always been very involved in the hands on planning of the fisheries for the—for the predominantly salmon fisheries in the Kuskokwim.

Interviewer: So, let me ask you this, does authority differ in out of—when it comes to veto powers and what not, when it comes to out of season management versus in season management?

Ron Gables: Well, you wouldn't make a decision in season—or out of season.

Interviewer: Well, like the management plan that we're going to go forth with in twenty thirteen ah. . . if we do it out of season and if. . .

Ron Gables: No, if there was something that was ah. . . for instance—well, and—and there were, I mean there's things that we did not agree with, with the State on. In the management plan or in their—in their whole modeling effort, you know, which is setting up escapement goals. And things like that. We don't agree with the escapement goals. However, they're the States escapement goals. It's the State's plan. They can—we can advise them, we can collaborate with them on development of it and that's all well and good ah. . . and that—that's what you should do but ultimately, it's their plan they can put in it whatever they want. But where the rubber meets the road is when they implement that. So if there is there is something in the plan that is a tripwire, right, and they implement it in season and we disagree with it, that's when we exert federal jurisdiction.

Interviewer: Federal—federalize the fishery.

Ron Gables: Be careful when you're using that word federalizing the fishery.

Interviewer: Okay.

	<p>Ron Gables: If you want to see State guys get their hairs on end. Just drop those two words.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, huh. Well, you know, it's ah. . .well I'm—I'm very thankful to—to gotten into that discussion, you know, because ah. . .I've read ANILCA and—and ah. . .ANCSA and understand some of these laws fairly well but ah. . .when it comes to the implementation it gets a little, you know, convoluted, you know, it's—it's.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Right. Yeah, it's not just ANILCA either, I mean there's other ah. . .reading that's out there. We have an MOU with the State. While managing fisheries in Alaska so. . .you know, things like development of—of fish management plans, things like evaluation of escapement goals ah, those were all identified in that MOU. That those would be things that would be qualitatively, you know, evaluated and developed. Ah. . .and so, and we don't just hang our hat on ah. . .ANILCA. It's—it's also these other agreements and our founding legislation, you know, everything from the Organic Act to the. . .you know, yeah. . .Conservation Act. So.</p> <p>Interviewer: So the cooperation is always ah. . .you know, we're always trying to cooperate with the state. . .</p> <p>Ron Gables: Ah-huh, absolutely. 19:6 and 19:7 and 19:8</p>
R:4	<p>Ron Gables: Ah, we have to implement restrictions ah, on. . .the last few years it's been just Chinook salmon. And so that puts us in a very difficult position at times, ah. . .but again, you know, you have to constantly keep letting folks know that our primary responsibility is to the long term health and sustainability of these Chinook runs—any salmon—any fish stock for that matter, so. . .and it's been my ah. . .direct involvement with ah. . .the subsistence fishery out here. And we've done a little bit of work with white fish ah. . .and worked with Kenai fisheries a little bit helping them out [inaudible] projects, because those are an important subsistence species as well especially in the wintertime here. Rely a lot on that and so. . .I mean that's ah. . .it's been pretty much just a ah. . .you know, a classic kinda ah. . .you know, fisheries related type science ah. . .involvement as far as ah. . .trying to figure out, you know, what escapements are or what level of escapement we need, how many surplus fish are available to harvest, are we going to manage that fishery so that people up and down the river get, you know, try to get equal opportunity to fish and things like that. So, it's been more or less a classic fisheries management kind of ah. . .task. 19:28</p>

Appendix S:

External Forces Affecting Collaborative Management

S:1	<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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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...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>
S:2	<p>Interviewer: Would you say that the State is in charge of the Kuskokwim Fishery?</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah, absolutely, they call the shots. And here's proly the reason I know that. This is a personal thing. I know your recording here, but I hope it will still be a personal thing. Federal manager [name removed]...is a personal friend of mine. I've gone down to [location removed] and hunt pheasant with him. I stayed with him down in [location removed] this past year...And, this, what I am telling you about the Feds staying out of that [In regards to the 2012 subsistence closures on King salmon on the Kuskokwim River] because the State doesn't want em, didn't want em involved in the path is coming right from the Federal manager [name removed]. That's coming right from Federal manager [name removed]. He's a good friend of mine. He's telling me things that he probably wouldn't want me to pass on, but that's...the truth. They leave the State alone. They want the State to manage the thing on their own. But the fact is, the State would have never had the balls [stressed] to do what they did this summer. If the Feds had not been there to back them up. 11:20</p>
S:3	<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</p>

	<p>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>
S:4	<p>Interviewer: Why do you think that people don't want to talk about that by catch? As in, why aren't the working groups allowed to discuss the issue of by catch? Who thinks that that's not important?</p> <p>Nick Larson: What's the question again?</p> <p>Interviewer: Well, if you, if you hear the word 'by catch' brought up at a meeting, they say let's keep it to in-river discussion only.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Oh yeah, for me that's the point that I was trying to bring up in the past, that managers always say, ‘We have no jurisdiction over it.’ But my feeling is, that's the biggest abuser right there. They take a big chunk of our fish that are meant to go in the western Alaska rivers. That's the part they never, the problem is the jurisdiction, we can't touch it. It was created by congress, under the North Pacific Management Council, and when they talk in those terms, we're always lost because nobody explain to us how that process works. But the thing is all of our people always point the finger to them, that's where the blame should be, because when they say conservation, everybody should, all along in their rearing grounds, migratory routes, everybody should participate in the conservation process. Because they always ask us subsistence users to conserve. The people that need it the most. They say, ‘bear the burden of conservation’, that's where the injustice is. 17:31</p>

Appendix T:

Interview Consent Form

(Part of the University of Alaska's (UAA) Institutional Review Board (IRB) process, Appendix AL contains the approval letter from UAA's IRB to conduct research.)

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 Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association, the Kuskokwim River Salmon Management Working Group, and the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta Regional Advisory Council 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 withdrawal 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 U:

How Subsistence Harvesters Define a Meaningful Role

U:1	<p>Interviewer: if you could define your meaningful participation in the care and management of fish and wildlife, how would you define that?</p> <p>Susan Carter: Well, then we'd all be equal at the table in making management decisions. And that's, I think, where we all wanna 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. Ah, this is our. . .you know, 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>
U: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?</p> <p>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</p>

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].

Interviewer: I've noticed that a lot [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

	<p>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>
<p>U:3</p>	<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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Huh, was that in nineteen eighty-four, you mean?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: What time did the, or when did the RAC's actually start up then?</p> <p>Josh Owens: Ah after, sometime after nineteen nineties.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh it was already in the nineties?</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah. So they're not, they're just a recent.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow. You know, I mean, if ANILCA was eighty, and—</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah, they were still trying to figure out how to deal with that.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ten years to get that going.</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: I don't think I realized that it took that long.</p> <p>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>

U: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>
U: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?</p> <p>Matt Conley: Having the final say.</p> <p>Interviewer: Having the final say.</p> <p>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>
U:6	<p>Interviewer: When working with managers what were some of the things that you found were helpful in the experiences?</p> <p>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>
U: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.</p>

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. And ah . . . 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. You know, 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, you know, they want change, they want to help, but they don't know how to do it. 10:8 and 10:53

**Appendix V:
Language Differences**

V:1	<p>Clark Turner: I still don't speak very good English but ah, I do my best. I, I mix-up words sometimes, sometime I skip, I skip some words that I need to say, I need to use. Ah, but I do my best. Like I told you, I'm just a fourth grader in school.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, one thing I kind of admire from, when I'm talking with Yup'ik people. Over and over again, I notice that people, I've heard that a number of times, "I was told by my mom and dad to always do my best."</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: "Always do your best." And ah, and even when things are not so good, they're good, and you view them in a positive way.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: Because it's just a, it's just the way things are, you know.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I respect that because, you know, um, you know urban peoples are not afraid to complain at length, all the time. Complain, complain, you know. And ah, I did my share of complaining as a kid.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: But ah, that's an important lesson for people to learn, is that we can't do anything if we complain. We can't nothing, absolutely nothing can be done when we complain.</p> <p>Clark Turner: That's the way it is with Fish and Game, we think we, we people complain about those people. They're not supposed to. If they know the difference, that's how it is. Me, I don't complain about Fish and Game, Fish and Wildlife, because I know the difference about ah, enforcement law. Enforcement law people, they are, they're the ones who ah, carry the law to the public. They're the, they're there for, to work for that.</p> <p>Interviewer: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Clark Turner: And ah, that's how I see it. 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. 8:30</p>
V:2	<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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you—do you think—do you think that formal process that we use now—</p> <p>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</p>

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 departments 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 verbage 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 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
V:3	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
V:4	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

Appendix W:
Technical Jargon

W: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 kinda 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>
W: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?</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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].</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you think that it makes a big difference? Do you think that—do you think it helps?</p> <p>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 gussak what are you doing, you know? And then they go, what did you say you know, slow down</p>

	you know, but. . .it's. . .people have to. . . 19:23
W: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.</p> <p>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>

Appendix X:
Flow of Information

X: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>
X:2	<p>Interviewer: And I said, I often time think that the Army is what led me to be an anthropologist later in life, because I became aware of so many kinds of people with different understandings, you know.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I wanted to know about all of those things because I found it highly intriguing.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I told the boys, you know, I said, "When I'm talking with you guys," I said, "You guys are like my brothers." If I don't—one of them said, "Can I use your snow machine to go up to Kwethluk, I know it's faster?" I said, "Done. Here's the keys, go. Have fun, take your girlfriend, and I'll see you in a hour." You know, and ah, and when I get home sometimes, they will already have dinner made, and it will be there, and I will have a plate there for me. And ah, I didn't grow up that way, but I like it.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, because, um, I've only known those boys for two months, and they are like the best friends I've ever had. And I trust them, and it's because we share, all the time.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh. Yeah, that's the way it is with everything. Even in the family there would be one person who's trying to hide their, hide their stuff, but if you change their way of, way of—how you say it—if you change their life, or the way they do, that would change, too. So the people would, like us at the RAC meeting, there's always somebody, or AC meeting, there is always somebody not following our work, or do what we are supposed to do. The reason they are sitting there, is what they supposed to do. And there is one or two pride people that's always against our work. Not sharing the information that we get. Or not accepting the information.</p> <p>Interviewer: On the people that are on the RAC, or people anywhere?</p> <p>Clark Turner: RAC or anywhere. Like your friends. Why I said at the RAC meeting, or AC meeting, or Kuskokwim Salmon Management Working Group. There is always somebody against you, and not want to follow you. They always wanna do their own way, they think their own way is better. But sharing is better, like you said. 8:48</p>
X:3	<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</p>

<p>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.</p> <p>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 the different ways that you get information in the community?</p> <p>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 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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: It's a lot easier now to pass the word around.</p> <p>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,</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: . . . and you're out there, and you're worried about getting that net in, or getting that boat home.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep, if I know, I wouldn't have set the net.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right, because you're not a criminal.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Ahh, I did that.</p>

	<p>Interviewer: [Laughter]</p> <p>Clark Turner: Ah, that was the bad time I did that.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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 department has 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>
X:4	<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?</p> <p>Translator: [Yupik Translation 0:08:30-0:08:45]</p> <p>Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:08:45-0:10:07]</p> <p>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 ah. . .affect—adverse affect on subsistence fishermen because it—it's impossible to ah. . .to ah. . .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.</p> <p>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. Ah. . .ah. . .</p> <p>Translator: You want me to ask her that?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.</p> <p>Translator: [Yupik translation 0:13:49-0:14:11]</p> <p>Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:14:11-15:10]</p> <p>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</p>

	that. And I'm assuming it's done by announcements you know, like ah. . .contact the local Tribal office or City office to announce fishery window schedules or restrictions. 13:1
X:5	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
X:6	Mr. Wilde: Yeah. Mr. Chairman. I'm looking at last year, 2011 Yukon River subsistence fishing schedule. This green paper, I think that's from the last year. I'd like to know that U.S./Canada negotiation ... It look like they agree, make agreement, there's a lot of fish, a lot of king salmon ... I don't know who they are. They make agreement. I suppose Fish and Game, if they didn't know, they wouldn't put it on the paper by the numbers. Not only that, it's just that agree to the one year, so many thousands of king salmon, so many thousands of chums, so many thousands of other fish. But I was looking at this one year, this one-year agreement, that's what they say ... I don't know who they are. Now then I look at this one. This is the summer from Fish and Game, what I get. And they had it here again, U.S./Canada ... agree ... [to] a lot of fish. I don't know who these people are, U.S./Canada negotiation people. I suppose Fish and Game know, you know, and it would be good and we ourself in the Yukon, we were kind of sorry for Kuskokwim, but we turn around looking at ourself. All that fish goes, again a lot of fish, a lot of king salmon. And it used to be with negotiating in Yukon and Kuskokwim – I mean, Yukon and Alaska and Federal over – where does agreement that they put? I wish that we could be able to learn these things, who are the people is, the U.S./Canada Yukon River Panel agree, interim management. All that – a lot of fish. Like this summer they agree 42,500, 55,000 chums – king salmon and 70,000 those other chums. We don't know. A lot of us, we don't know. 21:18
X:7	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. 20:9
X:8	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 sittin 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.

	<p>George Sanders: Is that right.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>George Sanders: Try to get equipment that would play the sound back over the teleconference in a way that would be more clear.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: To the people on the, in the communities.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah. 11:4</p>
X:9	<p>Bill Cartwright: I think it's basically impacting what we're supposed to do in the first place and making sure that we have the backup and financial ways of being able to travel ah. . .and to—to get to the destinations effectively ah. . .and I think that some of our budgetary constraints have been real and ah. . .but they've had programs done affect with our communications you know, throughout the Delta, but also they've affected our biology program, our ability to enforce and other programs. So, it hasn't been just selective on that, I think using the virtual medias, I think using poly—you know ah. . .using our polycom downstairs and making sure we can ah. . .and most of the school districts and some of the Villages offices have the same technology we have for ah. . .video conferencing downstairs and to use that—that. . .that modern venue, I think would increase, again being able to look at somebody and communicate and talk with somebody is a lot better than—than the phone many times. And ah. . .and we can also you know, share content based sorts of things ah. . .in fact I worked on that with the regional office so we can dial you know, work with twenty schools at one time out of our—out of our video conferencing ah. . .system. And ah. . .and it's—and it's easy to do but I can share everything from powerpoints to an overhead to ah. . .you know, to discussing the issue or the education issue that we—that we have. I think another thing is ah. . .to make sure we—we strengthen our outreach education from just an environmental education standpoint and that's somebody that travels you know, in a frequent basis to each of the schools and especially at formative ages. I think K six is really a critical age for ah. . .for working with people and I think it's really ah. . .ah. . .a—a real—a—a real important thing for basics of understanding of scientific principles and understanding environmental issues, and making sure it's real to home. So I think that that's an important mesh between what RITs [Refuge Information Technicians] will do and I'm hiring a new Park Ranger, ah. . .outreach education person.</p> <p>Interviewer: Really?</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: As a permanent employee. That was also approved.</p> <p>Interviewer: Awesome.</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: So, to me that's the person that every day, you wouldn't want to see them downstairs. You want to know that they were travelling to Kasigluk to. . .they're bringing in the wolf box or you know, that had the wolf pelt in it and the skulls and the history of preda—you know and how you know and—and the whole—the programs has to do with kids on predation and ah. . .and where this animal might fit into the—the ecosystem. That's just an example, but you know it's—it's travel with their wares to be able to ah. . .be</p>

	<p>able to develop a really good outreach education program ah. . .might be on lead shot, might be on Emperor Geese, might be on the introduction of—the re-introduction of Stellar's Eiders ah. . .all that kind of you know, ten core educational aspects that ah. . .that the Service is really trying to do. But there's—so there's somebody actively out engaging eye to eye or at least if we can do some of the things virtually you know, to be able to do that sort of more personalized contact on a daily basis I think would improve everything. 5:20</p>
X:10	<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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow, so they flew em.</p> <p>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, mounted 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 use 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: So let me ask you something real quick. So, do you, when you say educate, you know, all of</p>

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 frye 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 your 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

Appendix Y:

The Value of Subsistence Harvesters' Knowledge

Y:1	<p>Andy Rollins: There was mining in [inaudible location], and we were testing water qualities. And the Department 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.</p> <p>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 State Departments 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>
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Y: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 ah. . .fishery is progressing. Ah. . .information about you know, ah. . .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. Ah. . .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. Ah. . .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. And ah. . .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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, I noticed—I noticed that ah. . .and one of the—one of the biggest topics ah. . .among anthropologists that looked into these things is with ah. . .the incorporation—whether or not traditional and local knowledge is able to be incorporated and how do we do that, 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 ah. . .hard ah. . .ah. . .or clear understanding of what that paradigm is. I've been given examples of how people process knowledge ah. . .from the—from the—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 so. . .you know, it's interesting that you bring that up and I think it's a difficult task.</p> <p>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. Ah. . .some of the advice we get or some of the things we've</p>
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	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah-huh.</p> <p>Bob Riley: And ah. . .and 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah-huh.</p> <p>Bob Riley: 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>
Y:3	<p>Clark Turner: Because those barges would be finding the channel and the fish want to travel on the channel too.</p> <p>Interviewer: The channel too. Somebody said, "How many fish do you think are killed in those, when they go up river?" You know?</p> <p>Clark Turner: They get scared before they get to their destination, or go someplace where they would be caught, too.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yep.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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,</p>

	<p>"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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: That's science to them. But observe, comprehend, acknowledge, and execute.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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>
Y: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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: When the animals are not there?</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Yeah, when they're not there, they're not ready is when you are supposed to go, supposed.</p> <p>John Griffon: When you're allowed. 10:44</p>
Y:5	<p>Interviewer: Tell me about some experiences that you have had Federal or State managers when things became difficult.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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. Where uh, uh.</p> <p>Interviewer: Why do you think that was?</p> <p>George Sanders: Ray Collins, Oh, they, because it didn't. It would 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</p>
Y:6	<p>Interviewer: Do you think that [your knowledge] is taken creditable when you're talking with scientists? Do you think it is listened to?</p> <p>Josh Owens: No.</p> <p>Interviewer: No?</p> <p>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</p>
Y:7	<p>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?</p> <p>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, I forgot the name of that other one. 17:20</p>
Y:8	<p>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.</p>

	<p>Interviewer: Kuskokwim . . .</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: I saw what he was trying to do here. I remember [Council member] bringing this, [Council member] bringing this—</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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 its—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 allowed to sell out of your own private dry fish supply.</p> <p>Interviewer: Let me ask you this, on the Board of Fish, how many, are there any subsistence users?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Only one.</p> <p>Interviewer: One out of six, right?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Out of five.</p> <p>Interviewer: Or five, five.</p> <p>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</p>
Y:9	<p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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</p>
Y:10	<p>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?</p> <p>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 and. . .I don't know how to—if incorporate is the right word but [inaudible] back into science. 18:10</p>
Y:11	<p>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. 21:33</p>
Y:12	<p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

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 YUPIAKAMIUT (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..... 21:2

Appendix Z:

Working Together in Communities

Z:1	<p>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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Uh-huh, yeah, uh-huh. 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?</p> <p>Adam Cooper: Yeah, okay, 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, you know, it's gonna be pretty scary for a lot of these people that don't have job skills and et cetera. 3:3</p>
Z:2	<p>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</p>
Z:3	<p>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?</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: Well, I think—well, considering that on refuge there's probably forty-six. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh, yeah there are, right, right.</p>

	<p>Bill Cartwright: And then if you look at—if you go upriver, like to Chuathbaluk or Crooked 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: All of them twice a year.</p> <p>Bill Cartwright: Yeah. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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>
Z: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—</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>Bobby Sterling: 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 underst—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.</p>

	<p>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. Ah. . .</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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. Ah, you know, 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>
Z: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 ah. . .you know, we have way too many moose now. In the Lower Yukon area we have the caribou herd working group. Those were all ah. . .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 ah. . .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—and the</p>

	<p>ACs. And now that we're kind of a short—ah, short of—short of money, short of human 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. . .once or twice a year. 6:21</p>
Z: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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Does the Fish and Game have an outreach program?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: What are the limiting factors?</p> <p>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. Ah. . .and you know, 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: So when you say it's not necessary, you're saying that from a perspective of. . .</p> <p>Bob Riley: To accomplish my job.</p> <p>Interviewer: To accomplish your job, okay.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Not that I don't care.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, I just wanted—I just wanted to clarify.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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>
<p>Z:7</p>	<p>Interviewer: Do you ever see Fish and Wildlife and Fish and Game in your community? And if so, how often do they come?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Clark Turner: No.</p> <p>Interviewer: Never?</p> <p>Clark Turner: I haven't seen them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Uh-huh, yeah.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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,</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: You mean people in the communities?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yeah, people don't like me for that.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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 Wildlife, or even the protection people, too.</p> <p>Interviewer: Uh-huh. So you think, you think it would be beneficial if those managers would come out and talk to people here?</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep, uh-huh.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Clark Turner: Yep.</p> <p>Interviewer: Problems would be addressed, you know, by simply coming out and talking to people?</p> <p>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, 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</p>
Z:8	<p>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?</p> <p>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 comm, when did you become fish commissioner?"</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>8:39</p>
<p>Z:9</p>	<p>Interviewer: What are some of the reasons why you or others you know may not trust managers?</p> <p>John Griffon: We don't know them. We never see them, don't know them.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: I don't know who the managers are.</p> <p>John Griffon: I have no idea. I never saw a face, never heard a voice.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: never heard a name.</p> <p>John Griffon: To me it's the Fish and Game or Fish and Wildlife, that's all I know.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: When you know somebody, you know . . .</p> <p>John Griffon: There's trust.</p> <p>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</p>
<p>Z:10</p>	<p>Interviewer: How often do you see managers in your community?</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: I've never seen a manager before. These guys, the only reason I see them is because we work here as volunteers.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Managers here too.</p> <p>Interviewer: Managers here too?</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Never seen them in Kwethluk.</p> <p>Interviewer: Never?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p>

	<p>Interviewer: That speaks a thousand words.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay say that again, so they can understand.</p> <p>John Griffon: Like um . . . their job is—I don't know wildlife conservations and stuff like that.</p> <p>Interviewer: You mean scientists and things like that?</p> <p>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? And ah, it's just ah, 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</p>
Z:11	<p>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</p>
Z:12	<p>Interviewer: Lucretia, is there a place or someone that you have to contact that—where you can share—share concerns that you have? Is there—is there someone that—that they—that the people of the Russian mission do contact regularly? I'm wanting to basically know if ah. . .if they've tried to maybe contact other—maybe Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association or Fish and Wildlife, if they have someone they can speak with about these things?</p> <p>Translator: [Yupik translation 0:19:43-0:20:07]</p> <p>Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:20:08-0:20:20]</p> <p>Translator [Translating for Lucretia Took]: She's not made aware of any—any contact points. And—and she's wondering if Elder's are aware of it, but they have not been told that you know, such contact people are not known. Someone to contact you know, should ah. . .hear some concerns about fishing.</p> <p>Interviewer: Earlier ah. . .Lucretia you said that commercial fishermen, managers they talk to commercial fishermen but not the Elders. Do the commercial fishermen come to the Elders and ask for their advice and—and if so what do you tell them?</p> <p>Translator: [Yupik translation 0:21:08-0:22:00]</p> <p>Lucretia Took: [Yupik response 0:22:00-0:22:13]</p> <p>Translator [Translating for Lucretia Took]: She said that ah. . .ah. . .Willie, the [inaudible] who's her son-in-law usually kept—keeps her informed about ah. . .you know, how fishery schedules or ah. . .restrictions are going to be. Other than that she's not aware. 13:2</p>

Z:13	<p>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?</p> <p>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</p>
Z:14	<p>Nick Larson: Families that have sons and grandchildren that can fish for them, they're a little, slightly better off.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ooh, right. Yeah I think it's hard for these managers to understand that people are not part of—</p> <p>Nick Larson: Even if you tell the Department 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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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 go 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm, so you would say that when you see 'em, it's only when there are problems, or when they want studies done?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>Interviewer: But, do they ever come just to ask how people are doing, or what their concerns are, or anything like that?</p> <p>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</p>
Z:15	<p>Ms. Gregory: I like to go to villages, because if we meet in Bethel too much, then we deprive some of the</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Chairman Roczicka: Quyana, Mary. 20:25</p>
Z:16	<p>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's really bother us and some elders, they say, why don't you 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. Quyana.</p> <p>21:13</p>

Appendix AA:
Working Together at Meetings

AA:1	<p>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. And...their [Federal and State managers] unwillingness to compromise.</p> <p>Interviewer: Could you clarify what you mean by the backroom?</p> <p>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 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>
AA: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.</p>

	<p>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. 'Cause 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>
AA:3	<p>Interviewer: So were you on that [the working group] since the beginning or.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Oh no, no. Last year was the first year, but I you know, I grew up listening to it. When I was young, like junior high age and high school I commercial fished with my Stepdad in the lower river. So, that's when commercial fishing was a big deal you know and I was in part of subsistence fishing. Yeah, ah. . . as I've been sitting—this is the first time that I've gone to this inter-agency meeting, sitting in there watching, thinking you know, all of those people, all of those managers in there they don't live our life. You know, they come during the fish season and manage the fish and then they go back to their nice comfortable life here. I don't think any of them winter over in Bethel do they? Any of those guys in there. Oh except for, oh maybe like [Name removed—Federal Manager] Fish and Wildlife guys. I mean it's an old story. You just mentioned the Troopers and made me think ah. . . I'm a team leader for Bethel Search and Rescue and you know, we work with the Troopers a lot and it's another bunch of people that come and go you know, they don't live</p>

	<p>there. They don't understand. We just came off of a search last week that the troopers suspended it Monday night. The next day we went back to our regular lives, but it was bothering us and we started talking amongst ourselves and said, let's go back out. So we went back out Wednesday, a week ago today. We said, we're going back out we don't need you tell—you guys to tell us when we can and can't go. Well, the State isn't going to pay for it. That's okay we have our own money. And we went back out a week ago and we found that guy.</p> <p>Interviewer: You gotta be kidding me.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah. He was dead though, but we brought him home.</p> <p>Interviewer: You brought him home.</p> <p>Matt Conley: Yeah. If we hadn't gone back out he'd never been found. We're tired of being told what to do by people who don't live our lives you know? 15:18</p>
AA:4	<p>Rick Strickland: So. I do remember, actually, a couple of times back in the late eighties where—and again this is some of the past egos and the way ah. . .the managers at that time were professionals [sarcasm—word was stressed when it was used] and we know what's best and if you don't like it, well, tough shit. There was—it was close to fist fights a couple times. People would be hollarin' at each other at the top of their lungs.</p> <p>Interviewer: In a working group meeting, or in the board meeting?</p> <p>Rick Strickland: At the working group meeting [In reference to the Kuskokwim Rivers Salmon Management Working Group].</p> <p>Interviewer: At the working group meeting. Wow.</p> <p>Rick Strickland: So, that fellow retired, and again they change out—that was a state manager at the time. 18:8</p>
AA:5	<p>Ms. Gregory: I'm going to say this. If people are offended, I'm sorry. But if Fish and Game, when they take out the -- in protection of the fish, they take out fishermen's nets, and that to me is grand larceny, because nets cost a lot of money. When they take out the nets without the owner's permit, that's grand larceny. They're stealing the net from the person. And also with wildlife protection personnel, they are committing crimes by protecting the food instead of making sure the people they are supposed to help, and for which they are hired, to maintain our subsistence way of life. They're not working for us. And along the lines, some purposes made were not generated for people's understanding or mutual understanding. If you protect us, we will work with you, but if you keep going against our will, our way of life, you're creating enemies, not us. And I want that to be -- I'm sorry. I want that to be put in the report. That's my comment and I make it with clear conscience, because that happened before. 20:23</p>
AA:6	<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</p>

	<p>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, they past 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>
AA:7	<p>Interviewer: What time did the, or when did the RAC's actually start up then?</p> <p>Josh Owens: Sometime after nineteen nineties.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh it was already in the nineties?</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah. So, they're just a recent.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow. You know, I mean, if ANILCA was eighty, and—</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah, they were still trying to figure out how to deal with that.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ten years to get that going?</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: I don't think I realized that it took that long.</p> <p>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,</p>

	<p>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'. But you know, it, we've seen some situations in the past where the State has taken kids away from homes, and they put 'em in homes that were worst then what they took them away from. And they get abused. So, that, those are things that I think we can learn from, and it goes along with resource and subsistence resource managements, are people working together? But you have to our people feel that they're part of the solution, not the cause of the problem. 12:14</p>
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Appendix AB:
Cultural Awareness

<p>AB:1</p>	<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?</p> <p>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]</p> <p>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—</p> <p>Andy Rollins: BIA is always there.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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>
<p>AB:2</p>	<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. .</p>

	<p>.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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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, ah. . .the. . .the. . .the ah, 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—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. And ah, you know, 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay, ah, I like those comments and I—I would ask you this, you know, if—if you had maybe offer a suggestion ah. . .to—to maybe some of these agencies on ways that they could improve this understanding of ah, cultural. . .cultural practices and values ah. . .what—what—what suggestions would you might offer to these agencies on that?</p> <p>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>
AB: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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>itself is evolving and as part of its evolution it is both benefitting from all the information 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>
<p>AB:4</p>	<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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh yeah.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah, yeah [stressed].</p> <p>Interviewer: And, and involved in this Kusko</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah. 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>
<p>AB:5</p>	<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,</p>

	<p>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 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>
<p>AB:6</p>	<p>Mike Wallace: We could have done this over the phone it would have been as easy.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, but I wanted to—I wanted to and see—and sit with you. You know, I—I coulda done 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.</p> <p>Mike Wallace: Yeah, yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: And we trapped—we trapped a land otter.</p> <p>Mike Wallace: Ah-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And we got a land otter and ah, I watched, watched my friends father snare that animal. And then they brought in a caribou rib cage and stuck it on—on a kitchen table. Took a sawz all, cut that thing in half and I got to watch.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>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 goin'. . .well you [inaudible], you might know that.</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Mike Wallace: Ah-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: And I said, man how did he see that? Fifty miles an hour, middle 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, you know. And I, and I, and I think, you know I agree, I think we need managers to come out so that they can see and experience these things.</p> <p>Mike Wallace: Exactly.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Mike Wallace: You need to go out on a moose hunt now. 16:6</p>
AB: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.</p> <p>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—</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Of course, because they have three members that are from rural area, even though four of them are from urban areas.</p>

	<p>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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ooh, uh-huh, because of the lack of knowledge they have about these areas, and these?</p> <p>Nick Larson: Mm-hmm, not knowing the area that it's coming from. 17:18 and 17:54</p>
AB: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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Amen.</p> <p>Nick Larson: [Laughter]</p> <p>Interviewer: That's what this whole experience has been for me.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Give them a real solid orientation.</p> <p>Interviewer: Even going into schools, and other things, you know, not just subsistence-oriented, but ah, understanding that everything that you do takes five more steps than the city. You know, understanding what's involved in going out and checking traps, and how long a day it is. And what kind of time it takes.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Go out before day break, stay out there, come back at night fall.</p> <p>Interviewer: Eight o'clock at night you know. And what, how much gas that costs, too, you know.</p> <p>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>
AB: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</p>

	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
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Appendix AC:

Process

AC: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?</p> <p>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>
AC: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.</p> <p>Andy Rollins: The most helpful?</p> <p>Interviewer: The most helpful about it.</p> <p>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 department needs 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, blueberries, whatever.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yum-yum.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>4:15</p>
AC: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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: It's not interrupting somebody, you let them finish, and everybody gets equal time to talk.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, this is no easy thing to answer, you know. And—</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Not come to Bethel or Anchorage and sitting in front of a mic in front of people you don't know.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: These guys out there buying brand new machines.</p> <p>John Griffon: Out here it costs an arm and a leg to buy a machine.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: They get paid to do it.</p> <p>Interviewer: They're getting paid.</p> <p>John Griffon: What are they complaining about?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: It's time to quit buying these brand new Etec's. Two thousand thirteen models.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Tens of thousands.</p> <p>Interviewer: Tens of thousands, the amount of money—</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Two snow-go's make twenty-four thousand dollars, only two of them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Rarely, very rarely.</p> <p>John Griffon: Half a dozen times.</p> <p>Interviewer: Half a dozen times, and I believe that.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: And there's more than a, maybe a dozen or more snow machines in there. I could be wrong.</p> <p>Interviewer: As many snow machines, or more, then there are workers up there. You're right. And that is reality.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Plus the snow machines out there, not in the garage should have a couple thousand miles,</p>
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	<p>those are still brand new.</p> <p>John Griffon: I could just tune them up. Tune them up and they're ready to go.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: They want the top. They're lazy and greedy.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: Mmm hmm. Out in the schools with Elders.</p> <p>Interviewer: Out in the schools with Elders. I want to put that on the record, because it is an 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.</p> <p>John Griffon: And the only ones they take out are them Etec's, too.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Them brand new ones. Them other ones are just fine, I bet one new spark plug and just fine.</p> <p>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."</p> <p>John Griffon: Yep, I remember that.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>John Griffon: Why don't they actually use those for a good purpose?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: You don't need a truck to go to Oscarville.</p> <p>John Griffon: All those cars and trucks out there, those minivan, or SUV's or whatever.</p> <p>Tommy Griffon: Suburban's.</p> <p>John Griffon: . . . suburban's, what they can do is fill those fuckers up and go to villages. There's a plowed road to every village out here, plowed. 10:55</p>
AC:4	George Sanders: Alright. Now, I tell ya I came up here in 1967. You know, it's like I work with my

	<p>community school groups. And I've always worked for boards since I've been up here. I've never not 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 myself, 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>
AC: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 your 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: That makes since.</p> <p>George Sanders: And that's, that's just the way I see it right there.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, and I can't help but agree with you right there because uh. It's not that I. Don't get me wrong. It's not that I don't want to believe that [State Scientist—Name Removed], and some of these other guys maybe, and for that matter all the colleagues that they have in Washington State who've done all this fisheries research who are apparently more smart about this stuff than I am. But, and I want to believe that they have a target model for that, but I'm not convinced that people like [Independent Contract Scientist—Name Removed] who have witnessed these rivers for decades, that, if they are worried than there is reasons that we need to be worried about these things too.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: And so, there are other scientists [From outside the Federal and State agencies] involved in this stuff to who have numbers of years of experience in this and uh, it just seems risky.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: And that's my humble opinion.</p>

	<p>George Sanders: Yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: And, I don't know a whole lot about it.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: And historical evidence.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah exactly right you know. 11:10</p>
AC: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?</p> <p>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, 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, its 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--Upper Level State Manager] first, [Name Removed—State manager] second. Uh, [Name Removed—State manager] over there third. [Name Removed—State manager], or [Name</p>

	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>George Sanders: Yeah, yeah. I, you know your notes in a meeting as you know from your training too. Your 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 want, 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>
AC: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?</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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 what, ah, you know that Kuskokwim Salmon Management working group is okay, but the thing is that, 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>
AC: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 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, 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. Qu yana. 20:6</p>
AC: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 just - it doesn't make sense because it has to come from the people, and that, you know, I'm -- and I'm always of that mind, that some day that Federal Subsistence Board is going to be all Native people, men and women. 21:32</p>

AC:10	<p>Jennifer Yuhas: 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. 21:23</p>
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Appendix AD:

How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation

AD: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>
AD: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>
AD:3	<p>Bobby Sterling: In the North Pacific Fishery management process, we went down to Juneau for a meeting with the 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. . . The billion dollar troll fishery primarily out of Washington State. 6:24</p>
AD: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</p>

	<p>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>
AD: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>
AD: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</p>

	Native community. 12:40
AD: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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: See, I think that says, you know, that says a lot, you know, and ah, you know, when you ask people, what they would ask, you know, you know right away what their concerns are too.</p> <p>Josh Owens: Yes, 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?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah. You know, what is it? Shoot, if you're asking me—</p> <p>Josh Owens: No, I mean, ah, the question is, to them [Federal and State Mangers], is what is meaningful?</p> <p>12:42</p>
AD: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 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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 their, 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</p>

	<p>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>
AD: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>
AD: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 Department 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ooh, that's the message that they send to people?</p> <p>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 siddle.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>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>
AD: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</p>

	<p>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. Quyana. 20:1</p>
AD: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. 20:30</p>
AD: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 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. With that, thanks everybody for coming. If there's no objections, I would say we're adjourned. 20:31</p>
AD:14	<p>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, dipnet, 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 Gussack way discriminating</p>

	<p>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. Quyana. 20:37</p>
AD:15	<p>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, Kogruklu 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</p>

Appendix AE:

How Managers Perceive their Participation

AE: 1	<p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: No, yeah, yeah.</p> <p>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—is—is the positive one.</p> <p>Interviewer: No, no, no, no, Bob you have said many important things in this interview. I have to say that of the managers that I interviewed this was the most quality interview. And that's very—</p> <p>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</p>
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Appendix AF:

Managers' Perception of How Subsistence Harvesters Perceive their Participation

AF:1	<p>Bob Riley: With respect to the Kuskokwim Working Group specifically, the biggest disconnect that I feel that we have is that the working group feels as a group, and I've heard this from a number of members, so—and—and it's not from everyone okay. But the working group feels that once it's made a decision, it feels like the State should be compelled to—to abide by that decision. Once it's heard all the data that we have to present and—and ruled on what it thinks should be done, that that's how the fishery should be managed. And they think that when and if those decisions are not necessarily adopted. That ah. . .it's very daunting for the working group and it's very upsetting. They don't understand what they're doing here. They don't understand why they're being asked. They've been given ah. . .ah. . .a lot of ah. . .messages about how important their participation is, how—how much they have to do with the management. And they don't necessarily see it. What they see is a different decision being made. 7:24</p>
AF:2	<p>Bob Riley I think—I think right now our trust between the two. . .the two facets, between the agencies and the working group and even somewhat between the agencies and each other. . .each of the agencies, has been on the rocks. But I don't necessarily see that going on forever. I mean, I think it's natural that the fact that we are having low abundance years and everybody's very, very concerned about that. Managers are very concerned about it from one stand point, from the stand point of preservation of the fishery, from the stand point of ah. . .and from a professional stand point. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Whereas the stakeholders are very concerned about it from the stand point of continuation of—of their lifestyle versus continuation of—of the species. You know, some of them see the conservation need and some of them don't see the need to continue the lifestyle as being paramount. And so, ah. . .it is not a bit surprising that emotions are high right now. And that relations are strained. And that the working group would be more difficult or you know, any group would be more difficult under these circumstances. It's totally understandable and—and when our staff gets really, really frustrated you know, it helps them to—to put that into words because sometimes you're just like, they're under fire or—or everyone's being combative. Well, just remember from—from the point of view of some of these people, their whole lifestyle is under fire. And so you know, if you remember that maybe it will be a little bit easier to take and for a little while it is. And so that's—that's a good thing. In years of higher abundance when there's fewer problems there will be less contentious—</p> <p>Interviewer: Sure.</p> <p>Bob Riley: And people will feel a lot closer. But in the end, yes this group, although they have. . .they have an influence. . .they can't compel the decision. And they're aware of that and it's very, very bothersome to them. They're you know, it's a problem. But I don't really see a way out of it because the agency that is responsible is considering legal aspects. And those things that are laid down to them by statute and when ah. . .when the working group comes and says, you have to do this because we say you have to do this, and</p>

	<p>we look back at what our edicts are and we see what we have to do under those same circumstances, they don't necessarily line up. They can move the needle one way or the other. It's just not sufficient to making everyone feel good. 7:32</p>
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Appendix AG:

Subsistence Harvesters' Perceptions of the Council

AG:1	<p>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.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Well you were there.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>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, you know, 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 could still have a small window of opportunity and still achieve ah, our goals for this summer. So, ah, yeah. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Does that ever—does that ever, ah. . .lead to feelings of powerlessness when you're working with. . .</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Ah-huh, and [working group member] really feels that. . .yeah. Frustration. All of us.</p> <p>Interviewer: It ah, you know, it kinda—it kinda hits home you know, to ah, to hear that at the RAC meeting,</p>
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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 optim—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 you know, it just. . .so 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

	<p>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 ah, ah. . .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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Is gonna count.</p> <p>Susan Carter: And that it counts. And let's go that route. Cause I think that's what needs to happen just don't ah, ah. . .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>
AG: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 ah. . .</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Yeah.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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. . .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].</p> <p>Interviewer: You owed money to volunteer? [Laughter]</p> <p>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 though 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</p>

	<p>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 frust—great frustration with it that—than I had with the RAC groups. I just, ah. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Do you think that—some of that has to do with the informal nature of just being at the round table?</p> <p>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, you know less ah. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: Less—they occur less.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Yeah. Yeah, yeah. That might be some of it</p> <p>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. . .</p> <p>Susan Carter: Ah-huh.</p> <p>Interviewer: So you begin to, to form some working relationships with people like [Fish and Game fisheries scientist].</p> <p>Susan Carter: Yeah, Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: And Kevin and John and some of the other managers.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Ah-huh. 1:17</p>
AG:3	<p>Susan Carter: I had to make a decision also to let some things go. Because I was over extending myself too. . .with my volunteerism. You know and—and the working group take a lot of volunteer hours for me. I mean, a lot. And—and I volunteer in other areas of the community too and so I just had to make a choice and I felt like. . .I—I just never felt comfortable, I guess, with the process. . .the way they ran the meetings and brought the information forward and ah, but I really do appreciate the interagency meeting where I get to hear all these reports and see the proposals, how they're going forward and. . .ah, yeah. And having some say on that. I know you have a say on all of the proposals that are going forward to ah, the—the game</p>

	<p>board and the fish board but—and—and the feds also had a lot to do with gaming issues too. And I prefer to stick with fish. So I just made some personal choices. 2:29</p>
AG:4	<p>Interviewer: What were the reasons that you chose to stop your work with the RAC?</p> <p>Susan Carter: Ah, I like the Kuskokwim working group. It's kind of in an informal setting even though we go by Robert's rules and have a chair. I—I like that setting a lot more. I felt like even though there's differences and tough days that we didn't accomplish anything—I just like the way that it worked and we're ah, getting the information. . .I felt like the RAC—oh, I'm sorry Mr. Carter, I forgot about that. I did put a stick of wood in it. Ah, but, the get just bogged down by their ah, procedures and the way they have to make decisions and the way they meet and I just remember travelling—oh, and then finally in the we were in the [inaudible] filing a travel report and they nickel and dimed on every little aspect of travel and these are volunteers that they're not getting stipends or anything, you know. It's just I think they bog down themselves with paperwork.</p> <p>Interviewer: Procedural.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Yeah. Procedural stuff. The way it has to be. And. . .I think people ah, like with our—our—our working group ah—well, of course we have to meet more often than they do. I think it's just quarterly we were supposed to meet, right? Or, the federal RAC?</p> <p>Interviewer: The RAC's, ah, well. . .</p> <p>Susan Carter: They meet. . .</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, they're—they've been meeting twice a year for a long time. But yeah, I don't know if they been meeting more than that.</p> <p>Susan Carter: Okay, it's twice. Just twice a year. Well, you know, it doesn't work. There's too much in twice a year. Ah, and for the working group we have RAC members on it. . .ah, we have. . .we meet regularly during the king—during June. We have the interagency meeting. We have other meetings. And so it. . .it just seems like it's set up for ah. . .more success. Ah, and I. . .I just got bogged down with it. Bogged down with the way—I can't even hardly remember, but I remember feeling just frustrated like, okay, I like the way we do the working group but I really don't like this. Yeah. 2:30</p>
AG:5	<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?</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Bobby Sterling: Yeah.</p> <p>Interviewer: But. . .yeah. Engaged.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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 a . . .it's a ah. . .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. Ah. . .and. . .it—it seems to me that ah. . .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. Ah. . .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.</p> <p>Interviewer: How can the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior be the most qualified people for choosing those representatives?</p> <p>Bobby Sterling: Yeah. 6:33</p>
AG:6	<p>Bobby Sterling: It's basically been the same way for a number of years, ever since they quit meeting in the villages, managers cannot get people to participate or submit their names to be a Regional Council member when they are soliciting for Regional Advisory Council members. Because they do not meet in the villages there's no local exposure to the Council process, in that, you know, people lose their interest, people lose their perception, people lose their feelings of worth in participating in the process.</p> <p>Interviewer: So you think that may be leading to fewer applications being submitted?</p> <p>Bobby Sterling: Yes. Ah. . .and I'm sure they share the same frustration as I do. Ah, many people submit their proposals and—and through their Tribal Councils and a lot of time they come to the meetings—to the RAC meetings, they go to the Federal Subsistence Board Meetings. Ah, if they submitted through the—the other management body, the state side, you know they have to go to that—those meetings as well. It becomes very expensive and they don't achieve what they want from those meetings, they get frustrated, they get totally—they feel totally alienated. Ah, and—and their point of view is not. . .is not ah. . .is not appreciated. Ah, and in this day in age with the high transportation costs and high. . .oh, everything, high everything cost, it's ah. . .it's just going to be more and more impossible for people to actually come in and participate in the—in these meetings. And ah, going back to the RAC's inability to meet in the villages, I think it's—it's a bureaucracy that prevents that from happening and it's having a very negative impact on federal management 6:35 and 6:37</p>
AG:7	<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</p>

	<p>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 a 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: What do you think about RAC members not being compensated, you know, for their work?</p> <p>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>
AG:8	<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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Wow.</p> <p>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 them 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, Crystal Leonetti, I told the working</p>

	<p>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>
<p>AG:9</p>	<p>Nick Larson: And this winter I am not eligible. My term expired. My reapplication was a little late because our current coordinator never notified me that my term was up. 'Cause I never look, 'cause I sit in three or four different other committees. If they don't send me notice that I'm due for a re-up, I will never know it. 17-47</p>
<p>AG:10</p>	<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?</p> <p>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 a 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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Uh-huh, that makes sense.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>All: [Laughter]</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, it's exhausting, it is exhausting.</p> <p>Nick Larson: Especially you've seen our RAC, all the Elders. It's very tiresome for them to sit all day long.</p> <p>Interviewer: Mm-hmm, right.</p> <p>Nick Larson: I always ah, respect those Elder people that are in there. They can, well if they can hang on in</p>

	<p>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 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</p>
AG:11	<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 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 we 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 involve 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. 20:27</p>
AG:12	<p>Mr. Aloysius: Thank you. I just want to bring it up again and ask the Office of Subsistence Management and whoever is the funding source to look into that, you know, because it's not fair that member who live in a community where a meeting is that they don't get any kind of compensation. You know, when you go to jury duty, you get compensated. And so it's just -- it doesn't really make sense to me that the members who are in a host community do not get any kind of compensation. So, you know, I'm just looking for somebody in the Office of Subsistence Management or wherever to see if there's a possibility that they can get around this thing. And if they want to call it something else besides per diem, that's fine. But it's just -- you know, it always bugs me that -- even with the State program, they have the same problem, that if you're in a village then you're not -- if you're in a host village and you're a member of the Council or a committee, that you don't get any kind of compensation. So I'll just leave it at that...If it's possible, you know, I wish you could find something in the regs pertaining to that particular issue and send each of us a copy. There's got to be some way where -- why should you exempt certain people from compensation? It just doesn't make sense at all. 20:42</p>

Appendix AH:

Why Subsistence Harvesters are Not Participating

AH:1	<p>Susan Carter: It hasn't changed much—our group. We've added alter—alternates in. And we been telling them ah. . .that this is what we'd like to see but when things started going to hell in a basket with the numbers, then it became they making the decisions. Even though we were in agreement with some of the closures, if they had allowed ah, us to say, no, no, we're not going with that. This is what we're going to do. Yes we need more closures, this is serious ah, let's do this A, B and C. Well they didn't do that and all hell broke loose and we all felt bad and were mad and wondered why we even exist. 2:27</p>
AH:2	<p>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</p>
AH:3	<p>Bob Riley: It was. . .I think not this. . .this ah. . .Board of Fish meeting, but the Board of fish meeting just passed was originally scheduled to take place in Bethel and they cancelled it last minute and they did it here.</p> <p>Interviewer: See it's just another one of these things, how—how does anybody. . .it's gotta be your full-time job to keep up with all this stuff. You know, I listen to every Kuskokwim Working Group meeting, but I didn't hear about that you know, and it's—and it's. . .this. . .to be involved in this stuff you really have to be, it really has to be your job.</p> <p>Bob Riley: And that's why there are all these advisory councils and that's why these advisory councils elect a representative to go to the meetings.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Because not everybody can do it. And then they count on those people to come back and tell them, and they tell them what they can, but even that information ends up being not enough to get the whole idea out there.</p> <p>Interviewer: Ah-huh. That makes sense.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Plus, I think you know, resources are available to people for researching these things and they may not know where to go for them.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Or they may be too daunted by all the extra work that's involved to actually take—take advantage of 'em. I know you know how many materials we put online, and how many people do you think actually read them?</p>

	<p>Interviewer: Well I could tell you this much, and I think I made this comment to you months and months and months ago, I said, I've got a—I've got an entire binder—</p> <p>Bob Riley: Well, aside from you, I mean I know there's others, but</p> <p>Interviewer: I was gonna say I haven't read—I haven't read ten percent of that.</p> <p>Bob Riley: Certainly, certainly.</p> <p>Interviewer: You know, and ah. . .I've got 'em all filed away and I keep hoping—but yeah, the amount of literature that's printed weekly on this stuff it—you have to</p> <p>Bob Riley: And again, it's an attempt to be open, but I think a lot of times people might even see that as a—as another way of being closed because they look at it and they're like, I don't want to do that and then—then they feel like—I mean, what does it take for people to feel like information is being given to them? Does it take me sitting down in a room with them one on one and talking to them like I'm talking to you? Because there's—there—we don't have the resources for that. So, we do what we can to get the information out there. And people are living their lives and I'm not criticizing them if they don't read 'em, but. 7:1</p>
AH:4	<p>Bob Riley: But for people on the Kuskokwim...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 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. 7:23</p>
AH:5	<p>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 department. 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</p>

	<p>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."</p> <p>Interviewer: Hmm. So you think we should, you think maybe we can do a better job from the State and Feds, both—</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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</p>
AH:6	<p>Rick Strickland: If you want to call it a break down in understanding ah. . .or in management, last year, I mean, was unprecedented. When we agreed preseason to, you know, that we'd be lookin' at ah. . .a closure. . .when—because of the forecast being as low as it was and anticipating a closure but ah. . .that would be put into place ah, at the central portion of the run where you'd get the most effect and most savings on the greatest number of fish up there. And because the run was so late ah. . .when they put the closure in place, I don't think they even had ten percent of the run. We were supposed to be waiting for twenty-five percent. So, that was a mistake on their part and they shot their selves in the foot by instituting the closure, in my mind, too early. Which led to that fall. . .essentially a two week closure [inaudible].</p> <p>Interviewer: So do you think there could have been opportunities in the beginning—</p> <p>Rick Strickland: They could—they could have left it open and had a chance for people to get fish on the racks. At least to have. . .to have something there. But they. . .they jumped on it too soon.</p> <p>Interviewer: And instead then—then—and then once they realized the pulse was in and coming and they just extended it.</p> <p>Rick Strickland: Right. That was a major error on their part. And if they woulda listened to us...18:9</p>
AH:7	<p>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</p>

	<p>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, 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. . .what. . .and 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</p>
AH:8	<p>Interviewer: How often does the Fish and Wildlife travel to communities to talk with them. Do we—do we hit ah. . .all fifty-six communities every year? Are there some communities we hit more than others? You know, and—and what do you think the barriers are to—to getting out and to talking to more communities.</p> <p>Ron Gables: Well, you just hit it right on the head. How many communities?</p> <p>Interviewer: Fifty-six, a lot and I realize that.</p> <p>Ron Gables: How far apart are they?</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p> <p>Ron Gables: How much does it cost to travel to each Village? That's the problem.</p> <p>Interviewer: And money.</p> <p>Ron Gables: It's money and personnel to do that job. I don't know exactly, I mean we have our whole RIT program. I'm sure you're aware of that. And you can talk to Brian about that ah. . .I'm not sure, I mean Joe is going out once a week at least to hit Villages. Do we hit them all? No, some of the Villages we're not welcome in...So. . .we don't make an effort there. So. . .do we hit them all? No, I wouldn't even say we hit twenty percent of them for all I know. Ah. . .but we do hit the ones that are ah. . .we think we can do the most good. And it really depends on the issue. Some—some of the Villages it's different issues, it may not be salmon, it might be you know, migratory birds or something like that. Lead shot, so that's—that's kind</p>

of the decision of the manager to decide where to focus our limited resources.

Interviewer: Huh. So let me ask you this, when—when—when you and others go to communities what are the primary reasons that sends you there? Usually. If you had to pick some primary reasons ah. . .whether it be enforcement. . .

Ron Gables: Yeah.

Interviewer: Or information education. . .

Ron Gables: Well, you talking about me or the refuge wide. . .

Interviewer: Well, you know, maybe your own—your own. . .

Ron Gables: I'm not sure I can speak for the whole refuge but. . .

Interviewer: Sure, just yourself.

Ron Gables: I don't. . .I'll typically. . .if a community requests me to come I—I'm always more than welcome to go and talk to them. And I've done that many, many, many times. And so. . .

Interviewer: Does that happen—happen a lot?

Ron Gables: Other than that it's really not part—I mean I attend, you know, I go to if there's meetings say with the regional advisory councils or with the working groups or you know, any other kind of you know, coordination meeting related to fisheries going on I try to attend that. I go if I'm invited. If people want me to come down and—and talk to them about fisheries, absolutely I'll always try to make an effort to do that and I have in the past. Other than that I—it's not really part of my program and I don't have the time or the money to go and try to canvas all of these Villages to make sure that everybody you know, gets. . .gets the word out. There isn't—I mean that. . .that's a huge effort...It's a huge effort. [Inaudible]. I would do nothing but that.

Interviewer: The question is—is ah. . .it—or if—if that were to change A, number one it's gonna take ah. . .it's gonna take more personnel. B, it's gonna take the funding necessary to ah. . .to pay those personnel. And it would be a massive effort. Just to hit everyone of the Villages twice a year. I bet it would be. . .it would be significant. But ah. . .you know, I—I was just curious you know, how many—how many you would say we—we visit each year? What are the reasons that we go there?

Ron Gables: Yeah.

Interviewer: And how often, you know? Do some get hit more than others?

Ron Gables: I. . .well yeah, obviously the ones. . .ones I mostly hit are Kwethluk, Tuluksuk, Akiak and [inaudible], the ones up here and the immediate area around here, they're the ones that usually have the questions and they're the ones that have worked with us in the past projects and you know. . .they're the ones that have been engaged when—in these other meetings that we have. They're the ones that show up and participate. I mean a lot—to be honest a lot of the Villages just flat don't participate. Now is it my and the Fish and Wildlife's responsibility to go out and make sure they participate in you know, these other venues that are out there? I mean there—there's a free number they can call in to every working group meeting, right? How many folks ever call in and listen and participate? They don't. I mean, that's part of it, it's not just. . .it's not just a lack of resources on our part it's a lack of will on the—on some of the Villages

	<p>part. They don't want to be bothered. They don't want to participate. They. . .or you know, they don't want to make the effort to put in the homework that has to be done to understand. So, some of the issues that we're [inaudible]. So, I mean you just. . .you can lead a horse to water but you can't make 'em drink. But I—I think there's plenty of ways that they can get involved and participate and ah. . .but there's just. . .doesn't seem to be that desire. 19:29</p>
AH:9	<p>Bob Aloysius: For me, there's only one thing that has come up over and over again this summer. Where is the Council 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,</p>

	<p>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. Thank you. 21:1</p>
AH:10	<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. 21:28</p>

Appendix A1:

Research Paradigm: Productive Hermeneutics

In the discussion of the data analysis, it is essential for the researcher to clearly communicate his or her pre-understandings of the phenomenon and assumptions about social science. This is done in part by choosing a research paradigm that adheres to a certain set of normative commitments and philosophical assumptions used to define, limit, and guide the various approaches to social science (Patterson and Williams 1998). Hypothetico-deduction, based in positivist paradigms, is not appropriate for understanding complex social and cultural problems in which “the definition [of the problem] is in the eye of the beholder” (Allen and Gould 1986:22; Brooks and Champ 2006:786; Patterson and Williams 2002:281). While foundational hypothesis testing could be helpful in alerting researchers and managers to variables that may affect why numbers of participants in collaborative management are in decline, these approaches are much less likely to help us understand how participants define and interpret their meaningful roles in collaboration or in serving on regional advisory councils in Alaska. Because my primary objective was focused on providing an understanding of stakeholders’ cultural orientations towards and ways of knowing about land, animals, and management, it was highly appropriate for me to apply a qualitative interpretive approach based in productive hermeneutics.

Patterson and Williams (1998) have suggested that research goals (axiology), philosophical assumptions about reality (ontology), and how researchers choose to study reality and the limits of knowledge (epistemology) must not contradict one and other (Patterson and Williams 1998). In any research design, these three normative commitments must be congruent. For example, if my research goal is to understand complex sociocultural factors, and my assumptions about reality lean towards a pluralist understanding that there may be multiple realities, then I would be misguided in selecting a hypothetico-deductive approach based in positivism in which the research goal is prediction and control of human behavior and only one reality exists.

Adapted from Gadamer (1975), productive hermeneutics is an approach to social science, which among other things has been helpful for studying and understanding sociocultural issues related to natural resources management (Patterson et al. 1998; Patterson and Williams 2002; Brooks 2003; Brooks et al. 2006; Carr 2010). Philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey pointed towards the inadequacy of natural science- based methodologies for understanding sociocultural related issues because he thought understanding humans “was more like interpreting texts than like gaining empirical knowledge of nature” (Olson 1986:160; Patterson and Williams 2002:11). Once hermeneutics began to be used to study human behavior, a problem emerged: Could researchers separate their pre-understandings from what the actor intended to demonstrate in the text? Initially, it was thought by some social analysts that the researcher could achieve a pure understanding of a text by “divining” the actor’s “original seed of thought ... [and] how it was executed” (Nicholson 1984:26). It was assumed that the researcher could bracket out, or separate, his or her preconceptions from what they learned by trying to recreate the experiences of others through imagining, or what Dilthey called, the emphatic process (Stewart 1983; Wertz 1983; Russell 1988; Patterson and Williams 2002). In an effort to challenge the notion that the reader could somehow separate him or herself from the mind of the actor in the text, productive hermeneutics assumed that “researchers cannot *bracket* their preconceptions, nor can they truly empathize with another’s experience”. Instead, they maintain that an *utterly*

innocent reading of the text is impossible, and that the analyst plays an active role in creating the interpretation (Nicholson 1984:29; Patterson and Williams 2002:12). In other words, meaning is co-produced by the researcher and the subjects under study.

It is important to describe the concept of pre-understanding and what applying productive hermeneutics means. Pre-understanding implies that “we understand in terms of what we already know” (Packer and Addison 1989:34). Patterson and Williams (2002:100) stated, “We approach a phenomenon with a *preliminary understanding* shaped by expectations, lifestyles, and culture which cannot be set aside in an interpretive analysis”. I build upon their definition of a preliminary understanding. Influenced by Bourdieu’s understanding of the *habitas* (Bourdieu 1991), I suggest that a preliminary understanding is the product of our cultural predispositions developed from our set of life experiences. The totality of our set of cultural experiences acts to drive our research assumptions, what questions we ask, how we design our research, and what methodology and analytical tools we choose to implement. In other words, our preliminary understandings serve to guide our choice of research paradigm. Many months after observing meetings of the Council, the working group, and the Yukon River Drainage Fisheries Association during June and August of 2012, I began to understand how to develop my research objectives and design the methodology for this study. Moreover, my educational and professional background influenced my observations and experiences at these meetings to shape my preliminary understandings of collaborative management in Western Alaska.

In the data analysis phase, I applied this approach as a continuous and simultaneous comparison of the meaning of the parts to the meaning of the whole. The hermeneutic circle is a metaphor that is used to explain the process of examining the interrelationships between individual meaning units, emergent themes, dimensions, and features (i.e., the parts) and relationships between these parts and the whole phenomenon under study. Patterson and Williams (2002:101) explained:

First, whole texts are read to gain an understanding of the data in its entirety. This global understanding is then used as the basis for a closer examination of the separate parts (Kvale 1983:185; Thompson et al. 1989:141). In turn, the closer determination of the meaning of the separate parts may come to change the originally anticipated meaning of the totality, and again this influences the meaning of the separate parts.

The steps, or phases, of my data analysis culminated in organizing systems.

Hermeneutic data analysis centers around the development of what Tesch (1990) described as an organizing system. The purpose of an organizing system is to identify predominant themes through which qualitative data (often interviews) can be meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented. The process of developing an organizing system is the analysis, while the final organizing system is the product of the analysis ... typically the final organizing system is explained and empirically justified through the discussion presented in the results section (Patterson and Williams 2002:103-104).

In adhering to these principles, I assumed that to understand collaborative management in Western Alaska, I must gain an in-depth understanding of the many interrelated parts that make up the process used by the agencies to collaboratively manage fish and wildlife. I assumed that I would need to continuously re-examine each of the

transcripts and my observations from field notes to identify the most meaningful and important parts of public participation and collaboration in Western Alaska and all the ways that the parts of the process are related to one and other and to the entire process itself. In phase two of the analysis, I assumed that each of the transcripts and my field journal notes were not isolated stand-alone pieces of evidence. Rather, I assumed that each of these texts represented pieces of meaningful information that I must thoroughly examine to develop and understand the final organizing system (Figure 8). Figure 8 is the culmination and summary of the data analysis and interpretation of results.

Appendix AJ:

Understanding Dimensions

Table 3. Understanding Dimensions in Appendix AJ.

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Yup'ik Culture	Becoming a Knowledgeable Person	Cultural importance placed on listening, observing, and doing in order to become knowledgeable.
	Caring and Respect	Cultural importance placed on acts of reverence which cement the reciprocal and spiritual relationships between humans, animals, and the land.
	Sharing	Cultural importance placed on sharing resources and knowledge.
	How We Talk	Culturally appropriate ways to communicate in Yup'ik culture.
	Respect for Elders	Cultural importance placed on respecting knowledgeable teachers and advisors; elders.
	Familial and Communal Bonds	Cultural importance placed on maintaining close relationships between family and community members and working together.
	Who is a Real Person	Cultural perceptions of what it means to be a meaningful person.
Euro-American Culture	Appropriate Ways to Communicate in Agency Culture	Culturally appropriate ways to communicate in agency culture.
	How One's Knowledge is Measured	Culturally appropriate ways for evaluating knowledge.
	Individualism	Cultural importance placed on independent tasking.
	Property	Culturally influenced perceptions regarding ownership of property.
Communication	Language Differences	Barriers and facilitators to collaboration stemming from the language differences between the two major stakeholder groups; Yup'ik subsistence harvesters and agency managers.
	Technical Jargon	Barriers and facilitators to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation related to agency managers' use of technical and scientific jargon during collaborations.
	Flow of Information	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' meaningful participation related to the sharing of information.
	Value of Subsistence Harvesters Knowledge	Barriers and facilitators to subsistence harvesters' meaningful participation related to their perceptions regarding the levels of importance agency managers place on their knowledge.
Interaction	Working Together in	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' relations and

	Communities	collaborations in remote Western Alaskan communities.
	Working Together at Meetings	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' meaningful participation related to collaborations at meetings.
	Cultural Awareness	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' meaningful participation stemming from observed levels of cultural awareness.
Process	Timing	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' meaningful participation related to the timing of stakeholder groups involvement in collaborative management.
	Where and How Collaboration Occurs	Barriers and facilitators to stakeholders' meaningful participation regarding the chosen organizational frameworks for collaborations and how those frameworks are designed to operate.

Appendix AK:

Information on population for target communities

Table 1. Information on population for target communities in Appendix AK (2010 Census data).

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	Orutsararmiut 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

Appendix AL:

University of Alaska Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



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DATE: September 19, 2012

TO: Kevin Bartley, BA
FROM: University of Alaska Anchorage IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [360982-3] Exploring Collaborative Management in Western Alaska
SUBMISSION TYPE: Amendment/Modification

ACTION: APPROVED
DECISION DATE: September 19, 2012
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

Your proposal received an expedited review and was granted approval with minor revisions. Thank you for a copy of these revisions.

Therefore, in keeping with the usual policies and procedures of the UAA Institutional Review Board, your proposal is judged as fully satisfying the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services requirements for the protection of human research subjects (45 CFR 46 as amended/revised). This constitutes approval for you to conduct the study.

This approval is in effect for one year. If the study extends beyond a year from the date of this submission, you are required to submit a progress report and to request continuing approval of your project from the Board. At the conclusion of your research, submit the required final report to the IRB. These report forms are available on IRBNet.

Please report promptly proposed changes in the research protocol for IRB review and approval. Also, report to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

On behalf of the Board, I wish to extend my best wishes for success in accomplishing your objectives.

Dianne M. Toebe, PhD
IRB Compliance Officer