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**"The Fish Are Not to Be Played With": Yup'ik Views
of Sport Fishing and Subsistence-Recreation Conflicts
Along the Togiak River**

by

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Alaska Department of Fish and Game

Division of Subsistence



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Weights and measures (metric)		General		Mathematics, statistics	
centimeter	cm	Alaska Administrative Code	AAC	<i>all standard mathematical signs, symbols and abbreviations</i>	
deciliter	dL	all commonly-accepted abbreviations	e.g., Mr., Mrs., AM, PM, etc.	alternate hypothesis	H_A
gram	g			base of natural logarithm	e
hectare	ha			catch per unit effort	CPUE
kilogram	kg	all commonly-accepted professional titles	e.g., Dr., Ph.D., R.N., etc.	coefficient of variation	CV
kilometer	km			confidence interval	CI
liter	L	at	@	correlation coefficient (multiple)	R
meter	m	compass directions:		correlation coefficient (simple)	r
milliliter	mL	east	E	covariance	cov
millimeter	mm	north	N	degree (angular)	$^\circ$
		south	S	degrees of freedom	df
Weights and measures (English)		west	W	expected value	E
cubic feet per second	ft ³ /s	copyright	©	greater than	>
foot	ft	corporate suffixes:		greater than or equal to	≥
gallon	gal	Company	Co.	harvest per unit effort	HPUE
inch	in	Corporation	Corp.	less than	<
mile	mi	Incorporated	Inc.	less than or equal to	≤
nautical mile	nmi	Limited	Ltd.	logarithm (natural)	ln
ounce	oz	District of Columbia	D.C.	logarithm (base 10)	log
pound	lb	et alii (and others)	et al.	logarithm (specify base)	log ₂ , etc.
quart	qt	et cetera (and so forth)	etc.	minute (angular)	'
yard	yd	exempli gratia (for example)	e.g.	not significant	NS
		Federal Information Code	FIC	null hypothesis	H_0
Time and temperature		id est (that is)	i.e.	percent	%
day	d	latitude or longitude	lat. or long.	probability	P
degrees Celsius	°C	monetary symbols (U.S.)	\$, ¢	probability of a type I error (rejection of the null hypothesis when true)	α
degrees Fahrenheit	°F	months (tables and figures)	first three letters (Jan.,...,Dec)	probability of a type II error (acceptance of the null hypothesis when false)	β
degrees kelvin	K	registered trademark	®	second (angular)	"
hour	h	trademark	™	standard deviation	SD
minute	min	United States (adjective)	U.S.	standard error	SE
second	s	United States of America (noun)	USA	variance	
		U.S.C.	United States Code	population	Var
Physics and chemistry		U.S. state	two-letter abbreviations (e.g., AK, WA)	sample	var
<i>all atomic symbols</i>					
alternating current	AC	Measures (fisheries)			
ampere	A	fork length	FL		
calorie	cal	mideye-to-fork	MEF		
direct current	DC	mideye-to-tail-fork	METF		
hertz	Hz	standard length	SL		
horsepower	hp	total length	TL		
hydrogen ion activity (negative log of)	pH				
parts per million	ppm				
parts per thousand	ppt, ‰				
volts	V				
watts	W				

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SPORT FISHING AND SUBSISTENCE-RECREATION CONFLICTS
ALONG THE TOGIAK RIVER**

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**"The Fish Are Not to be Played With":
Yup'ik Views of Sport Fishing and
Subsistence-Recreation Conflicts along the Togiak River**

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Abstract

This paper describes emerging conflicts between the traditional Yup'ik subsistence fishery and a new non-Native recreational fishery along the Togiak River in southwest Alaska. The report derives from field research along the Togiak River in 1987. The conflicts between the subsistence fishery and sport fishery was found to be based in part on profound differences between the traditional Central Yup'ik world view of fish as sentient beings, and the non-Native sport view of fish as fair game for recreational use. These basic contradictions in world views lead to different economic and social behavior in regard to use of land and resources, which resulted in political conflict along the Togiak River. How this political conflict was being negotiated between the Yup'ik community, the sport guiding industry, and governmental agencies is briefly described.

"There is a saying that the fish are not to be played with."

Introduction

During the summer of 1987, a growing conflict between Yup'ik Eskimo subsistence fishermen and Euroamerican sport fishermen almost came to a flashpoint along the Kanektok, Togiak, and Goodnews rivers in western Alaska. A flotilla of boats carrying Yup'ik fishermen from the village of Quinhagak went up the Kanektok River to ask the sport fishermen to stop fishing. Alaska state troopers were called to the river because of the fear of violence. Physical violence did not materialize, but in December village residents of Quinhagak, Goodnews Bay, and Togiak sought relief from the State of Alaska, asking that portions of these rivers be closed to sport fishing. The Alaska Board of Fisheries denied those proposals. Currently, these problems remain unresolved, although a government planning process is underway about how best to manage the rivers.

But what is the problem? What is the conflict? What is happening along these rivers to have required police action? As this paper will show, this conflict is rooted in culture: profound differences in the way two cultures view the natural world -- the traditional Central Yup'ik culture of western Alaska, and the traditional Euroamerican culture of urban Alaska. The basic contradictions in world view lead to different economic and social behaviors in regard to use of land and animals, which results in political and physical conflict.

For the Central Yup'ik, the natural world of animals and plants, including fish, is filled with great sentience, a conscious awareness of how people treat them, an ability to perceive and feel and think. People are careful how to use the living beings in their village territory so that the animals and plants will want to be used

in the future. In Euroamerican culture the natural world is different, especially for people in the outdoors sports fishing tradition. Animals, particularly fish, are less intelligent than people, less aware, less capable of choice and free action. Also, wild fish are fair game in a sport.

From these basic premises flow wholly different ways of behaving toward animals. These differences have consequences on a wider social and economic scale. And it has resulted in strain and conflict between peoples almost leading to violence. This paper will describe why.

The Area and Study

The Togiak, Kanektok, and Goodnews rivers are three major salmon and char streams flowing into the Bering Sea in western Alaska (Fig. 1). Five villages use these rivers for subsistence fishing: Togiak and Twin Hills use the Togiak River; Goodnews Bay and Platinum use the Goodnews River, and Quinhagak uses the Kanektok River (Wolfe et al. 1984). The villages also participate in small-scale commercial salmon fisheries near the mouths of each river which provides income into this relatively cash-poor area. The five villages were predominantly Central Yup'ik Eskimo and had a combined population of 1,359 people in 1985 (Alaska Department of Labor 1985).

The subsistence fishery at Togiak will illustrate the summer subsistence pattern for the region, although minor differences exist between the five villages in species harvested, timing, and location of harvests (Wolfe et al. 1984). At Togiak, subsistence fishing for salmon and char primarily occurs in the Togiak River, with some fishing also occurring in the marine waters of Togiak Bay (Fig. 2). In 1987, 95 subsistence net sites were documented, with the greatest concentration of net sites along the lower 12 miles of the river (about 4.6 sites per river mile)

(Fig. 2 and Table 1). In the early season (June through early August), elders accompanied by younger children often do the subsistence fishing, making day trips to set and tend nets for chinook, sockeye, and chums. In the later season (mid-August through mid-October), coho and char are harvested using seines by adult males. Also, spawned sockeyes are harvested and dried by family groups at traditional fall camps at Togiak Lake, at the headwaters high in the mountains.

In recent years, sport fishing effort has occurred primarily on the lower Togiak River, in the same locations as the subsistence set net and seine fisheries (Fig. 3). The Togiak River, as well as the Kanektok and Goodnews rivers, have been discovered in the last decade by the Alaska sport guiding industry, which consists of guides and lodges offering recreational outings for sport fishing. In 1987, there were six lodges operating along the Togiak River. In a typical outing, sport fishers were flown by float plane to temporary tent camps to fish with rod and reel from boats, sand bars, or the banks. Most guides and lodges follow catch-and-release policies, where most fish are returned to the water after being caught. Business owners were from outside the region, and 80 percent of the clientele from outside the state. In 1986 there were twice as many visitors to the Togiak, Kanektok, and Goodnews rivers as Yup'ik residents, 2,544 recreational visitors and 11,439 recreational use days (based on lodge reports to Togiak National Wildlife Refuge).

An increase in reported problems between sport and subsistence fishing along these rivers stimulated two studies. Basic ethnographic research in Quinhagak and Goodnews Bay was conducted in 1984 to describe the area (Wolfe et al. 1984). A study along the Togiak River in the summer of 1987 specifically was conducted to identify the nature and extent of emerging problems between fishery groups. In addition to observations along the river, interviews with a translator were conducted with 53 people in 48 households in Togiak, including 21

village elders, representing 35 percent of the households and 42 percent of the people. The paper will describe the cultural conflict using materials primarily derived from Togiak village; however, the issues are similar along all three rivers. Most quotations in this paper are notes of translations from interviews at Togiak.

The Sport Fishery

From the view of most sport fishing guides, there really was no justifiable problem between subsistence fishermen and sport fishermen along the Togiak River in 1987. In their view, most fish stocks were in abundance. The fish were a common property resource. State sport fishing regulations were liberal. The river was public water and the sand bars and upriver lands were public lands. There was plenty of room to fish up and down the river. Subsistence fishermen were seen only occasionally traveling by skiff along the river. Competition for resources was hardly an issue because the guides practiced a catch-and-release policy. Most fish were returned to the water after being caught. The total number of fish actually kept was relatively small in comparison with the local subsistence and commercial fisheries. As an example, an estimated 1,680 coho were retained and 22,364 coho caught and released on the Kanektok River in 1986 (Alaska Department of Fish and Game records).

According to the sport industry, catch-and-release is good fishery management. A representative of a Sport Fishing Association in Anchorage stated to the Alaska Board of Fisheries (December of 1987):

"Our club is a fly fishing club. Most members are strong in support of catch and release, native and transient stocks. It is against good management to require fishermen to kill fish, when they can put it back for

someone else to catch. The sportsmen are not competing with subsistence, they are releasing the catch."

Similarly, a sport fishing lodge operator in the Bristol Bay area commented:

"We are conservative with the resource. We fish small tributaries, and we regulate the pressure in these streams. It would be difficult to fish them without wiping out the fish stock, except for catch and release practices. About 75 percent of my clients want to take home salmon, species preferences depending upon the run, but all species. Of resident stocks, we keep two or less per week per client, and we return all rainbows. Each client releases an average of 15 to 30 fish per day."

Catch-and-release also was a good business practice along the Togiak, Kanektok, and Goodnews rivers. Because of high catch rates, sport fishermen would have to terminate their activities after a relatively short time period if they had to keep each fish. The fishermen would have to quit fishing once reaching their individual bag limits set by the state. Lodges and guides would have more difficulty marketing fishing outings of short durations, as their clientele are paying for fishing experiences not just successful fishing. Catch-and-release is good business because it extends potential fishing times and recreational use days along the rivers, thereby increasing business earnings which are calculated by the user day.

The sport users suggested that perhaps the problems with subsistence fishermen stemmed from jealousy about guides making money. If so, the villages should get into the business themselves. Or perhaps the problems were territorialism, a mistaken notion that the river belonged to them and should be closed to strangers, or prejudice against non-Natives. Or perhaps the problem was local commercial fishermen worried about competition from the new sport industry, which was no real issue because of catch and release practices.

The Yup'ik View

From a traditional Yup'ik world view, the fishing behavior of the strangers along the Togiak River was seen quite differently. In their minds, the behavior posed serious threats to the future food supply. And it created immediate conflicts with subsistence fishermen, especially Togiak elders. The major problems were expressed by an elder from Goodnews Bay to the Alaska Board of Fisheries:

"I first became aware of my senses in 1924 when I was three years old. At the beginning there was only white trading; all activity was for subsistence needs. We always brought back the subsistence catch. We never wasted anything. We stored it. We shared it with the elders and others. The number one rule in the Yup'ik way of life is, we don't waste subsistence food, subsistence animals. You bring back whatever you catch. When this rule is broken, usually something drastic happens. Usually the one who breaks it suffers the consequences. The subsistence catch is shared when it is put up. It is shared with the elderly and the needy. There's been some changes since the sport fisheries came. You've heard of the saying, 'you catch a fish and let it go, save it for next year.' We are taught in the Yup'ik way of life, once you handle that fish, it dies once it leaves you, dies where people can't see it. Also, the people can no longer use their traditional fishcamps anymore because of the sport fishing activity along the river. They have been taken over by the sport fishermen, the good fishing spots where they catch subsistence foods. The people don't go there anymore, because they respect the people there. You don't go there. You feel obligated not to go there. These are traditional spots. They can't go back to those places."

The Goodnews Bay elder identifies two major problems posed by the sport fishery: catch-and-release practices, and displacement of elders from fishing sites. These problems also were identified in the Togiak interviews: catch-and-release was mentioned in 77 percent of interviews (24 of 31) and displacement by 74 percent (24 of 31). A third major problem was trespass and violation of traditional village lands. Because of time constraints, this paper will focus just on the first, catch-and-release. The problems of displacement of elders and violation of traditional lands were different issues important in their own right.

"Playing With Fish"

It was clear from interviews at Togiak that the activities of sportsmen along the river were under scrutiny. The Togiak people were very aware of fishing practices upriver. But what they observed were not good conservation practices. They saw a strange, abnormal manner of treating fish. People were catching fish and throwing them back into the water. This abnormal behavior was alarming, as explained by one elderly woman:

"I wondered what those people were getting up the river? When my family took me upriver, I saw them up there. At this time, I saw them catch fish and let it go. I wondered, are they playing around with fish? Playing around with fish is not nice, because they are not meant to be played around with. Fish aren't supposed to be played with."

A middle aged man observed:

"When we went out for netting, we saw a couple of people catch fish and let them go, and saw them keep a few for themselves. Going down from my net site, I saw a floating fish, only half of the flesh was taken, the other half was not [that is, the carcass]. As Natives, we don't take fish and throw

it away in this manner. We take it home and prepare it for our dogs. We don't scatter food around because it is our food."

His wife continued:

"Those people play with the fish, and the fish will decrease. Playing with all foods tends to decrease them. My father used to tell us, that all things of the sea and the land belongs to God, and it isn't meant to be played with. If they scatter the bones, they will lack food in the winter. In the wilderness, the bones not eaten by dogs are dug under the ground and covered. And some bones with fish meat are given to the dogs."

The elderly woman confirmed this concern:

"Bones are supposed to be buried, because there is a saying that fish bones aren't supposed to be scattered around. Probably those people do not conserve them, they waste them. As Yup'iks, we don't release the fish we catch."

This view of fishing springs from altogether different premises about the natural world than the sport fishing ethic. In Togiak, the Yup'ik word used for the upriver fishermen was *iqsagcit*, referring to those who fish with hook and line, those who jig for fish. The label translates as "anglers", identifying the people with a fishing technique. For Yup'iks, angling is for capturing food, for bringing home and for sharing with the elderly. Fish is a staple food for the Yup'ik and the word for "food" (*neqa*) is the same as for "fish". The actions of the strange anglers are bizarre because food is being caught and then immediately thrown away, that is, returned to the water. The "number one rule", bring home what you catch, is being broken. Why would someone do this?

The Yup'ik of western Alaska are familiar enough with the Euroamerican sport fishing ethic to understand that this activity is a form of recreation for these non-Yup'ik visitors. The phrase, "playing around with fish", expresses that in part.

The verb used by respondents, *naanguar*, refers to playing with toys, or playing with objects as if toys, as a child plays with a flashlight on a rainy day (Jacobson 1984:242). This verb expresses the imputed motivation for catching and throwing away food: the anglers are playing with fish as if they were toys, for the fun of it.

This understanding evokes a strong social and moral condemnation from respondents about the proper way to treat fish and food, learned by children at an early age, as expressed in these quotations:

"Food is not meant to be played with. What they catch, they should bring back to those who can't get fish themselves".

"They should split and hang them for food in the winter, not make fun, not playing around with them. When I take kids upriver, I tell them not to play with the fish."

"As Yup'iks, we don't play around with fish. What we catch we hang under the caches to dry or store."

"Do not waste fish. When caught, take care of the food in the way it's meant to be taken care of. Either dry it up or freeze it if freezers are available. Or split the fish and dry it in the Yup'ik way of drying. Or if not, give the caught fish to a Yup'ik person who can split the fish and dry the fish."

These proscriptions about the proper treatment of food are emphatic and emotional. The potential social and health effects are of great concern, due to the underlying view of the natural world.

For the Yup'ik of this region, the natural world of animals and plants is filled with a conscious awareness of how people treat them. Animals are not just like persons, they are persons. Beneath the physical form of coho, sockeye, or char are living beings capable of keen perception, thought, emotion, and powerful action. The salmon who return to be fished and used by people do so under a

conscious will, just as all living things fall beneath the conscious sway of the one Great Person of the Universe (*Ellam Yua*, or God). The natural world is full of beings in human and animal forms. And people are careful how to use sockeye (or coho, or char) so the living being who controls the sockeye will let the fish be used in the future.

Playing with a particular fish was commonly called "abuse" by respondents, a serious disrespect to the living being of the fish stock. Playing with fish is abuse and mistreatment, inflicting unwarranted pain and distress with which good people should empathize:

"As Yup'iks, we don't like to see fish hurt. Probably the hurt fish gets bad. When *we* are hurting, it's not good. Probably it's not good for the fish either. As human beings, *we* hurt, and when the fish are hurt, it may sting. Fish hurt like that."

"A fish getting cut is the same as with a person. Cuts get infected, just like when you get cut with a knife. It's the same as with fish."

"It is not us they are abusing, it is the fish they are abusing. After they damage the mouths, they let them go. It is like us: when the fish are hurt, they can't eat."

The Yup'ik understand that fish are sentient, feeling beings like human beings, who respond to injury and pain like human beings. This is clearly at odds with the understanding of fish by sport anglers, where there is concern for the life of the fish, but no empathy or concern for the feelings of the fish or the pain inflicted by the hook.

According to Yup'iks, such abuse perverts the natural order, where fish are plentiful, whole, and fat for drying, smoking, and eating. Abuse of fish distorts the manifest world, creating abnormalities: fish become sickly, skinny, and ugly.

Many respondents observed that this was beginning to happen to fish on the Togiak River:

"Ever since there have been sport fishermen, the people have caught skinny fish. The flesh is not well built, except the head. The trouts especially; some of the reds, chums, and kings as well. Ever since, that's what they have been catching. I believe the playing with fish may be the cause of the fish that are getting skinny. Their mouths are torn. The people do not like to handle the ones that are skinny. The fish don't look appetizing. They go to their dogs, not into their caches or refrigerators."

"When elders or we fishermen ourselves are out fishing at the bay, we don't like to catch a fish damaged or abused. Sometimes no eyes, or one eye on the fish, or scratched up. We don't like to see or catch fish that are abused in the body when fishing for food."

"We know about letting fish go. Some fish go swimming with one eye, and we see fresh fish dead on the bottom of rivers. I had a net on the beach. There was a fresh trout in the net. Its eye was gone. So I brought it to the house. It was suffering. That is why the fish are decreasing."

"We don't like the fisherman upriver because they abuse fish. They catch it, tear the mouths, and some die. As elders, we don't like them to do this. Fish die off if played with."

At a town meeting in Quinhagak, an elder instructed people to inspect fish for torn mouths and not to eat those, for the fish were sick in body and soul, and eating them might bring sickness to the people as well (Pete, pers. comm.).

Abusing living beings ultimately leads to their decrease, a natural effect known and stated by many respondents. Animals get sick, waste away, and die off. The waste of food inevitably will lead to such decreases. Living beings become aware of waste in subtle ways, especially through their unused carcasses and bones

touched by people. One elder explained that it is like touching the lens of eye glasses: fingerprints are left which can be seen when the glass is held to the light. When fish and bones are touched, it is like that. Fish will not swim past the bones or carcasses of fish which have been touched and discarded by people. Because of this, special care is necessary in disposing of the bones of fish or fish carcasses touched by people. "I've heard, as Yup'iks, we are not supposed to scatter bones or fish," stated one man. A woman stated: "My mother told me not to play with fish or scatter fish around." Bones and carcasses touched by people must be dried and eaten, fed to dogs, or buried in the ground. If they thrown in the water so they are seen laying about in the river, that is, scattering them about in a disarray (*eskavte-*), then the fish will not return.

"My father used to say, when there is a stinky fish in the water, the fish don't swim around that area. But that's only when human beings cause them to be laying around. It's alright after they lay their eggs, because birds feed on them."

"When you clean fish, you don't throw the bones in the main river. You bury them in the ground, or feed them to the dogs, because the fish go by them. Do not burn them either. However, you can put them in the lake. The old fish themselves are up there after the spawning runs."

"We don't like bones caught in the nets. We put the bones under the ground. This is because the bones keep the fish away if put in the river. When I go upriver, I don't like to see bones and rotting fish. We take a shovel upriver with us to put bones under the ground."

Knowing these principles, the catch-and-release practice is a particularly blatant and dangerous form of waste, for the unused fish are thrown back into the water, some to become sick and distorted, others sinking to the bottom in death, the bones exuding the tell-tale essence of human misconduct and abuse for all fish

beings to see. Some respondents sought ways to mitigate the severity of the practice. One person stated, "instead of wasting fish, they should leave the fish on the sand bars for the wild animals or birds to feed on." At least then some use would be achieved, and the fish bones kept from the water. Two respondents felt compelled to clean up after the sport fishermen:

"When we saw the dead fish, we picked them up and dried them out."

"I have seen lots of dead fish along the banks and in the clear water down river from the sport camp. I went up last year in July and saw these. It upset me. I picked some of them and cut their heads and used them so they wouldn't waste. But there were lots more I couldn't use."

This, then, is an essential, irreconcilable contradiction between the Yup'ik and sport angler world views. What is understood to be good resource management and business practices for the one world, is understood as dangerous abuse of the natural world of living beings which ultimately leads to the destruction of life in the river, as summed up by one elder:

"Long time ago there is a saying: if you play with the fish, this decreases them. The fish will decrease where there are no more."

To a great extent, then, the physical confrontations with sport fishermen along the Kanektok River, and the political action by the Yup'ik villages before the Alaska Board of Fisheries, were efforts to protect and preserve the fish and other living beings of the rivers for future use.

Ending Note

As an ending note, in December 1987, the Yup'ik sought relief from the Alaska Board of Fisheries, petitioning that catch-and-release be banned from the Togiak, Kanektok, and Goodnews rivers. The Board of Fisheries heard testimony

from the sport fishing industry and from the villages of Togiak, Quinhagak, and Goodnews Bay. The issue was a peculiar problem rarely encountered by the Board in precisely this manner, for the world view of each cultural tradition dictated a different management. State policy offers no guidance to which system of beliefs should be managed for in this case, except that subsistence use of fish has a priority over other consumptive uses. Should these three rivers be managed from the assumption that the fish are fair game in a sport, available in a perpetual cycle of catching and releasing, catching and releasing, for the pleasure of visitors, and for the profit of business? Or should these three rivers be managed from the assumption that the fish are sentient beings in a natural order, who offer themselves in a perpetual cycle to people who in respect and gratitude, never waste and take only what is used for food? Or is it somehow possible to manage for both, without the risk of physical confrontations between people, or the risk of ultimately diminishing a way of life? After hearing the case, the Board of Fisheries left catch-and-release in place, and directed the issue to a Federal-State planning process. Thus, the cultural contradictions along the Togiak, Kanektok, and Goodnews rivers, and the conflicts they have produced, are at present unresolved.

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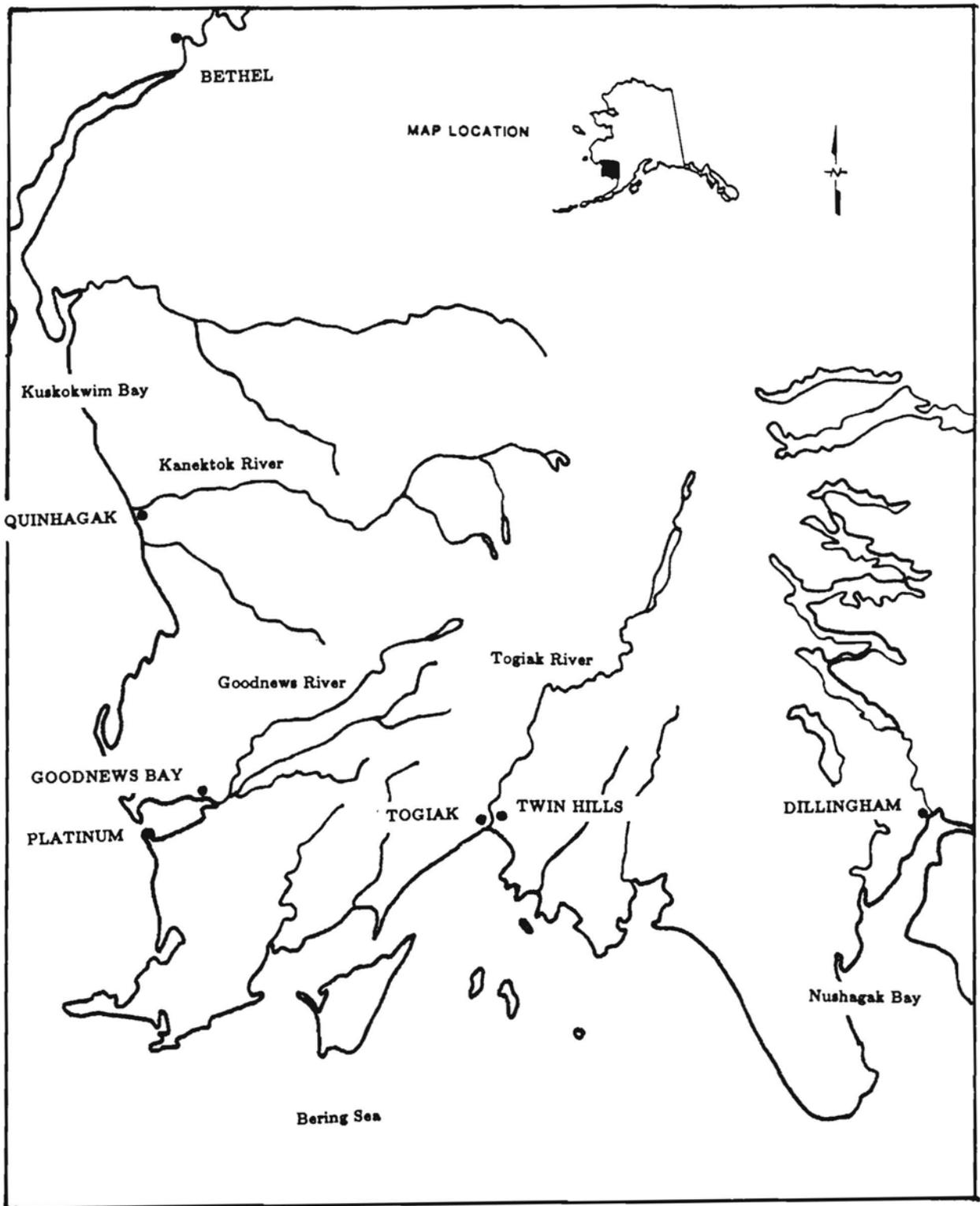
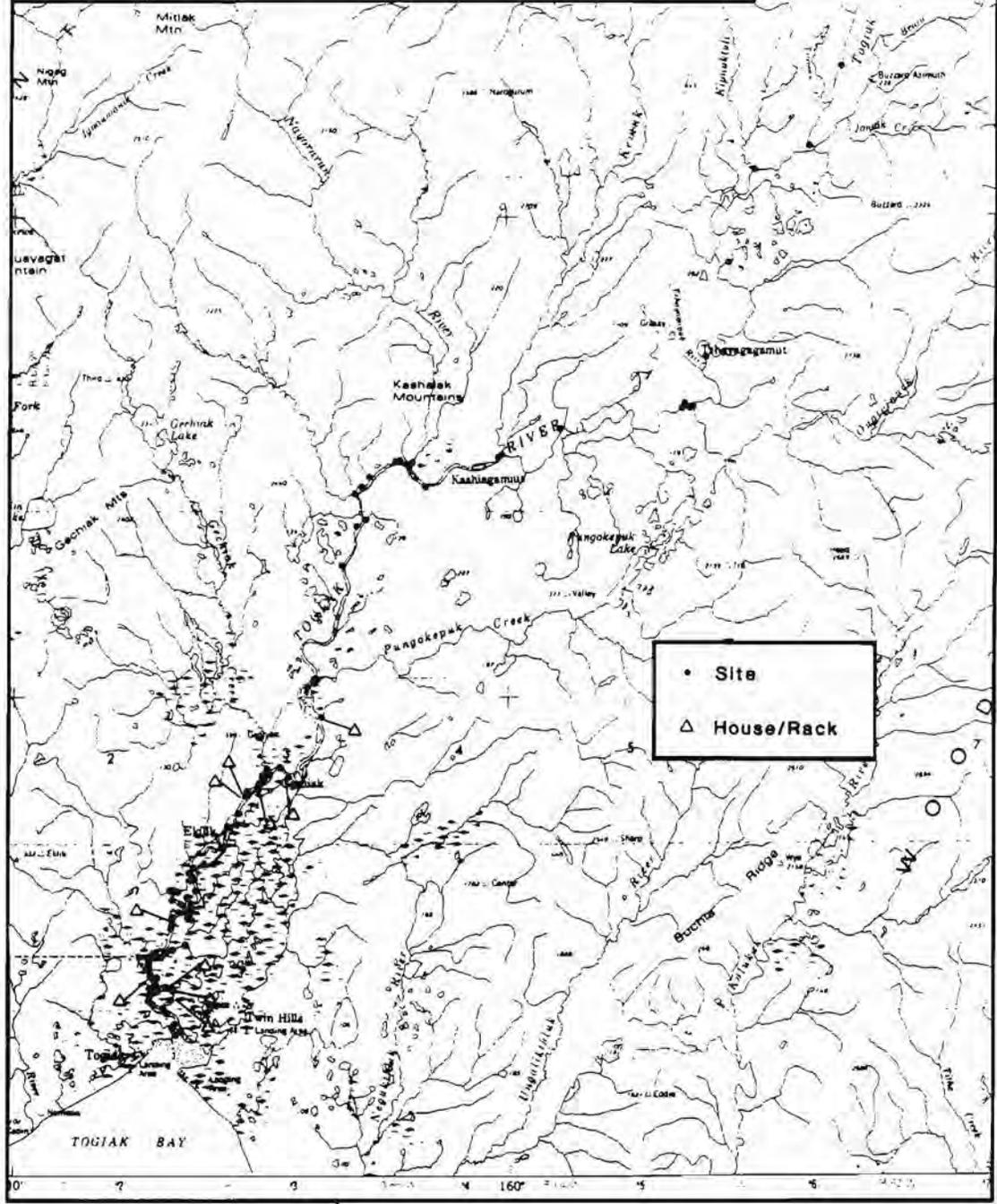
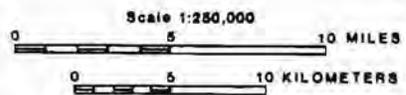
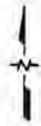


Fig. 1. Locations of Yup'ik Villages and the Togiak, Goodnews, and Kanektok Rivers in Western Alaska

Map Indicating Salmon and Char Fishing Sites
of Togiak Residents Observed and Reported
During 1987



MAP LOCATION

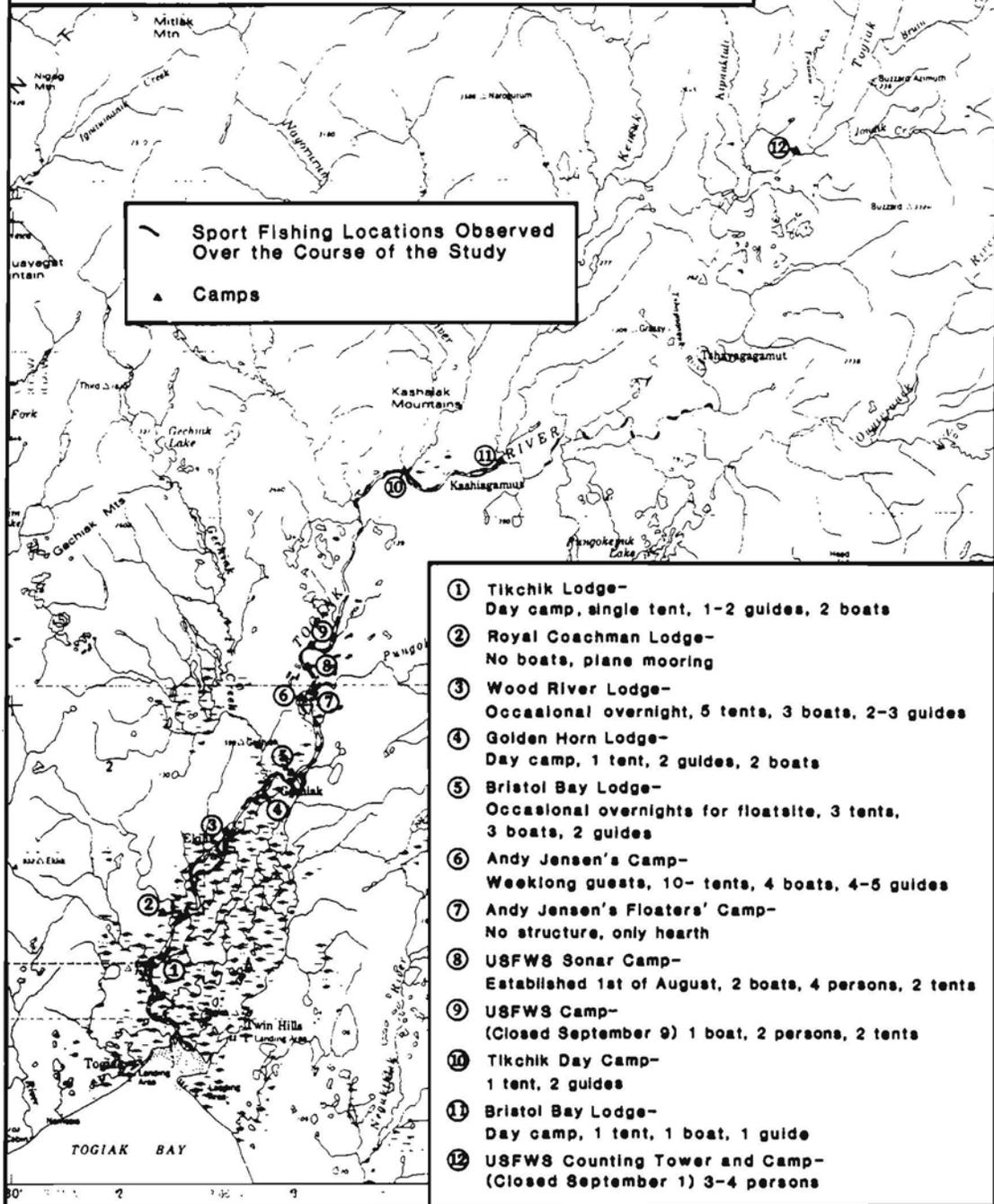


Based on a USGS map
Universal Transverse Mercator Projection

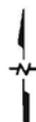


State of Alaska
Department of Fish and Game
Subsistence Division

Map Indicating Guided Fish Camps and Other
Non-Native Camps and High Concentration
Sport Fishing Along the Togiak River, 1987



MAP LOCATION



Scale 1:250,000
 0 5 10 MILES

0 5 10 KILOMETERS

Based on a USGS map
 Universal Transverse Mercator Projection



State of Alaska
 Department of Fish and Game
 Subsistence Division

Table 1

Togiak River Subsistence Net
Fishing Sites Observed and Reported

<u>Stretch of River</u>	<u>Net Sites</u>	<u>Nets Per River Mile</u>	<u>Houses or Racks</u>	<u>River Miles</u>	<u>Cum Miles</u>
Mouth to Gechiak Ck	55	4.6	8	12	12
Above Gechiak Ck to Pungokepuk Ck	7	1.4	2	5	17
Above Pungokepuk Ck to Ongivinuk R	19	.8	1	24	41
Above Ongivinuk R to below Togiak Lk	5	.3	0	17	58
Togiak Lake	9	.6	0	15	73