It Has Been in Our Blood for Years and Years that We Are Salmon Fishermen - A Book of Oral History from Unalakleet, Alaska, USA

Kaisu and Tero Mustonen with the people of Unalakleet Snowchange Cooperative, Finland, 2009

Foreword

Victoria Hykes-Steere, Anchorage, Alaska, USA

It has proven to be an incredibly humbling experience attempting to write this introduction to Tero and Kaisu's visit to Unalakleet. Tero and Kaisu interviewed elders and they spoke of the changes occurring due to climate change, but my memories keep going to the generations before who died from 1970 to 2000, wishing their voices to be heard.

They were magical. Their stories from hundreds and thousands of years ago transported our young minds to a time when our world was free. We defined our existence and our survival depended upon honoring the earth, Creator and shunning anger. Many of those who studied our ancestors believed it to be simplistic, underestimating the knowledge possessed and the science behind

what was in plain sight. They showed me a world so beautiful even in the unforgiving nature of our environment. They lived life filled with joy never allowing the sorrow of loss to define them.

Our world of snow and ice, blowing wind and in the summer endless chores, sings. The song changes with the seasons. Being thankful to God for being a part of our world is the secret to the simple joy encountered by traders, missionaries... Knowing we belong to a place so beautiful we can't believe our luck is what our grandparents and so many others gave my brother and I. Unalakleet is our magical place. The love we share for our homeland makes the *Malamiut*, *Qawiaraq*, and *Unaaliq* one community.



Preface

Tero Mustonen, Snowchange Cooperative, Finland

The KNOWLEDGE of the lands, ocean, and other waters surrounding the village of Unalakleet appears in the following pages thanks to the people who shared it with us. It was an honor, a Finnish thank you— *kiitos*—to all participants and project support people.

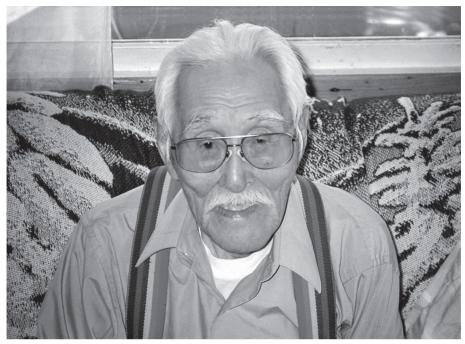
In May 2002, a dialogue was established between representatives of the Unalakleet Tribal Council and the Snowchange Cooperative, based in Finland, in order to document oral histories, observations, and traditional knowledge that relate to climate and ecological change in the local context. After intensive communication's groundwork, the interviews began in August 2002. Our team then consisted of me and Kaisu Pulli, who is now my wife and also a member of the Mustonen clan. We were helped by Mr. Art Ivanoff, who was the Tribal Environmental Coordinator at the time. Assistance was also provided by Mrs. Victoria Hykes-Steere, who is an Inupiag woman from Unalakleet, though she currently lives in Anchorage, where she also acts as the Snowchange coordinator for Alaska.

During the work in August 2002, more than seventeen people, from young adults to elders, were met in conversation. The following words represent some of their Knowledge, and each individual retains rights to this Knowledge. We are very grateful that they allowed us to share some of it for this international project that spans the North. As Herbert O. Anungazuk from Wales (and Anchorage) writes eloquently in *Words of the Real People:*

"We have an alliance with the Earth. Each one of us does, and some of us as a people have continued to grasp this alliance and have anchored it into our hearts, into our minds, and into our souls ... The lifeways of a people cover an entire spectrum, a spectrum so wide and profound that it continues to astound the Western mind as non-Inupiat learn more about us. (2007: 189)"

From 2003 to 2008, all the interviews were transcribed, analyzed, and archived. In 2004, a small part of the main findings appeared in the publication *Snowscapes, Dreamscapes*. A copy of this publication was made available to Mr. Art Ivanoff, as well as to several prominent scientific forums on climate change, including the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which is the chief scientific body on climate change, operating under the auspices of the United Nations.

In 2005, the Snowchange Cooperative worked with Mrs. Hykes-Steere, the Alaska Native Science Commission, and others to organize a large international conference of indigenous people in Anchorage, Alaska, which was known as "Snowchange 2005." This conference was designed to direct attention to the changing ocean and Arctic climate, as a response to the needs and wishes expressed by the Unalakleet participants of the oral history project. There were over two hundred participants from across the Arctic and Alaska. The participants of the project in Unalakleet brought their messages to this event as well. This event was deemed a success, since it



Stanton Katchatag 2002

highlighted many of the crucial concerns that the indigenous peoples of Alaska wanted raised. These concerns included the rapid and apparent climate change in the Arctic and subsistence rights. The final proceedings are available from the Snowchange Cooperative as "Stories of the Raven."

In 2006 and 2007, there was an ongoing dialogue on how the Knowledge from the project could best be used. It was decided that a visit would be made in November 2008, where I could return to Unalakleet to meet with representatives of the community, the tribal council, and all the people we spoke to in 2002, to bring the Knowledge back home. This event is reported at the end of this book.

In 2009, with this publication of the Inupiag, Yupiag, and other oral histo-

ries from Unalakleet our cooperation has proven to have been a success and a very active one at that. Now my own village of Selkie, in Finland, is initiating a school project with a Russian school in Udmurtia, a Central Russian Republic, and with the village of Unalakleet – we hope these continuing steps will further the possibilities for understanding between the people across the North.

A technical note regarding the transcribed materials that are presented here; while great effort has been taken to preserve the content, meaning and context of the spoken words, some words may have been altered or misunderstood, some additional italicized words have been inserted in brackets "[]" to bridge gaps between sentences and in an attempt to make the text clearer to international

readers. As well, due to practical limitations some of the transcriptions were combined and are quoted as joint statements from husband and wife.

I wish to thank once again all the people that took part in the work from 2002 to 2009. Special thanks go also to Mr. Art Ivanoff for assisting with all aspects of the project. The researcher Mr. Henry Huntington from Eagle River, Alaska deserves an additional big thanks for helping to initiate the project. As well, without Mrs. Victoria Hykes-Steere none of this would have been possible. In 2002 and 2004 my students, Mr. Mika Korkeakoski and Mr. Olli Lehtovaara, at the TAMK University of Applied Sciences, Tampere, Finland, did most of the initial tedious work of transcription – thank you to them! Through the efforts of Principal Ben Howard and Mrs. Vanessa Nasset from the Unalakleet educational system the publication of this Knowledge will come to pass – so a thank you, as well to them. Thanks also to Mr. Mark Richman for hurriedly editing the text in the short time available, I know you said, "It's not perfect," but we tried. As always a final thank you goes to my co-researcher and wife, Kaisu Mustonen.

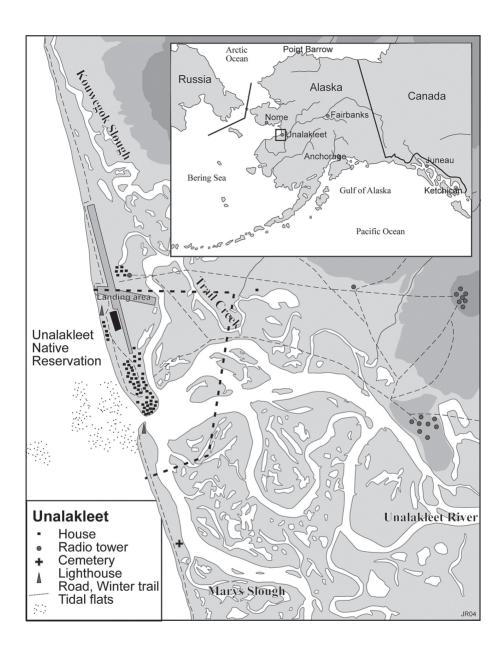
This publication is dedicated to the memory of Elder Stanton Katchatak, a leader of Unalakleet. May his example and words allow the Inupiaq and all indigenous peoples of Alaska to live long and flourish!

At Laurila Farm, Havukkavaara, Selkie village, North Karelia, Finland March 12th, 2009 Tero Mustonen Kaisu Mustonen specializes in the knowledge of women in the subsistence communities of the Arctic. She holds a Master's degree in Social Sciences (Human Geography) from the University of Joensuu, Finland. Tero Mustonen has been working for twelve years with northern subsistence communities. He is the Head of the Village of Selkie in the Finnish Province of North Karelia and has a Doctorate in Human Geography.

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1. Elder Guerie Towarak's Story

"I think there was Yupiaq-speaking people here along these hills and rivers, the names of them are Yupiaq names. My parents, my dad grew up here, but his parents moved [here from another place]. Way later on, we found out that he had an argument with his sister and that hurts him to argue with a family member, so he took his whole family this way, not knowing where he'd stop. But I guess he liked it here, so he stopped, here. And when we were growing up, there were a lot of relatives in the village from my dad's side. My mother, her mother died before she grew up, in St Michaels.

Long ago wherever they died, they used to leave the body wherever they die. They didn't have gravesites like these here. But there were tepee-style graves when we were growing up here, up on the close to the beach, but then FAA [Federal Aviation Authority] came and they asked permission to put the bones together and bury them over at the graves over there. Axel Carlson, the very first missionary, has a big stone here. I think he was one of those that found gold, when there were two missionaries in the area. He was in Unalakleet, because his wife had that big stone cross made, and she died while we were kids.

My mother was an orphan. She said her dad was long-shoring to earn few dollars so that he could buy some tea and coffee, and stuff like that. You know, they didn't know anything about those, but then they learned to like them, when they learned that they could drink those store-bought coffee and tea. So he long-shored, but he worked with his arm, and he had a boil



Guerie Towarak

on his arm and he got it infected when he was trying to do heavy lifting and probably bumped it in to some things, and he died from it, and they didn't have any nurses or anything back then.

My mother said that she was about five years old, and she could remember him holding her hand and walking down towards that mission house. They put up children's homes there, and they taught young people to speak English, and how to read and write. Those first, the ones who went to school under them, were real good interpreters, they spoke their own language, and then they learned to speak English from the missionary.

Axel Carlson had been in Russia, he tried to be a missionary there. My mother used to tell us about his stories, they had put him in a cellar and kept him there, and only mice were around him, and he had to stay there until they released him. I don't know how he went up there and how he came back, but when he came back there was another missionary that stopped at another place and he [Axel] came here in Unalakleet. I think

he stopped through St. Michael's, and St. Michael had a... I think that was the First World War, I think they had some army boys down there, and the ships used to unload down there, and I think that's one reason why those natives used to go down and try to work in long-shoring, but they didn't know anything about work except hunting.

They didn't know anything about gold or anything. They knew about what they caught for food, and they used the skins for clothes. I don't know exactly how, but for sure they had parkas out of... they hunted squirrel, ...so squirrel skins; and make inside parkas, and they can make fancy parkas out of them too. Nobody makes [these] anymore here in the village.

My dad was a reindeer herder, and my mom learned to cook real good with living in the children's home, and there was another girl. She [mother] named me after her roommate. She [mother] died when she went outside, and she got married out there. She had a white father and a native mother.

Going to school we'd go up and down the snow banks, but we enjoyed it! Being kids, being kids and not knowing that they could do something about the snow [like plough it up with bulldozers]. Sometimes we made playhouses. We had shovels, and we'd shovel a hole in the snow bank, and we'd have a snow house!

I think that's [some sort of snow house] one thing they used to use when they were out hunting, they made fire inside so it wouldn't drip, you know, let the snow melt so when it cools off it freezes, so it stays good inside. When they go hunting, they... nobody lives in snow

house now but they have log houses. When we were growing up I think they used to [live in log houses], there's an old site across there, [where] Maktak Martin built a cabin. He wanted to claim that area

They said that the Russians gave them shots, to the whole village, and they all died in their homes, and nobody... everybody died, except one family that moved on this side, and a... this family told that the Russian came and gave them shots on their arms and the whole village died in their homes, and there used to be crosses and graves there... it's real big, a lot of people were buried up there.

When we were growing up there used to be wooden tepees, I think that's how they put the... the... because my sister, oldest sister, she's eighty-six now, she's older than I am, we had a brother between us, but he died. I'm eight-two and my brother would have been eightyfour. And the... this sister that's living yet, she's eighty-six. She said that she was picking in one grave that they put wood over the person's body, not bury. But they started burying them now. The FAA... during the WWII, the FAA asked the people we used to... they used to have more like a boss or they called him chief, the older man, I think he was the oldest one, and they got permission from him. Later on, after they built schools, they had council members, so not only one person decides for the village, so they had village council members.

I remember my dad used to be the council man. He'd go around the village with a little stick to make sure all the kids are home and everybody, seeing my dad. A lot of the men aren't as tall as he is, he used to be (one of) the taller ones. They

run home as soon as they see him! My dad's a real calm person, he wouldn't even hit anybody, he never did spank us; my mother did though!

We would go with our dad when he goes to check on the reindeer, but he used to pack me over his shoulders, my mother had a baby, and his sister used to hold one younger than me, two years younger than I am, but she died several years ago. She used to hold her hand and walk her. My mother packed our only brother; he was a special brother after three girls.

Yes, well after we grew up, I think it was because us growing up out in the country, our parents brought us home here where we could go to school. At first, when the Company found out that my dad quit taking care of Frank Williams' reindeer, they hired him there. There's a little... it wasn't a village, but a few people lived under the hill there, but after real high water the houses are gone so everybody moved here. It never used to go that far against the hill, but that was... I don't even remember exactly ... in the 1930s anyway. We had real high water that was the highest we ever had it, and not much after as high as it did.

We, my sister and another lady, tried to crab, because we have to hunt our food. They used to use a string, but they had to make hole first and put a bait right at the end of the string. They... they didn't use anything else, but we didn't know anything about crab pots. But they used to catch them. But the rule was if you're pulling your rope you can't jerk, you know jerk it, otherwise the crab'll let go of it. So they were really careful pulling their string... rope from the bottom of the ocean. They go not where it's awfully deep, where we can see them. My

dad was herding for the company, and they have houses for people that work for them. And my sister would catch one and this other lady asked if she could go with her so she gets her own crabs too. My mother used to be so pleased, something fresh other than meat. We didn't know we could catch trout with a hook too, we used to try and chasing and tramping, walking over the ice. And those fish would go all over on the river. The river used to freeze just clear ice, there's a little river, and we didn't know we could catch them with a hook, we never did, we never even tried...

We have real big storms in the wintertime. Snow. When we stayed, the place where we stayed at, had hills right behind, not very far from the village and we could see Unalakleet, snow blowing out in the ocean. You know the river is open, some of the hills are open and lot of the snow, when it's windy you can see the storm in Unalakleet, but when we moved here we had to put up with it too. We all go together when we are walking down to the school, we will hold hands, and so we wouldn't go wrong way.

It's a lot warmer in the spring time. We didn't have big storms for a long, long time, like we used to have when we were growing up. We had a lot of snow then and we used to have lot of berries in the summer time, because the snow keeps them from freezing. I mean things that are growing in the springtime, they have a lot of water from the snow. This spring [2002], it was cold spring and not much snow on the ground, and people were wondering, I'm sure they, the older people, were thinking maybe the berries will freeze. The seedlings will freeze, but they said, 'There's a lot of blueber-

ries, but not salmonberries. 'A lady came through here from another village and she said. 'There's no salmon berries.' For some reason women are special for salmon berries; blueberries are good too, but salmon berries ...don't get as much juice as salmon berries do. But uh, they keep frozen, solid frozen so we didn't have to have cold storage and that was the only fruit we had you know, berries. We picked a lot of cranberries because there was a lot on the hills, right across from the village. There was a [different] village right under the hills there, and the river between us, but people were nice to each other, if they see somebody wanting to go across, they'll pick them up.

And then we used to burn our vards. We had big gardens when our past. We had a one missionary called B. Larsen, he's a Swede, and I don't know where he lives. He stayed here for years, I think he stayed for over twenty years, but he used to take on vacation when the summertime. When he leaves he stays for two years and someone will be in charge of the church then. But he was a real good teacher, he... he used to have bible studies and choir practice, and men of course used to... we used nothing but wood then, ...men would make fire and they make... they hauled wood in the... in the fall time; so they won't have to do it in the cold winter. And then, they take turn to make the fire in the church.

My dad when it's his turn, he has to go out and check on the reindeer, and he would ask my sister and I to go make the fire one time. This white man, first time he was in Alaska, and he didn't think us girls could make fire in that stove, and that's our chore. You know, at home and... [me] and my sister take turn to

make fire in our home, and take turns to make breakfast for our brothers and our sisters, because our mom works so much during the day. She was training us how to make a fire, and it is not a problem in summertime but wintertime it's cold. But we have dove blankets and all, you know, they hunt birds in the fall and save the dove, make them to blankets.

[When asked about native dancing] Was not while we were kids because of the missionary that was here stopped it. I think the reason why he stopped it was after the village people invited other villagers to have a potlatch or something like that, then they go hungry after that, because they have to feed their [the other village's dogs and people. They're not that many people, but if every home takes a family that's a lot; then they go hungry in the spring time. Even if they hunt, they eat up what they save for the winter having village potlatches, inviting other villagers, so the missionary that was here stopped that. He wouldn't let our own people here have Eskimo dances. They sure would like to sometimes, but they wouldn't go against the missionary because he really taught them from the Bible.

[In childhood] My sister and I take turns, but we help each other in the morning. Our older sister can sleep all she wants because she does the harder work than we do, she washed clothes and cooked when our parents are out, sometimes... my mother has a .22 [rifle], so sometimes she likes to go out hunting for ptarmigans, she likes to go with my father if they go with a dog team. They don't do it all the time, but you know she has to get out once in a while too. There was a lot of ptarmigan in those days. My

older sister she used to, when she got out of school, go put snares up on the side hill with another girl. She used to catch them in snares you know. They [butchered] a reindeer, they take the meat out and dry the sinew. And they make a lot of things out of it, they use it to sow with, they use it to make snares, make it little wider than sewing thread. And they have sticks you know, to mend with the carving for snares, then they'll make sure that ptarmigans won't fly away with the snare.

[When asked about handicrafts] When my mom grew up, she was an orphan. And she didn't have no one to teach her, [before] she got married. Hanna Carlson, she was the one that raised her. She was a missionary's wife, but when her husband got sick, he died. There was a doctor in St. Michael's, an Army doctor, I think, but they couldn't do very much. I don't know what he had, but he died from something, probably appendix or something. And his wife stayed for a while, my mother was the last one of the children. There was quite a few children that came to stay in the children's home. And Hanna Carlson taught them to sew with cloth and make their own clothes. She [mother] used to make our own clothes, make dresses for Christmas that used to be something big! New dresses for Christmas, the boys, she buys them pants or overalls, but that was something new at least for Christmas day.

We have programs every Christmas, Sunday school program and school program. The best teacher I had, he was Norwegian, but I think they had moved to America. He was a really good teacher. He's the one that taught us how to save. He noticed how people would spend

all their money when they get a check during war time, the FAA was building those things, and made people work, my husband worked quite a bit too, and everybody was happy they could earn something. Some people used to go to... [other places] to work and... but our dad was here all the time because he'd take care of reindeer.

[When asked about weather prediction] I... you know we grew up without grandparents, the ones that have grandparents are the ones that... they sure know how to predict. There's one lady we used to go camping with a boat down the shore for salmon berries; she'll predict the weather in the evenings. She'll go out and put her hands inside her parka and stand around and look at the clouds, and look at the hills, and some evening she'd come in and say: 'tomorrow will be nice,' other days then, 'tomorrow won't be too good, either rains, or be real windy.' If it's windy they enjoy it, because of the mosquitoes.

[When asked about people changing weather and Shamans] I don't know anything about that one. There were no shamans when we were growing up. They stopped; I think the missionaries didn't want them to have shamans, I don't know. But we didn't have any shamans when we were growing up. I always admired that lady; she could always just predict the weather just looking at the clouds and over the hills, and/or the moon or the sun. If the sun has a ring, it'll be windy tomorrow or something like that, heh. Right now we turn on our radios and listen to the weather forecast!

It's so, so different than when we were growing up. Kids don't listen to their grandparents or parents. We had a strict mother, we had to listen to her... otherwise we'd get spanking. We had to listen to her, so when our dad would babysit us I used to think he was a really good man. Because you know after being all day out with the reindeer when he comes home he's happy to see us.

We had one missionary that stayed for a long time, he was a real good gardener. We used to have real big gardens, we didn't have to buy potatoes and carrots and lettuce and cabbages, but then later on when we used to go up river to camp all summer long, people used to be in their camps right now, and each village had their [people together] in a group to help each others. The one and the same used to be the boss of the group, and he shares everybody the same amounts of fish, and there we... when there was no commercial fishing, we used to get lots and lots of fish, and when we'd go down to town we bundled them.

My dad, he wasn't a fisherman. He didn't even know how to fish very much. One old man went up with a kayak, we thought that was really neat. We didn't have grandparents from both sides, and this man had a kayak and he was paddling through the not in very deep, but the closer to the shore, but not as close so his kayak won't rub on the rocks. They were made of oogruk [bearded seal] skin, leather, more like leather, but it's thick. They usually use young oogruk because they're easier to sow and easier to put on a kayak. Big ones, they use for soles on the boots. This man told our dad they had the net out, they would check it in the morning.

And us three girls we had to fill a one-hundred pound barrel because it was ordered from that guy that was working for [the] Company. They must not have blueberries down there, I don't know, but he must have. He ordered it through the Company, so our dad got it so he could have us fill it. And we'd spend a night out at my uncle's camp and he laughed at us! He said: 'You girls can't fill that barrel, a one-hundred pound barrel.' We just let him talk on and on, he would laugh at us, and when... when we came down after two weeks being up there he... the first thing he wanted to see was the barrel we had filled! Three girls! My older sister and my younger sister and I. My younger sister, she picks faster than I do. She's a really good berry picker, but she's the one who died. Poor lady when she was dying she saw me with my tears, 'you always cry!' I told her: 'I won't try to hold you back this time. 'I've been really praying for her not to die, but she was real sick and suffering so I had to give up trying to hold on to her. She and I were close; she was only two years younger than I.

My older sister is four years older than I. Yeah, and she used to be the boss in the house when mom is not home. When mom is not home she gives her orders though, you know, for us to do something. Make sure they do this and do that, so we had to do whatever she [our sister] told us. The only thing she does is sleep in the morning; she's a really good sleeper. And my [younger] sister said: 'that's the only time when we can be mean to her, when she's sleeping heavy' and this is [meant as] 'real mean' to us. We were doing that [being real mean to our sister by] taking turns, and one morning, and she sat up, and we ran out the door, but she didn't do anything to us when we came back. We thought it was better than making faces and stuff, being mean to

her. It's fun though, you know, when you read back your life.

My mom one time told us about Axel Carlson. She said they put him in a cellar and I don't know what they feed him. but there were a lot of mice in the cellar to crawl on him. I think that was being mean to him, [in] one way. My dad's uncle, he's the oldest one of the brothers that moved here [from another place]. He had a real big Russian blockhouse; they make out of blocks a 'Russian blockhouse,' we call it Russian blockhouse. It's kind of square building, and make it tall. I think it had room upstairs. The guy that had owned it, his younger brother used it for storage for his stuff, he used to trade furs to the Russians from the people here in the village. Just trade little things, the natives then didn't have anything at all; if they traded something useful then they're happy. Our mother used to tell us about the missionary that went out, he said they... he told them that he had to stay in the cellar for I don't know how long. They gave him little food each day so he didn't starve."

2. The People who shared their Knowledge through stories and thoughts in 2002

Steve Ivanoff

Jerry Ivanoff: "I was born in Unalakleet Alaska and I'm forty-nine years old. Born in 1963, to Ralph and Rainik Ivanoff."

Mary Brown: "I'm Mary A. Brown. I was born six miles out of Holycross. My mother was from Anvik Alaska. My grandmother was Athabaskan Indian, from that area."

Leonard Brown "And my name is Leonard Brown. I'm born and raised here in Unalakleet. And we live here as subsistence folks, we don't work for a living anymore. We are retired from the Unalakleet lodge and... that was it!"

Charles O. Degnan: "I'm from Unalakleet Alaska. I was born here and lived here most of my life. Except to go to high school and military service."

Elder Stanton Katchatag: "I was born and raised here in Unalakleet. And I haven't been to high school, and the reason was my parents didn't want me to leave Unalakleet. At that time we had to travel to Whitemountain. And they didn't want me away so they taught me to subsist, and trap, and hunt."

Galen Doty: "I'm not originally from here. But I was born and raised in Anchorage, and I lived in Anchorage for four years and I moved here. So, I've been living here for twelve years, and I'm sixteen. And that's mostly my life. We do a lot of fishing and hunting out here, subsistence and commercial stuff. In the summer we usually fish. We do some fishing and hunt for moose, bear, and beaver. And in the winter we use snow machines and ATVs, and go up the river. To go fishing in the winter, we just cut a hole in the ice and use like a stick and jig until you get a fish. Here we go caribou hunting. You know what caribou are?"

Kaare Eriksson: "I'm seventeen years old, and I've lived here in Unalakleet for eight years, but grew up in the other villages, because my dad was a teacher. My mom is from Barrow, so I don't have any relatives here. I hunt a lot and live off the land, and my mom

grew up in a really native lifestyle up in Barrow. She lived off the land with her brothers. My momma always makes... makes Eskimo food. And she knows a lot of Eskimo stuff too. So it effects me pretty much because of my mom."

Paul Ivanoff III: "I work in the employment-training field. I try to get people employed and trained in our area. I hunt and fish every year, for as long as I can remember. I'm thirty-seven years old and I've been hunting with my parents ever since I was a little guy."

Elder Betty Anagick: "I was born and raised here."

Byron Kotongan: "I moved here to Unalakleet about six years ago. I enjoy hunting and fishing and snow machining and four wheeling."

Jobina Ivanoff: "I'm from Unalak-leet Alaska and I'm a payroll clerk. I like going out camping in the fall, it's my favorite time of the year, when everything is changing color."

Joan Johnston: "I work for UNC - the Unalakleet Native Corporation."

Elders Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae: "I am an Alaskan Eskimo. I was born in 1930 and I've lived here in Unalakleet just about all my life. But I travel to some places where I work. Both my parents are gone. My oldest sister was born in 1912 and the youngest girl of our family was born in 1936."

Donna Eriksson: "I am Inupiaq, originally from Barrow. I am forty years old, and I have five children. I've lived in Unalakleet for twenty years, before that, first twenty years of my life were in Barrow. I work with the airlines, and the village airline, for Bering Air. In the summer we fish. We dry dryfish, first smoking salmon, and then dry all the other kind

of fish, humpies, and put them away for the winter. Also freezed fresh fish for the winter. Besides dryfish, I pick lots of berries and greens. I pick lots of greens, all kinds of wild greens. I don't know the English names for them, but willow leaves, wild asparagus, wild onions, all kinds of greens."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk: "I work at the school as a bilingual-bicultural teacher, and during the summer I'm working with fish and game. And I hunt caribou. I was hunting moose for a while but I gave it up because every time I went out with my gun I didn't see anything, and every time I went out without my gun they would just appear. I lived here until I was nine, and then I moved to Anchorage until I was in like 10th grade, so I didn't really know until I came back and I mostly hung out with boys. And they would bring me out camping and moose hunting, and they showed me everything. I think I'm just motivated to what I'm doing because I look up to my mom and my grandma who lived the subsistence way of life, and I try to learn from them too. My mom and my dad spoke the language, the Inupiag language. And they would always talk so that none of us would understand what they were talking about, so I figured I might as well go to Unalakleet so I can learn to understand some things and learn how to live in Unalakleet. So I wanted to come back, and so I left my parents in Anchorage and came here. Plus I like living with my brothers too. I'm the youngest in our family, and my brothers showed me a lot."



Village 2002

3. "Unalakleet" – "Where the East Wind Blows"

The mosquitoes have always been here and the wind has always been here, we have the land breeze and the sea breeze. You know Unalakleet is located so that we have the northern sound of Bering Sea beyond there. We've always had wind here, that's Unalakleet, 'where the east wind blows,' that's what it means. I guess. I'm not sure, but you know it has always been windy...

3.1. Stories of Growing-up in Unalakleet, then and now

"From zero to seventeen years old I didn't leave home, I didn't leave Unalakleet, and this was my world. I didn't know that there is the other side, the Russia, Europe, the United States, Stanford University for that matter. You know

Unalakleet was everything. You know, I learned everything I needed to about where to pick my berries, where to get my marine mammals, and what to catch, what to bring back. You know, leave the killer whales alone; they are smarter than you know."

Jerry Ivanoff

"The winter is fun. You can go snow machining, snow machining is really fun. We also go snowboarding; sliding down real steep hills, and tow with snow machines. Summer we just swim around, and fish a lot, and go hunting."

Galen Doty

"I grew up in a time where there was no water in cabin. You had to go out there, when it's cold, twenty below, and chop ice, fill-up the round tub. That metal tub that we had was ... Like that, this round, then about this high. Fill that up with ice, and you put it by the stove.

Chop the ice in it and melt, heat, and then put some more in it. And then you finally get it warm enough, so that you take them out... And when you got seven sisters and brothers, and you're the last one on the line, you kind of wonder if you ever get in there."

Jerry Ivanoff





Youth 2002

"Many of us [the young adults of Unal-akleet] just sit around, do nothing. We're bored. All we do is play ball all day, and get better and better at basketball. Sometimes I just sit around, lay around, and everybody is just walking around: 'Hey, what's going on!?' or something like that. And they just say: 'Oh, nothing, just walking around being bored.' There's a lot of things that you can make a difference in, going out of this village, doing a lot of stuff, but if people don't have a vehicle or anything they don't really do

much anything here. They just sit around and do nothing. And it gets bored pretty quick, unless you find something to do." *Galen Doty*

"[Living in the village is] Cool most of the time, but sometimes the same thing gets old, but I guess that's true everywhere. But honestly, it is pretty different than living in a city. I've lived [elsewhere] [in a city] for years, so it's pretty different [here]. I like it though. You get used to it if you live here. You can get really bored here, but if you're smart you can find a lot of cool things to do. You can go out hunting and fishing, and keep yourself occupied."

Kaare Eriksson

"When I was younger we had a missionary here by the name of E.B. Larsen, originally from Norway. He came from Norway with the Evangelical Covenant Church of America. He was our preacher here. In fact, our Sunday school was with him for quite many years. Maybe twenty years, he was here, maybe more. He taught us how to plant gardens, how to take care of them. We had abundance of potatoes, cabbage, lettuce, rutabagas, turnips, carrots, lots of potatoes. Then we stored them. My folks, everybody had a cellar long time ago. In the middle of the floor you'd make a door there, and they'd dig it out. And some say, 'It is not very deep. Maybe that deep. 'You'd had walk on your knees there, and we keep our potatoes there, underneath it's cool. And we hang our cabbage on the ceiling. They collect little mold, but mold, it is good for your body. Anyway, all you have to do is clean out the cabbage throughout and it is still good, although there is a little indication on top. He was here for good many years, until he retired. He was E.B. Larsen, and he taught us a lot of things about planting and how to take care of things. Of course our religion is like the Swedes have over there, Sweden."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae



Downtown 2002

"There a lot of things I think, things like modern equipment, because when we were growing up we didn't have no machinery. Except the ones that come in and out and even outboards they come in to being in the late 1930s I think. That's when my dad bought an outboard, I think it was early thirties. The first one, there were three-four people that was the first in our village here. Before that we rowed the boat and pulled the boat and everything. I really don't know, what I'm getting at -- all the noise from the machinery, you know, all the planes go back and forth all the time that may have an effect on the habit and behavior of animals " Elder Stanton Katchatag

4. "I haven't seen snow like that..." –Snow, Wind, and Other Weather Changes

"Right by the post office there is a building that we completely covered with snow, all the way to the top. And the only thing that you knew there was a building there was a smoke pipe, that came out of the snow bank. And we'd slide past that. and we'd have to make sure that we don't bump the smoke pipe on a way down to the bottom of the bank. I mean that's a long slide, where they [on the] ways up, we'd have to truck ourselves all the way back up. But I haven't seen snow like that, you know, snow drifts throughout the whole town, in quite a few years. Were they [the drifts, are] way up high. It's not that I miss it, and maybe our snow fences are working in a while, but I don't think so. I don't think it's that amount, as you know, when I was younger."

Jobina Ivanoff



Downtown 2008

"I would say that there's gonna be years with really heavy snow, and that gives us a reminder of when I grew up. But it seems like it was like that every year. And now, maybe once in a decade we'll have a really good heavy snow year. In fact, several of the last ones have been pretty dry, not as much snow as I could remember. But it seems like when I grew up we had lots of snow every year. But it does not seem to be the case now."

Steve Ivanoff

"I moved in to my grandfather's home back in 1939, and there's a lotta change since. It's noticeable. We used to have, you know, the break-up of the Unalakleet River used to occur late in May and in June. And now it's late April or first week of May It's much earlier and much warmer, than it used to be. And when I was a kid, during the middle forties, it was a fun game for us to jump from ice cake to the water, and it'd be middle of June!"

Leonard Brown

"The first time I really can remember having rain in winter time was when I was in grade school, and then it froze the next day, and everybody went skating all over the place. It's a long time ago. Around 1951, or somewhere around there."

Charles O. Degnan

"It just doesn't seem like we've had too much of the blizzards, like we used to have when I was younger. And long period of bell blizzards in, you know, not the one-day, two-day kind. I mean it used to blow seven to ten days in a row, you can't see anything, that's why we had the big snow banks. But it seems a little bit warmer."

Jobina Ivanoff

"I've noticed a lot of subtle differences. It seems that the amount of snow we get is less. First of all the snow here doesn't just fall down, but it blows in. And growing up I remember these huge snow banks, monster snow banks, and now they're not there. They're probably about half the size what they used to be."

Paul Ivanoff III

"There has been changes since I've lived here. I came here in 1978, and I've noticed that one of the big changes in the winter is that there is no more big huge snow banks in town. They were very, very high above buildings each winter.

Now there is practically none. And when I sit around with people, and visit maybe the older ladies, they talk about how the summers are hotter than when they were young. Or ever since I've been here maybe it seems like the summers are hotter."

Donna Eriksson

"This was one of the mildest winters I have ever noticed. I think we had kind of a warm weather. We had snow until real late spring, after all snow melted away this year, it kind of... you know, there was bare ground like this, but it snowed after that, and it snowed till I don't know when...mmm... possibly in first part of May, somewhere around there... And just the first time, I see that kind of a climate that lasted so long like that. The prevailing wind out here is mostly from the east, that and it blows maybe forty to fifty knots at times, but...otherwise the north wind doesn't bother us too much here. But up here [in the north] it blows forty miles that way, and blows up there really hard, and like I said, 'The climate has changed a little bit.' I think it got warmer, I think that was the... I don't know what they call it... I forgot the term they use of being warm, you know, it's different. By that I mean... one of the first seals wandered up here long... I don't know how it got up here. Ordinarely our seals have claws up here, this one here has [different features]. I'd say a nine miles from here, and that's the first I've ever seen like that around here."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"When I was younger we had a lot of snow. There would be snow banks all over town. You know, it grew up and down, up there. It used to blow all the time. And you know, the village right there sitting horizontal with the wind. And you know there is an ebb where the snow gets gathering, it gets bigger, and bigger, and bigger, and bigger."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"There's been some thunderstorms and strong winds. I know my grand-mother would tell of um... wind blowing so hard that it'd put grass through a tree, so you know that's pretty powerful wind. And she said it happened during her lifetime."

Charles O. Degnan

"We notice these things, so maybe the global warming may have affected them. It wasn't that noticeable. One other thing that I noticed is that even the snow... that may not be natural, I'm almost certain it's because of global warming. Because in the fall, we used to get snow all the way from October and December-January, and the snow used to be all over, you know, and the snow banks. But during the last few years the snow doesn't seem to come until January, or so late. And last year, we got quite a bit of snow, and when the warm weather come, and the snow just dissolved more or less."

Elder Stanton Katchatag

"I think they used Search and Rescue a couple of times. And that was because of the wind. I mean all of a sudden this year, when I was in an elder and youth conference, they said that the winds have been changing so fast. When years ago it would take a while for it to [change], [one] could tell that the weather is going to change in a week. But now it goes so fast."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

5. The Sea

"I think I'll start out from by the sea side, because I have commercial fish[-ed] here too lately, and there I think [it is] really noticeable in regard to temperature changes. One of the other things I find out after I was absent for some time, fifteen years of commercial fishing. When I come back here. I find out that the sea current was getting real strong, not like the way it was before. And so that was noticeable. I think that may have been affected by the warm. I think the warming of uh, the weather, is becoming noticeable about twenty-five to thirty years it's slow, you know. But when I think back, that's about the time when it seems like it changed. Because long ago, especially last part of December around Christmas and new years, that used to be extremely cold and the temperature would drop down to sixty below and so forth. My wife even said that one Christmas, that she saw the temperature was seventyfive below "

Elder Stanton Katchatag

"Now just recently, we haven't had a lot of ice, a lot of slush and heavy ice coming from the ocean. Ah, it doesn't freeze very solid anymore, like it used to, and we'd go out and seal hunt, twenty-five miles out, and sometimes all solid ice, back in late forties and early fifties. Now you couldn't go out there, too thin. It never freeze solid no more. Except when the heavy ice coming in from the ocean. And that's always moving. Now it doesn't freeze very solid."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"What we see, for instance in the ocean ice, we get a lot less ice pack. It seems that we are getting more and more



Seashore 2008

open water, other than ice just freezing and staying."

Paul Ivanoff III

"Oh yes, the sea. My step grandfather said years ago the winter was severe. They used to go dog teaming to go to St. Michael's, and they used to make straight cut. But now they say the weather is changing on account of the wind, and this keeps it from forming solid [ice where] the wind would blow. We do have a lot of east wind during winter months. And it is not as solid as it used to be, to go right straight to St. Michael's."

Elder Betty Anagick

"The ice? I grew up in Barrow. And just either going visiting or talking a lot on the phone with my family and relatives is about whaling, and it is very, very different up there. And here it's a lot different from when I first moved here. It is dangerous and it is hard to go snow-machining on the ocean. You can't travel on the ocean anymore in the winter like we use to, and the ice seems thinner and

more fragile, and even in the river. During the winter we have some warm spells in the last few years, and it would be too dangerous to go on the river for snowmachines. So there has been changes."

Donna Eriksson

"The ocean starts to freeze on latter part of October, and maybe first part of November. At times you can't see the horizon, I mean it is horizon ways, the sea ice is way out there. In fact, couple of times my brother and I were going out with a dog team because of seal hunting, and we put our dogs together, and out there over night hunt, aiming to catch a big bearded seal. We kind of look at the sun and see if it is going to change or something like that. That there is a sundog, on here the sun over here, and the sundog, you know, they look like the color of a rainbow on this side. That is an indication that there is a big front coming in, mostly warm weather and wind will start blowing. And... there have been several times that people have been

blown out and never came back. Usually [they] go from Nome, the King Islanders. They went out seal hunting. There were about four or five of them, and one guy got lost for over a month out in the ocean. And, how would I say it, well, he eventually drifted with a current, went back and forth and eventually ended up in Shishmaref, it's that way quarter ways, not too far from there. While he was walking on the ice, he knows or notices some grass, so he thought I am on the land now. But I guess he froze his foot too. And they finally found him, people went out for look for him and they found him. But this one guy wandered too far, he got drifted out. And ten days they look around with rescue planes and could not spot him. And I guess he fell down, fell in the water several times, and he's got no stove or anything like that. He just did what he could to save himself, but he froze one side of his leg up around here, I think." Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

5.1. Crabbing

"It's not cold for long periods of time like I used to remember. One of the other observations I have through crabbing through the ice in the winter time, the last... I think only one in the last six... only once in the last six years have we been able to crab though the ice, since the ocean doesn't freeze over like it used to when I was a child."

Steve Ivanoff

"You know the sea ice, it doesn't stay. It used to, when my husband and I were first married. It was twenty years ago, and we used to crabbing on the ice. And we can't anymore because the ice goes out. It is kind of like open water. And you have to be careful, you don't want to get

on that stuff, the young ice."

Joan Johnston

"I have noticed the weather being warmer and affecting the sea ice. [I notice this] Because I started crabbing in the spring, in the ocean. And the past three springs, it hasn't frozen up. So it affects subsistence things like that."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

5.2. Observations and hunts of whales, seals, and other marine mammals

"We, we used nets, tangle nets, regular nets that they'd put together themselves. They're a lot shorter and we used different anchors: it's not like a salmon net. That went on for a while, and then they started using guns. Well the Beluga took off, they ran away. So eventually [they have] started coming back. Now they're using nets again. There was a change there, and it came back, the old way, you don't scare them off. They come in and you catch one in the net, and don't scare the other ones off. But the minute they'd start shooting, BANG BANG, and they're gone. So that's the difference between there. But the Beluga has been increasing in the population quite rapidly."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"There used to be everything when I was a little kid. There used to be everything going up the river. Even the blue [whales] would go up the river. And they don't go anymore, not. I haven't seen it. Once in a while seals go up there, but not very often."

Charles O. Degnan

"I haven't had any problem with the Beluga, the number seem to be sufficient enough. I've seen where the killer whales

bring them on to the shore, and there is so many of them. I saw [a pod] once as wide as maybe six-hundred feet wide. It was on the calm bay in the ocean, and it was just glassed calm, but for about six-hundred feet wide, there was rough water, and you get to it, and it is all Belugas. And six-hundred feet wide, as far as I could see south and as far as I could see north, there was Belugas. But they were moving and they were scared. Killer whales had them in the shallows. I haven't had any problems catching Beluga, both in the spring time and in the fall time. I don't hunt them too much in the spring. But when I go set my net in the fall, I get enough to feed quite a few people."

Jerry Ivanoff

"We got some Beluga this year. We caught two Belugas, white Belugas, down in towards St. Michael area. Along the coast there's mountains down there, and we set off of the rocks and it's really deep. It's deeper than out here. Down towards St. Michael, and we just set a net. And then we go down to Canal, which is [in] St. Michael. And Canal's a river that splits St. Michael and Stebbings and makes them [an] island. That's Canal, the river. It's really flat [landscape], there's not that many hills for long distance. And we go out and set a camp. And we hunt for geese, and crane, and swan, and ducks, for about maybe a week. And then we come back, and on our way back here on the boat we check the net, and that's usually when we catch them. When you cut the Beluga, you cut the layer. First you cut down the middle of the Beluga, and it's like butchering. You just cut, there's like a real soft layer, the outside fleshy part. And then there's a real rubbery part in the middle between the outside. And there's another part on the inside, which is blubber. And in between it's like real chewy place, and you lift both of the flabs up, and then you just cut along and it just comes off. And you just cut big layers. And then you just cut them up into squares, and put them up. That's pretty much [all that is taken]. After you cut off all the maktak [skin and blubber] around the whale, you usually just leave it for the birds. The birds will usually eat it to the bone."

Galen Doty

"There is an abundance of Beluga here that migrate from I don't know where they come from. Maybe south of Anchorage, but they come up here and follow the shoreline all the way up. And my father in fact... there's my whale net out here, right here. It's my whale net, [the mesh size is] possibly maybe foot like that. It would be maybe seventy-five to eighty feet long. In fact, when they were coming from other places... One year my wife and I were sitting here, and suddenly... sitting over here somewhere in the spring time... and when we looked out of the window, and there we saw a lot of guys out there. Maybe one mile and a half out that way, and they were migrating up north. And right away I knew they were Beluga. There's a lot of Beluga and I guessed they go all the way around up to North Slope area. I collect a lot of National Geographic videos, and they go up there and molt. I think it is passed the Canadian border, and they come back down here. One year my father and my next oldest brother, they towed, without boat motors, six Beluga. They caught them in the net. My father built that boat. He was a good craftsman, and he built that boat

all by himself; it's a rowing bottom, with keel on it. And he put two Beluga on both sides of the boat, and he pulled four more in the back with outboard motor. That's a lot of in the net. He'd usually make his own net out of... they call it 'Number seventy-two ton.' It is pretty hard stuff to break, and it gets around here on the Beluga. Here, pretty soon they huff and they puff underneath there, and pretty soon it goes around here. It gets stuck over here. And sometimes they are still alive when we go out there, but we have to shoot them near the blow hole. There is an abundance of Beluga, and a lot of sea mammals like seals, and ... and walrus too. A lot of walrus out there, but a quite a ways out there."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"I've hunted seals ever since I was a little boy. My dad took me up when I was so small, and I could not see the land in any direction, and I was worried. I was hoping that he'd know the way back, because I didn't know where I was. He taught me how, and he taught me wind direction and how to catch the seals. You know, when I am looking for seals, cause minor problem, but if I'm not looking for the oogruk [bearded seal], I need the leave the shore-fast ice and get out there, you know, twenty-three miles out on the ocean. And if I am looking for walrus I gotta go even further. But he taught me how and basically where to find them, and how to catch them and how to take them a part. And what to bring home and what not to bring home; there was not too much we left behind."

Jerry Ivanoff

5.3. "Walrus? There's some around"

"Walrus? There's some around. Later on

this season, in the fall, they haul out on the island out here. And lots of them haul out to an island forty-five miles west of here, straight out, there's a big [Besboro] island they haul out to rest on. Yeah there's walrus."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"There's no more dogs. They did use walrus meat for dog food. They dried it. They hanged it up and dried it."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"[Before people used to hunt walrus a] Little more than now, but not a whole lot more, mainly because we depended on the ice pack to come through a certain area. But you know once a year somebody may catch some. But I remember growing-up, [going out] with my father, when I was young, and we would see a lot more walrus than we see now. And that was twenty-twenty-five years ago." Paul Ivanoff III

"One year, it was in early part of October, I took a walk up there about ten miles up here. I was on the beach, took my rifle along, and as I came around a point there was that big mammal. I thought he was washed to shore. Pretty soon I see its flippers moving, and I hid back on it behind a rock. And my caliber on my gun, it is not very big, but it has quite a good power behind. I shot him towards the last winkle over here, just where they shoot them. I think there because their hide is real thick and they have blubber on it. But he was quite away from the shore, so he tried to turn around. I put six bullets in him when he got out there. Then he went into water and he rose up, this time he... I could see blood squirting and I shot one more time and it sank. And my wife's brother was [close by] up here, maybe three to four miles away. And I put a marker where he sank so we went over there after supper. And he had a grabber, you know, a hook. And we went down there, I told it should be somewhere out here, but his [tool] got stuck. And then we found out that we... that the grabber got right on a front flipper. I don't know why it sank. Normally, walrus will float, but he had very little blubber on him, kind of lean; best of all the walrus I ever got."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

5.4. Is the Bering Sea changing?

"It's warmer! Yeah it's warmer, and I'm told that the scientists are seeing a lot of different types of algae growing out there. And blue whale ... blue whale is right in it. They're not supposed to be up here! But they're out here on the Bering Sea, in that green stuff. So, I don't know maybe they're just using it for shade or something, but... there's a lot of change in the ocean! When they first started reporting [changes in birds]... that's when our salmon started taking a dip in population. It was about ten years ago; they said that birds are dving out there. And it showed here, in the fish; we get less fish."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"There seems to be more bottom vegetation then earlier years, because when we gill net, we'll see long ribbons of kelp, like spaghetti that is growing off the bottom, that I don't recall when I fished when I was younger. And I've fished for thirty years, and I don't recall that much growth on the bottom, on the rocks."

Steve Ivanoff



Leonard Brown 2002



Mary Brown 2002

"The sea ice is thinner in the wintertime. Here it blows out frequently, cause we have east winds, and after freeze up when the wind blows the ice off, and that might be a contributing factor too. I've noticed that the ocean ice is considerably thinner. Because of it's thinner it breaks up sooner. Otherwise it seems the cycle remains pretty much the same. You know, if there's a time period when you have the seasons change, well, essentially they're not too far off."

Charles O. Degnan

"I suspect that the sea is being overharvested by those big ships. They are in the Bering Sea right now, and they've been there now for forty years. And it used to be the Japanese, [they] used to come and fish right here, and they had really long nets compared to what we used. And then they changed the laws, and they moved off. And you got these huge ships that process fish now, and I think that has an impact on everything up here. I've noticed our fish runs are smaller. One year I saw infection in the salmon that I'd never seen before. You know, when you cut it open, there's where the blood is right next to the back bone, that was full of infection! You know it was just white. And you know, there's some fish deformities and that kind of stuff. I don't know what caused that."

Charles O. Degnan

"If you judge by the fish, no the sea is not healthy, but there's something going wrong, there's something going on. We see a lot more fish that have lesions in them. As for the bigger mammals, I think they're healthy, which is a good indication. And we see a lot less walrus come through. And that's because of the ice pack there is less ice pack for the less walrus come by."

Paul Ivanoff III

6. "The ice break-up going out the mouth of the river would be really violent" – The River

"I notice too in our river. In Unalakleet river here, we used to have a strong break-up way back, and real high water, and real strong current. I'm pretty sure this is affected by global warming too, 'cause it got shallow. And when we got north wind we... we don't get high tides, you know. And it's extremely cold right around... it never changed that much right around January. And, you know, I think that's when the ice used to get real thick. It used to be all the way to the beach, and you could never see the water, it was way out. But it doesn't seem to freeze out around our area anymore, wintertime. I already think it's because it's so shallow. You know, when it get extremely cold there wouldn't be any water, what little ice that is left out there would be right against the mud because of low tide. The tide that is coming, and when the tide does come, all it does, there would be some water on top for a while, and that ice would pop up. And there's nothing to hold the ice. The ice, I think the thing that really affected is the strong tide coming and going out. It's really... it's extremely strong. We never used to experience it like that."

Elder Stanton Katchatag

"The significant difference between now and when I grew up, is the spring breakup. The river would have... be a massive flooding. And the ice break-up going out the mouth of the river would be really violent. And the last few years it has [been] milder. And really mild compared to when I was growing up. Maybe



River 2002

the biggest factor to that is the fact that the ice is melting earlier over a longer period of time and making it weaker, not solid like it used to be when it would be cold to a certain date, and then warm

really fast. And I think, the springs have ...it seems like they've gotten longer. They're warm for a longer period of time. It warms up, goes off. Warms up, goes off, and it gives it a chance to drain, and for the ice to soften up. And that may be a factor."

Steve Ivanoff

"The river has a lot more vegetation than when I grew up, as far as trees and willows go. The willows, when I grew up were small, and now they're almost like trees. You know, they're a lot bigger. A



lot more vegetation along the river, than when I was a child. When I was a child there weren't very many moose here. And now there are more moose than when we grew up, you know. Wheth-

er the vegetation plays a factor I don't know, but I can really speak to the effect that there is a lot more vegetation now than back then."

Steve Ivanoff

"There is a lot more algae growing on the bottom than I could recall as a child. A lot more. And in fact, it is becoming a problem in our salmon nets when we fish near the mouth of the river. 'Cause we got the green algae going' out, and it makes the nets dirty. I don't recall algae being a problem when I was growing up. I think lots of sun promotes that, and that's what we've had a lot of this summer."

Steve Ivanoff

"I remember the Unalakleet River used to break-up just before Memorial Day, which is the 30th. The true Memorial Day is at the end of May. So compared that to now... It's quite a bit early. Two to three weeks earlier. And it's a lot warmer! Yeah, compared to those days." Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"But the river ice doesn't break-up like it used to. When I was young it used to be like thunder, I mean loud, real loud, you could hear it all over town. Now it just goes out. I mean, it was a lot more fun back then! Because it was like an activity."

Joan Johnston

7. "Our people rely on these resources so much" – Subsistence and Views of the Changes in Hunting and Fishing

7.1. Elders talk about bush experiences in the Sixties, Seventies, and Eighties

"[Describing lynx trapping] Well we'd put our little number one trap on the bank of the river. And um... we hung anything... candy wrapper to feathers, to snowshoe hare skin... snowshoe skin, piece of meat... When I would go out, I would use for bait a chewing gum wrapper. The wind moves it around. Anything shiny, some guys use a piece of can. You know, an empty can, a bean can or a milk can. They'll come to play with it, and fall in the trap. But most of the

time I used a piece of rabbit skin, something that'll scent, you know. And for the wolverines... I don't really wanna catch a wolverine you know, but they're nuisance, they spoil your set. So I have to catch them. I use a snare. If you put a trap in the snow, they know it's there. They smell it. So we catch them with a snare. Or when one I couldn't catch with a trap, I had to use a shot gun, 'cause he was stealing our martins off the traps during the night. They're eighty bucks a skin, so you couldn't have that wolverine doing that to you. So, I used a shotgun."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"When I was little and in grade school, I'd say maybe 5th or 6th grade, our folks used to take us squirrel hunting with a dog team, and we'd stay out there maybe about a month. I know my mother used to make a lot of biscuits for bread, so that we wouldn't have to try to cut them, you know. Whereas a loaf of bread was frozen, but biscuits, you know, they are pretty nice. You can cut them easy with a click. One year we went out in April, and we got back here on the latter part of May. We were gone for maybe three or four weeks, maybe just about a month. In fact, the ice went out, and we had to come back on behind the hills. And we ended up over here at the point, but things were pretty hard them days. But the game was abandoned. There was a lot of good prices on fur. I know they are going rate. Or no...when there was a depression long time ago, you know everything went down, the groceries were cheap, but the price of fur kind of shot up quite a bit."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae "My father, and my mother, he took



Dogsled 2008

me out several times out here on ocean. We'd go out there with a boat, and he would shoot at seal, and they get up [float to the surface]. Especially in the spring, they don't sink, they're [big] enough. Their fat is about that thick, and they stay and float on quite a ways."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"My father took me out to hunt black bear. Black bear, he usually get them about... maybe just about... maybe just before they come... They get closer to that dam in the fall. And they're been eating blueberries and they are pretty much fat. There is much for them, for their... you know, they sleep all winter, and a there wasn't very many... there was no fat. There was no caribou them days out here. Then they showed up about twenty years ago, and we had an abundance of caribou here. In fact, you could see some migrate across the plateau. And there was so... so many you're allowed to kill five

caribou a day. But who was to kill five caribou per day? It's all I need for winter, I mean for whole year maybe five caribous. And we make jerky out of them. And we put some in the freezer, cut them up ready to eat."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"We have some brown bear here, and some of them are pretty good size. We don't hunt them. In fact, the people don't go out for brown bear. Only the guys around Texas, they come up here and they go hunting with a guide. And they are after the big ones. But the Eskimo, they don't ordinarily shoot the brown bear, because their diet is not very good. Their diet, they eat, you know, anything that they can try about. Like dead salmon, things of that nature. In fact, you could die. There was couple of people who got pretty sick, one guy died. I know I've heard of it up here in Salomon, this side of Nome. They didn't

cook the brown bear long enough. It just came out of dead for the winter. And I guess they didn't boil it long enough, so he died. I think they call it '*Triconosis*' or something like that. I don't know, some kind of a sickness. You know, he got sick in his stomach and didn't survive at all." Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

7.2. "The skills are still here"Continuation of the subsistence lifestyle

"I think that the skills are still here and can be transferred, but I've learned it from my dad, and I'm sure he learned it from his parents, generation to generation, father to son. I think the skills of hunting and the conditions, where to go to find what you're looking for, how to take it apart, and what to bring back, what to save, what not to save, it's still here. But it needs to be transferred, as it has been through oral tradition, because if that oral tradition is not transferred. then there is a break in the communication. And some of those traditions, you know, will not make it to the next generations. And of course it is McDonalds time, we are not eating seal as much, and I know this is a change in the eating patterns of younger generation today. Who to blame? I just grew up in time when that was not available. See the jet land bringing in the modern store commodities, and naturally the change, the shift, in the eating patterns. That's why we see obesity now in our native nation; before we are active hunters and fisherman. But I still think that the hunting patterns are being passed on. Of course, like I said, 'The level of interest...' you know, we have to want to learn how to go on hunting, and what to bring home, and how to take it apart."

Jerry Ivanoff

"The driving force in the ability of our people to survive has been subsistence, that's the most important thing. Outside the urban definition you find in the Webster's dictionary, what does it mean? Basically that is how we have survived for generations, [following] the patterns of life that we depend on and the [seasonal] differences. Basically every season provides food as resource for us to harvest, and put away, to make it through the six months of cold."

Jerry Ivanoff

"I am only forty, so I've only been putting away food in the last twenty years, but as I was growing up, I spent my summers at Nome, with my grandmother camped. And my mom and they taught me all the eatable plants and roots, and I can't find here in Unalakleet, in the last five to eight years. I cannot find... in English we call them elephant ears They are big green leafy plant, that you pick on a tundra I can't find them anymore. I don't know why I can't find them. I've searched...last summer and the summer before, me and my friend Pauline, we found some at St.Michael's. They don't go everywhere they use to, and I don't know why, but everything else is pretty abundant."

Donna Eriksson

7.3. "I hunt with my friends" – The younger generation carries on the subsistence traditions

"I hunt with my friends. In our school, we have this... some kind of a program that we do for wild, and rescue and safety, and stuff. From our younger generation we used to go with our parents to go

hunting. But now were old enough, and we go hunting with our friends or in a big group, or just a couple of us. We take our boats and go up river. When did I first go hunting? Probably, first time I ever went hunting, I was probably three. I went with my guardians, and we went *oogruk* hunting. And you catch them in late fall, or after the ice break-up. That's when they start going on the ice, and that's when we go hunting on the ocean."

Galen Doty



Galen Doty 2008

"We learn ever since we are young. Our parents and our elders, they teach us not to waste any food and to how to tell if it's good or not. And there's this [government regulation], that you can only hunt certain stuff. And nowadays you have to have a license to hunt. It changed a lot of stuff, because a lot of people don't have licensed stuff now. Unless, they go to the AC [Alaska Commercial Company, a rural retailer] and buy some. And so it's harder for them to go hunting. And mostly we don't usually waste, we keep the furs and use them when we go snow machining with sleds. You... [can use the furs] to sit on, they're on your seat. And... the carcasses we usually just wait for something to eat on them. And the way to tell if any of your animals is not really good to eat is when you gut them, you look at the liver, and there'll be usually like little bubbles on the liver, or marks in them. That's how you can tell if they're edible or not."

Galen Doty



Galen Doty 2002

"Ever since I can remember, my dad used to hunt a lot. So, he'd bring me out as soon as I could walk. My favorite is probably caribou hunting, but during the last couple of years they haven't been coming close [to the village]. But bird hunting, hunting for geese and ducks, is a lot of fun too. I usually... [hunt] with my friends. I used to go out a lot with my dad, but as soon as I was knew how to do things on my own, I just go with my friends all the time. My dad, he is not a native, but he grew up here. And my mom is native, so my mom taught me some natives' things. Like, when you catch a seal you have to spit freshwater into his mouth, so the spirit will go underneath, and like tell other seals that it's a responsible hunter, and he is going to use up the whole seal for good use. Everybody knows that when you first catch a moose, you have to give it all to the elders. Or if you first catch a seal or anything like that, you have to give the whole thing



Kaare Eriksson 2002

away to elders. My dad taught me a lot of gun safety, that you have to be really careful with your guns and don't waste anything. You can't shoot seagulls and stuff that you are not going to eat."

Kaare Eriksson



Byron Kotongan 2008

"When I first started hunting, about five years ago, I went out with my family, and my grandparents. And friends, when their grandparents brought them around. I learned a lot from the people in the community; of every animal you try to get, take as much of it as you can, and do not wasting anything. Respect the elders, and your friends and family, and help each other out."

Byron Kotongan

8. "We love fish here, that's our main staple" – Everyone Talks about Salmon

"It [salmon] provides food for lots of stuff, and it's a fertilizer too. It fertilizes the whole river valley, and then everything depends on fish. And even the plants do! So, it's a big cycle."

Charles O. Degnan

"I'm a commercial fisherman. I started when I was very young, my dad taught me. Again, he taught me how to

[hunt] at a very young age. And not very much older than that, he taught me how to fish

I couldn't start our motor when we first started. It was [only with the help of] my brother Steve... My hand, his hand, my hand, his hand. We choked the motor, And ready. Pull!....[LAUGHS]... My hand, his hand, my hand, his hand. Ready. Pull! And then we finally got the motor going, put the choke off and put it in forward and going. We were... I was like this, and he was like this. We were young. We got out with a twenty foot wooden boat and no floatation on, except the fact that it is made of wood and float pretty good. But with a fifty horse Mercury [motor] on we used to fly.

You know it is a fast boat, and we got

more fish that we needed. And when we cleaned as much fish as we could out of that fish, it would be heating [and could spoil]. We'd have to go make a running to the shore to deliver our fish, because we had so much. And we would go back out

and check the net again. And we pull the fish again. But I worry about that now. I've fished all my life, and in the eighties I used to make twenty thousand dollars just from king [Chinook] salmon fishing alone. And then another ten to fifteen thousand dollars from silver [Coho] salmon fishing. [As a]Near single man at that time, that was enough to get me by. With the last few years, I haven't been able to make our living by doing it anymore. I used to [make], that much, thirty

to forty thousand dollars a year with one permit. I bought my permit in 1995, and since then the fishing has gone down. Last year, I made less than forty-five hundred dollars with two permits. I used to catch... make twenty thousand worth of kings in a season with one permit. And in 2000, I got seven kings. In 2001, I got six kings. This year they did not even let us fish. So, I worry about our salmon, I worry about the species out there."

Jerry Ivanoff

"I commercial fished this year down in Bristol Bay. My parents do a lot of subsistence fishing, they use all the fish for strips and dryfish. But, I was there this year and last year, I helped them, or at least I was helping. But, it's not that much work, it's not that hard to put the

> net out. And just to take the net out, all you gotta do is to bring the fish, and my mom will cut them up and process them."

Kaare Eriksson

"We used to camp out a lot when I was growing up. And we didn't use a

rod and reel, we used a stick with a line at the end and a 'J' hook. We used to do that a lot. When I first saw rod and reel, I used to say, 'My, that's the slowest way to fish!' But, I got used to the rod and reel, although it takes a while to reel in the fish. Mostly silvers there though."

Elder Betty Anagick

"Fish is a different story. In the last five years we have noticed a considerable drop in the amount of salmon. I'll even go back twenty years, when I was



Salmon 2002

in high school and right out high school, which was in 1983, when I graduated and started working for the cargo company that transports the commercially caught fish out of here. In the summer months. we used to be able to, on any given day, to send out 20 000-45 000 pounds of salmon, caught commercially. We don't see that anymore. That was [when] the fishing periods were from Monday 6 pm to Wednesday 6 pm, and Thursday 6 pm to Saturday night 6 pm. And those were

the fishing periods for commercial purposes. And during those times, they used to get, I would say ten times more salmon, king [Chinook] salmon, Chum salmon, and Silver [Coho] salmon. Every evening here we get pinks. But dur-

ing the last twenty years, we've seen a very noticeable decrease in the number of fish. And the last five years, a really big noticeable difference in the amount of kings coming in."

Paul Ivanoff III

"Fish? I've noticed we don't seem to have as much fish as we used to. In the spring time, we do a lot of trout fishing, that seems to stay the same. But, in the summer time, there's not as much fish [as there used to be]. I mean this year, we haven't seen many silvers [Coho]. I don't know why. And our king [Chinook] run was late this year, really late."

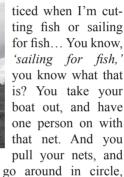
Jobina Ivanoff

"It's really declining. I did a report on subsistence in Unalakleet last year. And I had to collect data from different places fish and game, just to see how much is the difference. It's the subsistence and commercial intake. our subsistence is what were taking. It's half of what it used to be a...ten years ago or so. It has really declined. But for my subsistence, I'm lucky to get fish to be put away."

Joan Johnston

"The one thing I don't like is sport fishing. Sports fishermen can catch like three fish, and then they could hook fish and release the fish. I don't like that at

all. Because I've no-



and you trap the fish. That's how we sail to catch our fish. I noticed that there are lots of dead fish on the water. They died, and I don't know why they died. But they certainly didn't die because age, because you know when they die of age that they have spots on them. Even my husband thought that was because of hook-andrelease."

Joan Johnston

Boat 2002

"Oh, when I was young until about 1940s, there was an abundance of salmon, pink salmon. Normally, the pink salmon years are even years. There are not that many, like odd number of years, odd like 1919, 1920. I mean that even years are twenties, and... but there is a where they change. Right now I don't know how come, but there is not enough fish over here. Their numbers have gone down, I don't know why. Like the Bristol Bay right now, used to be the salmon capital of the world, it's not anymore. I don't know, they are depleted so much." *Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae*



Salmon 2002

"I think about the fish because I work [with the fish]. Fishing for silvers right now is low. I mean, we are not as far as where we were compared to last year. And I keep thinking it's because the ocean is too warm right now, and the river is too low. And maybe if we get the rain, then maybe they'll come in. I'm concerned about the fish, because I work with fish and game in the summer. They hardly get any fish there, and it's scary to think that Unalakleet would someday have no fish just like the other communities. So, that's my concern right there. And also finding the fish that are deformed, or not healthy."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

"Because... I've seen... You look there's lot of dead ones, you know, there's no question about that. But I've seen fish coming back down, going to the ocean. Get out to the ocean, and they keep swimming. What I figured, maybe some of them get well after they get back to the saltwater. Because uh... generally

they don't eat anymore once they get to the river. They have to go on, and if the trip upriver is really tough, and they die during their job there. That's natural. But I think some of them make it back out. But there's... it's really hard to prove though."

Charles O. Degnan

9. New Species Arrive

During the interviews, we asked whether any new species had been seen around, something never seen before.

"I spotted one this morning! But when was it? In the spring? It was in the spring. I spotted a screech... Screech Owl. They're not supposed to be up here! They're supposed to be down South East Alaska. See, we had a pair of screech owls here, in the spring. In April, I took picture of him. Yeah, they were around my house for a long time. And one spent the summer out there on the beach. He was always sitting on two trees. And it was... it was there for months! Feeding around, catching mice, I guess. I didn't see them this year. But we did have that screech owl near our house for a long time."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"Seems like we've seen more bugs, or different kind of bugs that we are accustomed to seeing. That's the only thing I could think of, the insects that we are seeing. We are seeing some ants, and I don't recall seeing those when I was growing up."

Steve Ivanoff

"One summer it was quite unusual, I saw a humming bird fluttering right by my window. And I looked at it, and I

thought what kind of a big bug is that. And I took a closer look, and it was a humming bird. And I don't know where it came from or where it went."

Elder Betty Anagick

"Actually we were picking berries with my mom, up on the hill, going through some willows and grass, and I just came to a stop because there was a great big spider. I had never seen a spider that big here in Unalakleet. And I just stood and stared at it! It was white, great white back. And I just went on to tell my mother about it, and she said, 'There has never been spiders like that.' And we should have gone and looked at it. [Also some people] Said that they had got a big sea fish upriver, and that had been the first time that happened."

Joan Johnston

"People have been seeing this year... This is the very first year, and I have not seen them... but I've had five different people tell me that, while they have been berry picking... I've been, not berry picking every day, this past two weeks, but I've never seen a grasshopper. But five people tell me that while they've been berry-picking, they see grasshoppers. And I've never heard of them here. What I also noticed was that the wild raspberries are bigger. Maybe it's because it's warmer."

Donna Eriksson

"There are bugs now that I haven't seen before, and it is kind of gross. I don't like bugs at all. It's amazing to see all kinds of bugs going around. And I think it is because it's so warm here compared to before."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

So, one other thing too, I think that oil spill might have something to do with

it, some of the bird species, they're not plenty as they used to be. Might be that they changed their migration pattern, but there really are some that disappear. We used to have swallows with red breast. I don't see them anymore. And this year, the plentiest swallow we have anymore are those with white... what they call them 'Mud Swallows.' Those, we never used to see them when I was a boy. So, even the ravens and crows, they never used to be around town. Now they're around town all year round. So, I hardly think that if it's the global warming, if some of the insects or the plant life is affecting their food. It's just the chain reaction. What I always think about too is that our people, they rely on these resources so much, I kind of worry about that. If the global warming really affects the salmon, and I think it does, ...salmon and all these other resources that natives subsist and rely on, when those are gone, it'll be hard on a lot of people here in our

Elder Stanton Katchatag

10. Impact of Changes and Forms of Adaptation

"It [lack of snow] restricts our access to some hunting and trapping grounds. You know, we're not able to get to places that we used to be able to get to. Because of the lack of snow. I mean the creeks, when the snow... when it snows [as it did in the past], it fills up the creeks. And [now] we're not able to get to where we want to, because the creeks aren't filled in." Steve Ivanoff

"There is very little activity on the ocean because of instability of the ice



Seashore 2008

the last few years. Like I said only once in the last six years, 'We are able to get some good crabbing.' And I could remember as a child, the ocean freezing completely solid, and looking out and seeing no water. And there isn't a day of the year that you... I mean you can probably just with a... Just a handful of days where you could look out and not see the water. The water is there all year, and I don't remember that growing up. We've done very little hunting on the ice the last few years because of the ice just being so unsafe. I mean it just hasn't been cold enough for a long enough period of time, to make it safe to travel."

Steve Ivanoff

"Like going out, and it's dangerous where the ice is real thin. And a lot of young kids will go out there. And they try to keep them from doing that. Or in the summer, to stay away, because we already had many deaths drowning in the ice. And there's already one kid that was saved from drowning into the ice, right behind here in the water."

Galen Doty

"There's a lot of difference there, early snow and late snow. I personally like to see early snow, the ground doesn't freeze too hard, and you can track the animals better. You see where they are. Snowless winters are terrible, the ground freezes too hard, and it kinda makes things different for the winter and spring. Yeah, so there's a difference there."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"I think we are coping with it. If it isn't right to hunt out on the ice, we'll just wait until we can do it with the boat. And I think that Unalakleet has adapted pretty well. Because we realize that if it's unable to do it safely, we'll find an

alternative time or alternative source for it. You know, like the last couple of years, we haven't had the caribou down here, like we did within the last decade. And, and we've adapted to that. You know, with alternative food sources."

Steve Ivanoff

"Basically what we are after is the same. We're hunting and fishing, [but] it's the same. The method of catching your subsistence is different. The people are different. They're not too dependent on subsistence. They, like my wife and I, after retirement, [ours is] maybe sixty percent subsistence and forty percent cash economy. Like we're doing now. But for years and years when we were running the lodge, we were like ninety percent cash flow economy. But now that we're retired we went back to our subsistence lifestyle, more and more. The Inupiaq culture probably went along the same route. They need money! So, they probably have more jobs. Look for more jobs. Now they go a longer ways, to do their subsistence. It costs more, that's a big change. Years ago we rolled, we pulled, we pushed our boat, we pulled our boat. We used dogs to pull our boat up river to berry picking, and fishing, and stuff. We didn't have the cash to buy the gas! Or we didn't have a motor to burn the gas with. We depended on our muscles and the dogs! Now the dogs are gone. That was a part of our tradition. We didn't eat as much fish as we do now, 'cause the dogs were fed with quite much dog salmon, and humpies, and stuff. We put up... There's quite a bit of change... Depending on whose family you're talking about. Some families are like eighty percent subsistence; some are like ninety, like more. And some are way less. Yeah, it's kind of like a mixed bag of economies"

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"Change is very slow. It's really not noticeable to the people that are here now. They are used to doing things their way. Things evolve, I mean when I was a kid there were very few airplanes, and now they got huge airplanes. And transportation system has changed. But change is so slow that it's hard to really notice, because it's gradual. But there's always change, even languages change. And skidoos came out, and they're used more than dog teams."

Charles O. Degnan

"Our lifestyle now... It is true that the native were barred from going to the bars at Nome, when Nome was discovered. In fact, maybe until the early 1930s they started letting the natives go to the bars, and they drink. And there's a lot of drinking over here in Unalakleet, and it's kind of changing their ways of living. People have a tendency of getting lazy on a count of that. Me and my wife, we try to maintain. You know, because we have girls. You know, we have five girls. That liquor in our town is a bad thing for them, you know. I drank a few a long time ago, when I was younger. But there's abundance of it right now. Also there are drugs, marijuana and you name it, they got it here. It's going to be here until there's somebody, until they're all gone. There are several trips from Anchorage a day with cargo planes, and they order all their liquor from Anchorage. That comes in here, and lot of bootlegging is going on. It wasn't like that a long time ago, of course once in a while somebody would make [homebrew]. Otherwise it changed

a lot. It changed the habitat of the people here and continues to do so. That's one of the things, that there should be a remedy for that, There is a remedy of that, but you have to buy. By these Alaska state laws, you have to do that. If they find out that you are bootlegging, you might get thrown to the can."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae "[When asked about traditional lifestyle and spirituality] They have this what they call the spirit camp, it is up in tributary of the Yukon river in Canada. We located them quite a ways a way, but there is a spirit camp there for people like that. They... it's their mandated by the state of Alaska, they are sentenced, and they go to jail or something like that. They'll have to go to that camp if they want to. There's a lot of things going out there, like how to fish. And there were no drinking there. And talked them, do not drink like that. Lot of people are sent there, not only here, but some of the villages like East of Barrow. Some of them gotta... Some of them are living outside of town."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae "It's not only here, it's all over Alaska. The native people, a lot of people, are dying or dead. They drown, whatever...I hope there is some kind of remedy. They got some kind of remedy for that you know. You're mandated by the law, that you got to attend this meeting here, every week. If not you're going have to serve time. I don't know, it's one of the things that nature... It should be taught that way. And there is some changes here. Some people you know, they realize it's not very good, and they change their lives. When I was thirty years old, there was a notice in the post office that whoever wants to be a fly service specialist, they called it with FAA [Federal Aviation Authority], that's a government arm. And we talk to the airplanes a lot, I went to school down to Oklahoma City. It took me about a year and a half to go to school there. And I had to do on a job training, finally I got certified and it changed my life. It really did. And if you work steady for somebody, like school district over here, it's good to stay there, and think of something in the future. I don't have to work the rest of my life now, I have a retirement from the school district, also I get social security, her and I, from the federal government. So, we are living OK."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"I think the women are in control now. I see a lot of women working more than the men. You see more women go out, driving, and hunting, and fishing. And here, I notice it a lot, that some men aren't doing anything. I think it's good, but then I think also that the men shouldn't give up. I mean because once you go out and do stuff like get the food and be busy you feel good about yourself. And I think it would be better if everyone just went out and did it."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

11. "If our ancestors were not stewards of these resources, we wouldn't have any resources now" – Power Relations

11.1 Our stories are our history

"The Inupiaq way of life, what they call subsistence, they changed it after Alaska

became a state. They are changing the rules and regulations. Before that Alaskan Department of Fish and Game never used to be around. The thing in subsistence way of life, what I can say is, 'That if our ancestors were not the stewards of these resources, we wouldn't have any resources now.' They had their own unwritten laws, the natives. They claim if you could not use any wild animal don't kill it, leave it and let it be. If you're hungry, kill it and use what you can. But especially in the summer time, when it's hot you can't save anything anyway. But they say, 'If you're way up, out of town, and you're hungry, and you see an animal, don't be afraid to kill it. Kill it and eat.

In summer time, when you have fish running, this would be a good time. Before they get these freezers, to put away fish. What they do is they dry them. And you have to... have to dry fish. You have to have good drying weather like this; otherwise it'll just spoil. And flies are awful here, and it'll just spoil.

The thing is that after the impact of non-natives in other villages, after this became a state, that's when we started losing our way of life. They put rules, because they didn't know. I always call these rules foreign laws. Because natives have their own unwritten rules, and they follow them and they respect their nature. They were close to nature, and close to land. And they had a strong respect even for plants. I meant a while ago, if you... if you won't need something, don't disturb them. And that goes to even plant life, like berries. They say, 'If you can't use it, just let it stay. Don't fool with them.' So, these are the things that are gone.

I might add, I think when it comes to statehood... that was way back in... I even forget the year, after the World War, around mid-fifties or somewhere there And there was a Statehood convention in Fairbanks And the convention people were more or less... I don't know the number of them, but only one of them was from here, and he was a missionary. To my understanding there were only two or three native people, when they drafted the state rule. And you know what? They were going... what their guideline was... what they call the 'Tennessee Plan.' That's how they draw up the constitution, under Tennessee plan. And so, what I'm getting at as natives, whether they're Aleuts, or Indians, or Eskimos, or Inupiag, we didn't have our representation at that time. So, that's a big problem now.

The only protection we have anymore... there are legislators going after that is what they call 'ANELKA.' It's called 'ANELKA.' And the Article 8 is the protection of not only the natives, but the resources too, you know. And the thing that they fight over is, that ANELKA was they claim unconstitutional, or conflicting Alaska Constitution.

I always say, when I was involved in this, 'Don't touch that, it's the only protection that the entire native people have in Alaska.' What they call 'ANELKA.' And the other thing, I might add, I know some of my people even would not look at it that way, is a 'ANCSA,' Alaska Natives Claims Settlement Act. At least here, and lot of other small places, they didn't really have a hearing on that, you know.

What they did, they selected few of the leaders from different places, and they put that together. And it's the Congress that put it together, it's under the Act of the Congress, both of them are. ANELKA was under the Congress too, and they shouldn't fool around with it. It's... it's a projection of our, what they call, sovereign way of life of the native people. What they do at times is they would ask... I know... I have been asked to explain sovereignty. Sovereignty, to me is a way of life that was already established here before the migration of people.

Our ancestors were the only people here at one time. Then I don't know, I think somewhere around the 1800s the Russian's traders and hunters came over, and they established that. And then sometime later, I think it was 1867 or somewhere there, they someplace, that a guy named Seward, he was Interior Secretary, I think. Claimed he was the one who arranged and sold Alaska. To me, Alaska has never been sold. They don't believe that. They don't go by that for a simple reason. What I hear a lot... what Russian... Russian people that were here sold that, sold their right to hunt in Alaska. If they bought... you know, somebody figured sometime ago... You know, what Uncle Sam pays for Alaska? Two cents per acre."

Elder Stanton Katchatag

"The knowledge that my dad has is an oral tradition. He can speak the native language Inupiaq to people North and Yupiaq to the people in South. And he knows the ways, he knows the cultures and the knowledge he has is an oral tradition. So, like I said if it breaks, there is a break in communication from father to son, because of modern education. And then we can't stand to lose generations

of knowledge that's not written down. That's why I told him, 'The knowledge that you have is far more important than what I was able to attain.' Because that's the tradition, that's what brought us to people we are today."

Jerry Ivanoff

"The world has changed in how it's going, and the stories that my grandmother and father used to tell me about how Eskimo culture was, and how they did things was completely different from what we do now! Because of the educational system, the United States government, and all the governments around the world have impacted us. So, they're changing us. They're forcing us to change, because of the educational system and the tools that are available. And it's just a normal thing when people, you know, you're always eager to try something different. That's part of what caused the change. And when I was going into the army... what year was that? 1966, I drove down the highway to Seattle, and there you could see the change in the air. We had clean air, down there it was starting to get hazy and dirty. And by the time I came back in two years, that stuff had moved further North. And then you couldn't see around here way up high where you could see, that how clouds were."

Charles O. Degnan

11.2. "I worry about my culture, my people" – Fisherman Jerry Ivanoff voices concern

"Our argument is about subsistence right now, and the subsistence rights of native people. They don't even know what it is, And you know, they try to find a definition for us. And we are quite a diverse group of people, where it is Eskimos in Northern Alaska, Athabaskans to the East, Inupiaqs to the North, Yupiaqs to the South, Tlingits down in South-East. We all have different harvesting patterns. We all have different species that we utilize, and different cycles available to us. But if they kill the fish species, which is, I think centre, core to the subsistence activities, then they will... Why argue about the subsistence, when they kill the resources and our culture, [since] our being [is] dependent of them.

I mean, I've grown up eating fish all my life, and to watch and see what is happening now, this commercialization is scary. In the sixties, boats from Japan, Russia, you name it, were out there. Then the Americanization in the 1980s, they brought in the American fleet. And they were doing the same thing, catching millions of tons of fish, and towing out my salmon... as my catch...millions of tons of it, with no economic return to the people, who are suffering.

Myself as a commercial fisherman now, I feel that I deem to have a law suit against the federal and the state government for depletion of stocks. If I take them to court, to the Supreme Court, I think I will. It is not about the money, I worry about the culture. I'm worried about the fish resources, I'm worried about the tradition that won't be able to pass on to the next generation.

You know, this is what we did. These are the humpies that we cut, and you dry on this way, and you make a mark, and you put it away to see this way. These are the kings [Chinook], you cut them, and make strips, and smoke fish you have already put away this way. These are the silver [Coho] salmon, they come late. And



Jerry Ivanoff 2008

you make them with dry fish. And then they come and they freeze so that they dry soft. That we can eat them, our elders can eat them without the false teeth. It's easier to eat, it is easier to chew.

Without the fish resources I worry about the tradition, I worry about my people. I saw that king salmon species go from twenty thousand to nothing in twenty years. The humpback [pink] salmon are in dire straits since 1992. We've had some crashes from north to south. Subsistence closures in AWK area, which is in up here. Subsistence closures that never happened before in history, you know. All through management... mismanagement, of the state of Alaska, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and the North Pacific Fishing Management [Council] Conference on the federal side. Again, I could take them to court. And I think I can win. I have a pretty good case."

"I just worry if the salmon are not coming back, what are we gonna teach our children? Do we keep buying with McDonalds, Burger King, fish sandwiches? It does not taste as great as when you pull them up, and you're cooking 'em, and putting on the frying pan. If they dare, just alive or no. My caribou steak tastes better than the beef, that's sure.

and [the meat] has been aging for four months. My caribou meat, I take it out, and cut it up. And the first one I feed them, my dog. And the next one I cut up, they are all good. They are all red meat, and fresh, and real good meat. But that to me is a sensitive issue, when it comes to fish."

"Our ability to survive as native people been depends a lot on that fish and it's staple in our diet. All governments are hurting us. In the international scene, the pirates come out here beyond the two hundred mile limit, even within the limit, and catch whatever they can. Japanese with their one hundred mile nets catch all species. Catch all marine mammals, and whatever they can pull into that boat. Of course, with a country that has no natural resources, they come here, and take what we've survived with for generations. I'm worried of those. On the national scene, we have the North Pacific Fishers [Fish-

ing Management] Council now, managing the fish resources two-hundred miles to three miles, where the state takes over. And they get a lot of pollock. Pollock resources might be stable, and might be, even good condition. But I worry about the rest of the resources, are they gonna be able to sustain the level of by-catch, what they destroy out. But pollock resources stay the same, because they are so healthy and they have the largest numbers. All the other species are going to take the drastic dip down so far, I worry about that.

I grew up in a time when basically we were the only ones here. We were discovered [by] Bering, [Vitus Bering], but he landed in Sitka, way down there in the South-East panhandle over Alaska. They did not 'discover' us until way later, you know what I mean, funny that we should have to be 'discovered.' And



Shoreline 2002

it's only since you know, 1800s, that this happened. 1867, they say all of Alaska, 'Sure it is folly.' I didn't sign no piece of paper that gave away our rights to the land, to my subsistence lifestyle. When they signed the state product, I didn't as a native person. I didn't sign any proclamation saying that we give up any native rights to our subsistence lifestyle, the land that we've used for generations.

They resolve to get the oil. You know, how do we settle this land thing to get at that oil. That is an awful lot of money, astronomical figure to someone who hunted and fished. And money is not... cash is not a part of our society. We didn't have no flush toilets, no cable TV, no VHF ['very high frequency' radio for marine use], no fishfinders, no depth sounders, no monofilminating. Nor thirty miles long ships, that can stay out on the ocean, and basically be a little village, or harvesting process that fills up a hundred thousand tons of fish. And they have that capability, that's scary.

We grew in a times, where we were the only ones here and we owned the whole state. You know, the native people did. That forty million acres, sound [like] an awful lot of land that they say they give us. But there's 364 million acres in the State of Alaska. What happened to the other 328 million, that was divided up between the federal government and state government? Our land, and they have taken the land. They've taken the money derived from that land. They've taken the money derived from the oil, and they've spent it in urban centers. While our communities go without water and sewer yet. And that [water and sewer] is kind of nice, I like flushing toilet. The modern conveniences are nice, but I... Again the injustices of modern society, as it is infringed the human, seem to like the reality. The right of a native person to remain a native person. They are trying to find us in subsistence, that don't make any sense, when their doings the... That should be regulated. You know, it's our people that pay the ultimate price. And they look after their big money, the big checking accounts. And they are dealing with billions of dollars, not 962 million 500 thousand. We paid a heck of a price.

Native people have to be a part of the society. They have the right to be here, and we have a right to be here. And I'd like to keep fishing and hunting, and pass on what my dad taught me, plentiful, bounty of the ocean, and the bounty of our land that we live in. It's amazing what we have, I mean people pay money to go fishing on rivers for king salmon. And they came on, and they want to go caribou hunting. They'd love to go over hunting like we can. But I'm glad that there is an 'X'- amount of marine mammals. And if don't raise them, then nobody cares for the generations to come."

"Japan tries to stop our native people in Barrow from bowhead [whale] hunting. That's food, like you know, just like the fisheries out here. That's their food, that's what they eat, and how they survive. Japan was one of those countries that commercialized whaling way back, and they thought they disseminated the resources. Why are our people continuing paying the price, for somebody else's mismanagement or greediness?

But we've come a long way, jobs are available now, scholarships are available for changing lifestyles, and our dynamic youth is able to take on the educational system and survive. We can become the teachers. We can become lawyers and doctors, the jobs that are available here. We can become the superintendent, and it should be one of us. And until that happens, they haven't been doing their job properly. I worry about the generations to come. That's why education is so important. Like I said, 'It took me fifteen years to get graduated from Stanford, but I got it.' Piece of paper nobody can take away from me. I was able to survive."

"When you're talking about fishing, that's core, to me. It is what brought us this far. It comes on my table, and it's fresh all the time. I depend on it on annual basis, starting of... with the herring. We get herring when the ice melts. then the king [Chinook] salmon right after that. I love king salmon fishing, because they are so big. When you're dealing with a big king salmon, it'll throw you around. And it just... it fills your inner

being. You just have to do it, it is a part

of your cycle of life. It is something that

Jerry Ivanoff

I do in June.

I do my *oogruk* [bearded seal] hunting in May, my caribou hunting in January, rabbit hunting in the winter time, sometime in February or March. I pick berries now, in June, July, August, and September; and put away my fish, dried fish. I also got my humpy dried fish put away, and my stoked fish put away. And put some ball fish away too. I still crave the food I grew up with, and I'd like to pass that on.

But I worry if they kill the resources, that not only we depend, but the marine mammals depend on. If those fish species are gone, what are they gonna eat? If they change the cycle of life, that we depend on, there is a missing part of that cycle that revibrates [reverberates] throughout the whole cycle. You end up with nothing. It's kind of scary."

11.3. "If there's a big spill it's going tolast for how long, I don't know, how long does oil last?" – Oil, gas, and the environment

"I have really deep concerns about oil and gas development. I think it benefits primarily the huge companies and the nation as whole. And they don't take care of the local people, I mean, they say they do. And they do indirectly through taxes and the employment. But based on their experience with the North Slope development, there were very few native people that got hired up there permanently. There's some. You know, there's no question that there's benefit there. But the majority of people didn't really have an opportunity. Most of the people employed were outside people, imported to do the work. And that's been common in Alaska since the beginning of world trade. And they always say, 'You're not qualified enough, 'even if you are!"

Charles O. Degnan

"And then how long does oil pollution last? It's really... it's really hard. You know, there's always the argument of scientists. Western scientists versus aboriginal people, and how they know their area. And generally the scientists are written-language based, and document based. And they don't believe anybody unless several people saw it. And when they're dealing with fish and game, and wildlife, there's no way, You know, they're always behind schedule by fifty years. I summarized Western science being 'oops' science. 'Oops we didn't account for that.' And you know they

have to modify. There's nothing wrong with the technique, and it's proven that it works, but it's just... It's hard to apply to human life and hunting, gathering and fishing stuff like that, you know. And, like the Valdez oil spill spilled a whole bunch of oil, and now they're trying to find out what impact it's having. And they still haven't really found out. They have found out some things they agree on. But scientists that work for the oil company, and scientists that work for government, and scientists that are working for clean water and air and all that. You know, they don't agree! So the answer is there, the interpretation is different."

Charles O. Degnan

"The concern I have is oceans and their inter-relations with land. Alaska has a long coastline and everything migrates through the Bering Sea, and into the Arctic Ocean. And that it's important to protect it, and that it's healthy. I've heard that Russia may have had ocean dumping with radioactive material, and that's a concern. And also there is the practice of dumping in the ocean. Historically, I think caused a lot of damage. I think, but it's hard to tell. Because the oceans are pretty deep and who knows how it's taken care of. And you know those old ships, that they used to sink, and what happens to them, and how they interact with the ocean. I imagine the ocean cleans itself. You know, through wave action, and current actions, and wind and rain, and all that. I think, the action helps to clean it. But I really don't know about [what kind of impact] radioactive debris and oil spills would have on everything. I know they do have an impact, but how much of it, and how would an ocean heal itself. Because the way governments have secrets, and commercial enterprises have secrets, they don't want to share. So it's really hard to tell how those impact our people."

Charles O. Degnan

12. Cultural change

"Eskimo dancing is something that the people are trying to revive. And I think, when I was a child I didn't even [know] what Eskimo dancing was. There were missionaries that came before our time and established a church here and so a whole town. There never used to be no houses here, no airport, no grave cemetery, that used to be about a mile away from our people. That changed the behavior of family life. I will always be kinda sad about two things really. When we were growing up there were no interference, no TV, no telephone, no radio, no electrical appliance. Family used to all chip in and work together, and it isn't that way anymore, and [that is] what really bothers me. In our family we have seven all together, four girls and three boys. All the girls are living in Anchorage now. Our family is close is what I mean, but there are some families unfortunately that are not that close. And that bothers me

And the community too, for that matter, are losing their way of sharing food. They don't share food anymore, like in the winter time around first part of March or late February or whenever it gets kinda warm. They used to go way out, and they used to get those what we call *oogruk* [bearded seal], them big seals. Whoever get it, when they come they would share it with the whole village. And they don't

do that anymore. And one other thing, I think they still practice in some other places, but here I don't notice that anymore, is that if you're a boy and you get your first caribou, or first seal, or whatever, you pass it around to the elder of the village. All the elders, because these are



Hut 2002



Downtown 2002

not very big you know. So, those things are what I miss.

And I think one other thing too, that resources like plant life, some things that they used to put away, they don't even put away no more. Our generation... like wild rhubarb, they would go out and get those. Those are good. And what they call, a... leaves, certain bush, got leaves, we still do eat them. But they don't put them away that much anymore. The reason is that they rely on these freezers.

You know, what they do. Maybe, this one reason why too they don't share much of their catch, because they got a place to put them. Before that, right fresh, when they ever get them, they share them. They used to have sharing spirit long ago. And that's what bothers me. They're not like that anymore. And like said, 'The families are not that close together anymore.'"

Elder Stanton Katchatag

"In this community, it's pretty amazing how different this community is, if you go to other communities around this region. It seems like their native lifestyle is completely dissolved. Like there is hardly anybody who does anything. I mean, they still hunt and fish, but they don't do it with native style. Whereas, if you go up for north slope, their first language is Yupiaq, that's how they speak as an Eskimo, It's not dissolved. The Russian Orthodox missionaries... [really didn't go up there, or they did but it wasn't that heavy]. I like to go to Wainwright, there is small village. They really are strong in Eskimo values. And they got a dance group that goes to all the Eskimo gatherings around Alaska and the world. And it's just really dissolved here."

Kaare Eriksson

"It wouldn't be real if everybody tried to act like they are Eskimos here, I mean, they are Eskimos. And I mean, it's possible. But don't get me wrong, there are Elders here that still live that lifestyle. And they are really smart, and they know a lot of stuff. The problem just is that the younger generation does actually... like not the youth of today, but like the youth of our, maybe seventies, sixties, eighties that. You've kind of pushed, like that stuff away. So, now there're kids like me.

And the generation around me don't really do that kind of stuff, There are still Elders who speak Eskimo to each other, and the problem just is that the youth doesn't listen enough."

Kaare Eriksson

"Salmon, I think. Because we are so salmon dependent, being a coastal community. And it's been in our blood for



Paul Ivanoff III 2008

years, and years, and years to be the salmon fishermen. I think that's the biggest threat, the loss of our subsistence salmon. Our reliance on salmon. I think that's one of the biggest concerns that I have, as far as what my kids and my grand children will be able to use and consume healthily. There are a lot of worries, culturally speaking, about the death of our culture. When I say 'culture,' I mean a lot of things. I mean subsistence. It encompasses a lot of things. You know you could look at language, you could look at the subsistence lifestyles, you could look

at the emotional wellbeing of our culture, it's a broad question. I'm worried about our culture. I'm worried, my generation does not speak our native language, we just speak English. And that's mainly from this village. There are other villages where they teach their native language from the third grade. And then they introduce English as a second language by the time they're sixth-seventh grade. And by the time they're 8th grade it's primarily English. And I very much admire that. But our culture is in trouble. Seriously, when you look at it from that point-ofview of subsistence, it is because we are so reliant on salmon. As far as caribou. moose, and seal go, well, I think that's still healthy."

Paul Ivanoff III

"The most scary thing is that we are losing our subsistence. Our fish are getting less. And they're starting to build more stuff, it's just taking away the things in nature. That's my concern, that we are eventually going to lose it. And that's going to intervene with the culture. If you lose your subsistence harvesting, you lose a big part of your culture as well. Some of us live off the fish, and the caribou, and everything. And it's becoming so industrialized, and the kids later on eventually are not going to know about the subsistence lifestyle, I think."

Jobina Ivanoff

"It's different now, because back then we didn't have a lot of things that we have now, like TV and computers. As kids we played out more, we were outside playing games, and what not, and playing with other kids. Nowadays kids are not used to eating their meat and food, and I feel that they're more Westernized. The fact is, that it is just me and my husband

eating the food I put away, the native food, I mean. Once in a blue moon, our kids will join us when I make a dinner for them, but they're not really used to eating our native foods. And that's kind of sad."

Joan Johnston



Joan Johnston 2008

"The language? My parents spoke it fluently when they went to school. They were punished so much [at school for speaking it], that they decided when they had us that they didn't teach us. And that's when it died out right there. I could speak just phrases, and I could understand only phrases, but I can't speak it fluently. But my kids, they... because I can't talk it, they're not learning it. I'm sure it's difficult when you don't have it in the family. In that sense, that you don't have it taught every day. And that's a problem, I guess all over in the indigenous cultures. That it's been so harsh, the change that you have to speak whatever the dominant language is. Like... I hope some of the young guys would be interested in learning the old language again."

Joan Johnston

"I grew up in Barrow and I came here for boarding school in 1978. And our lives in Barrow revolved around putting away food for the whole community, whaling. When I was growing up we always were around, Like my mum was always busy putting away food. And I came here to Unalakleet and I was so shocked that people did not live like that. I mean, for me it was just different... I was so shocked first of all that the first person I talk to could not speak in Eskimo. I asked her a question in Inupiag, and this girl who I could obviously tell was native, my age, and she laughed kind of nervously. And I asked her, 'Did you understand me in Eskimo?' And she laughed again. And I asked her in English, 'Did vou understand me?' And she said, 'No.' I said, 'You don't speak Eskimo?' 'No.' So, I immediately looked for a phone and called my parents in Barrow, and said, 'Mom, I met an Eskimo, who cannot speak Eskimo.'

But as far as the difference in cultures, a lot of that sharing I grew up with very, very sharing, it is not here, but... It not like that here. But then my husband and I lived out in St. Lawrence Island, Savoonga in 1988 to 1990 and their culture was just like that Barrow culture, very much, very sharing, very subsistence. But times are changing everywhere."

Donna Eriksson

"[When asked about the traditional Inupiaq spirituality] I think it's forever gone here. My first ten to fifteen years that I've lived here I've spent mostly with elders, old ladies. Learning how to sew the traditional patterns, and so I have taught myself. And I've spent a good, I would say at least two to three hours a day trying to learn how. I even learned how to make the Laplander boots the old way. And I've spent a lot of time with the old ladies. They have all passed away now, there is only one left. I was

self teaching myself how to saw skins in traditional ways.

And a lot of my time I spent with the old women, we talked about the past. And the church had a big huge influence, as far as taking away any native spiritual Eskimo dances. Everything that the church taught them, it [dancing] was very wrong, any kind of Eskimo beliefs or taboos. These old women, that I've got to know so well, really had very strong feelings that Eskimo dancing was wrong and stuff like that. And I think it could come back, but it would have to borrowed from other villages, as there is no Unalakleet dances that anybody knows of and knows how. When you Eskimo-danced, each village had their own certain style, there is no [universal style]. It would have to be borrowed and recreated. No, it [traditional native beliefs] is not here...

I remember hearing about those things as a little girl in Barrow, when I was growing up. And feeling more connected to the land and to the animals up there than here... My brothers always sealhunted when we were growing up. And I'd help my mom butcher seals. And one thing we always did first thing when they brought the seal home. We put fresh water in its mouth, so that the seal will come back. And it's all this small belief that my mom had tied in us. And when I did it here, everyone laughed at me, 'She's raving,' 'What did she do?' 'She was raving,' It's just an old Eskimo way, and none of that is here."

Donna Eriksson

"Right, they... [the linkages between past and today] are broken. You know, when the generation before me went to boarding schools a lot of those things

were broken. Because my mom was born in a sod house in Shishmaref, she knew no English. She was born in 1932. And in 1942, she was taken from her village and brought to a boarding school, and she was stripped off her language. She was very, very traumatized, and it affected her life, and her siblings, and their generation. So, they turned to alcohol. And then they couldn't raise us children. They lost their culture, they lost their way of teaching their children, they lost their parenting skills in these boarding schools. Come back to the village, and you see broken homes and broken families. And now that my mother is an Elder, she can reach back to her first ten years of life, and try to remember and try to teach. Try to heal, vou know..."

Donna Eriksson

"I don't think there needs to be resistance... [towards traditional way of life nor towards Christianity]. I think that you can do both. I believe that our ancestors had very strong belief in their spiritual world. And I think that the future generations reach back and find what they can, and try to restore some of that, some of the old culture, but then continue. Everything has to change with time, everything must change. I think that the little that I know, I can teach my children, and they can still be college educated and continue on. They don't need to resist religion. And they can depend on God, I mean... I think that you can't get back to the old ways, there's absolutely no way...I've spent so much time with old people, listening to their stories of their hardships, and how life was so hard a long time ago. And that we can take the best part of that culture, hang on to it, and move on. And take the best from both worlds and try to continue on "

Donna Eriksson

"I did really grasp on to trying to learn as much as I could as far as skin sewing goes. I learned so many, many things that nobody in the world knows. I mean like for example I tried to make very old pattern from hundred years ago, with modern materials. And I asked from all these ladies, I went to Shishmaref, from where my mom is from, and I went home to home and asked, 'Who is the best skin sewer here? Can I visit her? Can I talk to her?' And I asked her, 'Why were the parkas designed the way they were? What do they mean when all the parkas had walrus tusks?'

And they were put there for a reason. That means good luck. And I've seen that they were worn in Canada, Greenland, United States, I mean America. And all the native tribes throughout the North had that, and that was tusks. And the belief was that if you sewed it into your parka, that the walrus will bring you good luck wherever you go. And also I found out different parts about a parka. The women, on the front, had sewn a piece of fur that was a different color, and that was called 'the line of birth. And from there you can hang tusks of how many children you have. That also went with, from different tribes Canada to Alaska, and Greenland. And I did not see any in Russia though.

I identify myself as Inupiaq, and when people say 'Eskimo,' it does not bother me at all. It has never ever bothered me. I am half white and half Inupiaq. And when I was growing up my friends all spoke Inupiaq for a first language, and I learned English so a lot of my time was spent translating. I've always felt, all of

my life, that I could fit in both worlds. That I can fit, feel comfortable. I feel in the right place amongst my culture, my native culture, and then yet I can be confident enough and be out in the white world. And I think that you can take best of both.

I've always thought that you can have the best of both worlds if you try, and you don't have to sit and whine and complain about... [oh this happened to my people, so much trauma has happened to my people]. We need to get over that. And we need to try to strive to heal our children. Try to strive to heal our families, and all that. We are finding out now that all our traditional foods are more healthy for bodies. And the traditional ways of healing are right, and have always been right. When I was growing up, my grandmother and my mom they always had us...For every little ailment, they had us this stinkweed. It tasted really bad, the juice made from the leaves. I just read in the newspaper that University of Alaska did a study of... I think it was the University of Alaska, that stinkweed plant. They were just amazed that the cancer fighting, how that is so good for the body, especially for people with cancer or any kinds of ailments. For generations then, native people have been using it to cure their illnesses, and now scientifically they are planning out that it really does works.

So, I think that you can do it, you can take the best of both worlds. You can get educated. And come back and try to hang on to culture. And try to do traditional things, and still come home and turn on the TV and watch the news, and use your microwave. And you know you can have the best of both worlds, I think. That's

what I think."

Donna Eriksson

"Oh yes, Eskimo dancing. When I was little, maybe I was ten years old, Mr. Larsen, our pastor, on the 4th of July, they started. You know, they started Eskimo dancing, and he came by real quickly with a bicycle. And he stopped the shows. 'Please no Eskimo dancing in Unalakleet.' I think he might have thought, maybe he thought, it was against our religion to have that. I don't know for what reason. It's, you know, Eskimo dancing. It's coming back though in Unalakleet. They teach young kids how to dance when they are young. And I think it's good for them. I don't think there is anything with that. It is good entertainment "

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae "Me and my wife, we try to teach our

"Me and my wife, we try to teach our girls as much as we can, about subsistence way of living. We try to pick berries, teach them how to make seal oil, put away food. And I'm glad they are doing it right now. But you know, getting back to your question about how will it change. Like I mentioned 'The spirit camp'... How should I say it...? I think it's up to themselves, that they should learn to do it'

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"That's a thing that happened here. A lot of it deals with the school, we have a lot of Elders, and we do a lot of stuff with Elders in our school. We [study] a lot their traditions, and we communicate with them a lot. Lot of our projects, we do in some of our classes, deal with our Elders. And we go way back, and [talk] about this village. In our history classes, we have a lot of questions to ask about Alaska and this village, so we go and in-

terview the Elders. There's maybe thirty of us, and we go and interview all of our elders. And we stick all our slides together, all our tapes together, and then we just make it like a... one big tape interview. And after we are done interviewing and we got all our questions, then we go and watch our tape. And then we go through, and get our answers to our questions that we are looking for. We actually do with this because the elders have stories, and then the young guys have questions, and we try to bridge them together."

Galen Doty

"For spirituality, in the Inupiaq spirituality there's a higher power, and you have to show respect to all the animals and everything. And it's just a good way to live. Because traditionally when we get animals or fish for the first time, we give it away. Because spiritually we feel that then, they'll come back to us."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

One of the things that I'm really concerned about is suicide. Lot of our young people are committing suicide, and really for no good reason. And I cannot really pinpoint the problem, because there are so many. One of them is alcohol. The other one is like bingo, they drop out in school. Their parents, some people with children, shouldn't play bingo every night, because the children that go to school in the morning need rest in order to learn anything. And if drinking and staying up is involved, they don't get rest that they need. You know, old folks like us that don't bother that much right? Children do need rest, that's the whole thing.

And one other thing, although there are some, some people they still bring their children out to hunt. But one

thing I don't approve is, when they let these young children go by themselves. We saw one way, way up the hill other side. He was just a small boy. He pass us, we were driving four-wheelers, and he looked back and waved at us. Just a small boy, surprised he shouldn't be out alone because there's bears and them things up there. And some days there's no traffic, and some, some days there's heavy traffic. We don't have much road here, just fourteen miles up, it's not that far anymore either. During break-up, I think it makes it impossible to go across river with truck or anything bigger than four-wheeler. Four-wheeler'll go across alright. So, I think the children should have curfew. That's another thing, in wintertime they would allow them to go around with snow machines even way late at night. You know, when we need rest, we need rest! And now summertime, although for some reason, they don't do that much anymore this summer. You used to see them go back and forth with four-wheeler. You know, little kids at night time.

Elder Stanton Katchatag

13. Relations with Russia

"We were pretty much in contact even during the Cold War. Yeah, a lot of guys out on the islands, met their folks out on the ocean, International date line, and exchanged gifts and stuff, you know. And there was still contacts being made to relatives, from both sides. My grandfather came over. My great-grandfather and my uncles were all from Siberia. Let's see, long ago, in 1870s, I can't give you an exact date, but they came

over and settled in St. Michael's. So, that's how I came about with my Russian family. My grandfather was born in 1872. Stefan Ivanoff, and his father was Sergey Ivanoff. He was seven when they came across, see he's... he was... They migrated out of Ukraine along the forest and wound up over here. Built some boats and cut across!"

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"As far as the natives of that part of the world, I think they're similar as far as, on what we rely on, food, especially when you're talking about the subsistence lifestyle. Us being a part of the Western civilization, we get a lot more than what the Russians and the Far East would get, as far as meat, fruits, and vegetables. It's an interesting comparison, the two. There is a night and day difference in the quality of life."

Paul Ivanoff III

"Actually it seems that they are so far away. But I do believe that what they do over there to the environment, comes across to Alaska."

Joan Johnston

"We were living in Savoonga, in St. Lawrence Island, when the Iron Curtain fell, and my husband took a group of students from the high school, and one of the very first trips were to New Chapelino and Cyrenicio, or whatever they are called, I can't remember the villages. I witnessed living out there at that time. I spent a lot of time visiting the Elders there also, it is one of my favorite past times.

And I talked to the Elder there, just visiting with him when at that time I was asking him what happened? He said: 'I had a sister when they closed the bor-

der she had to decide if she was gonna live here or there, and she chose to live there. And we've never heard of her familv. 'And he wanted to know if there were anv... if... He heard that his sister had passed away twenty years ago. And he wanted to know if there were any children, or grandchildren, or nieces. And that the emotions that they had, that it was a very touchy subject to old people, when the Iron Curtain fell, to find relatives, to find out how closely related they were. You know, St. Lawrence Island and Russia, how close they are, and to finally find each other again that was very interesting. I never did get to go, 'cause I did not have a, what you call 'visa' or I didn't get that. I wanted to follow, but I couldn't go.

But I did learn at St. Lawrence Island how to sew a parka from eider skins, that nobody knows how to make, that's only in museums now. This lady and I, we started collecting the skins of birds, a museum piece just for ourselves, because nobody makes them anymore. But we never did finish, she became sick. And maybe someday I'll finish that parka. For a long time I did lot of sewing, and then I started teaching it in school as a volunteer, and then I also learned how to do masks. Mask making, and then I travelled around, just this region to Nome schools and taught mask making. And some other classes that I've taught to this mostly St. Michael school were skin sewing, basket weaving...

One thing we did for fun, my husband and I lived in St. Michael's for seven years. He is a teacher and they are Yupiaqs south up here. And one thing I did with the old ladies there was to collect grass. And I asked them if we could do

it the old traditional way, and dye them with berries, and so we did. It took us maybe six months. We collected grass, dried them, picked the berries, cooked the grass and the berry juices, dried them, and then made baskets. So it was a lot of fun. It was something that had not been done in ...I don't know in how many years, many years."

Donna Eriksson

"[When asked about difference between Yupiaq and Inupiaq cultures] There is a distinct difference. But there are very, very many similarities. The sharing is the same. The cultural values are pretty much the same. The big differences are that the Yupiags have held on to a lot of their old beliefs, that have been lost in the Inupiag cultures. And the Yupiags have held on to their traditional dances. I see very many similarities between the two different tribes, but there are a lot of differences too... And right here in Unalakleet, you could see that in our Elders, some lean towards the south and some lean towards the north. And the dialects too, some of the old ladies when I was trying to speak in Inupiaq they only knew Yupiaq. And I could understand dialects that are the more northern ones. but I could not understand the southern ones."

Donna Eriksson

"That's a tough question all right, but since the Cold War ended, everything has opened across the Bering Strait. People go visit, especially this Siberian Yupiaqs of St. Lawrence Island, they go across. It's only forty miles away, and they go over there and visit their relatives. I know it's very harsh living over there, the way I heard it. We throw away a lot of old nets here, herring nets, maybe their web is too

small. And they recycle some of those old nets, and they put them all together and send them over to Siberia. Russian natives. I heard there was some crying over there on a count of they got nets now. Whereas the Siberian government or the Russian regime didn't take care of their people very much, on a count of being a communist country. It's... Right now, it's getting better every year. We have humanitarian trips out from Nome, they collect a lot of food and clothing, and you know, for their essential being over there. I glad about that. I don't think there was too much change, on account of the next door neighbors across the Straits. We [also] had a lot of reindeer long time ago, but you know, we have herds over there [here in Unalakleet]. They migrate with caribou. Not to change the subject, but you know, they are gone. People have about 500-600 reindeer."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae "You've probably seen that island out there, they call it Besboro Island. She and I, we fished herring, commercial herring for maybe fifteen years or more, maybe twenty. And one year, Icicle Seafoods, they sold all their herring from here to the Russians. So, that Russian big ship was over there by the island. And I watched them load and load, you know, like that they were working. And they get to eat American food, I guess, and kind of change their diet a little bit."

Elder Oscar Koutchak and his wife Mae

"I read an article a couple of years ago, about a Russian community where they had no food. It was in the Anchorage Daily News or something, but it was about the people. You know, suddenly their dogs are disappearing because they have no food. And I talked about it with

my students in school, and I told them that if we get to a point where we can't get any food to Unalakleet, we'll have to learn to live off the land just like the people who are in Russia. You know, it seems that they're living more traditional. The communities are closer on this side of Russia. They're living a more traditional way of life than we're used to. And it... So, I think it's important to support."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

14. "I know when the weather is changing" – Sundogs, Moondogs, and Weather Prediction

"I do it. I learned that from my grand-father, he raised me. I know when the weather's changing. The weather is a lot more unstable than it was before. I make mistakes on the count of [it], I say, "Well, Possible, Maybe.' But years ago, if he said, in our native language, 'Now it's time to go home the weather's changing.' He knew, sure enough. We'd make it to the house in time, big storm would show up! Yeah, they did. They knew how to handle the weather by observation, not by math or anything like that. They do know."

Leonard Brown together with his wife Mary Brown

"I think it [knowledge of weather] changes gradually. Right now you got satellites and television, and they... they keep communications going. But, I think some people can read weather very well, and for what they do. I mean, they take care of themselves, like the fishermen



Seashore 2008

and hunters. And they know what's going on, and they can tell what is gonna happen. So, they're prepared for what's coming up. I know, one of my friends told me that he was suspicious about his weather forecasting ability, because of the change. He said, 'The ice isn't as thick as it used to be, the currents are different, and the weather patterns changed a bit.' So, when you see the different cloud formations in relation to the hills. you know there is a change. It changed a bit. It's harder to tell, how the weather's going to act with his knowledge. So, we, the younger ones we are a bit more dependent on... they're using the Internet now And there's more observation in points that's formalized. A long time ago you just depended on yourself. You know, where you are at and you had to read the weather for your own benefit, and your memory of what happened before. You don't have to think about it, you just have to be ready to go and do the stuff. And now that weather forecasting has become more formal and more [dependent on] modern technology for... I don't know... It's just different! It's not mind based it's... technology based with mind interpreted."

Charles O. Degnan

"I've heard that Elders can do that stuff. I remember Elders like saying, like, I don't remember exactly, but you can see if it's gonna rain on you in twenty minutes or not. You can see [it from the ways the] clouds are going and see what kind of clouds are coming. Sun mostly comes with calm weather, or you can somehow see if it is going to be there within the next few hours. But I don't know how to predict the weather."

Kaare Eriksson

"There is a sun dog, that's one warn-

ing. And then we have a hill over here, if there's a cloud over it that means storm is brewing. They still do look at the hill, for if there's a cloud over it, it's a storm warning. And they call the rainbow like light around the sun, my husband used to call them 'sundogs,' and that's another sign."

Elder Betty Anagick

"I've heard [about] the ring around the sun. Some of the things I've heard [about it] is that it's going to be real windy the next day. And the fog on the tundra, they say, 'It's usually going to be a really hot day the next day.""

Jobina Ivanoff

"My father used to say, 'That if there is a sundog,' like a rainbow around the sun, 'that means wind.' And during the winter 'It's colder weather coming.' And if you look at the island, we have the hill, there's a cloud over on the top of it, don't go out. If it's at the bottom, don't go out because it's really [rough] out there, which is true. And if it's kind of black on the horizon, that [means] bad weather too. We, I mean our family still [follows these signs]."

Joan Johnston

"One thing my grandma showed me, that I remember was when I lived with her at a fish camp in Nome. She taught me in the summer, just few little things, but she always used to read the weather and tell me by the clouds, if it is going to be windy. One thing she taught me, when I was a little girl, was to look at the fireweed, and as they are blooming, if you measure with your pointer finger and there is this much left of bloom. You use your finger for a month, there is one month summer left. If there is two finger-length there is two months of summer left. That's how you tell the months of the summer, by the fireweed. The big, pillowy clouds, I can't really remember, would tell you how the waves and the ocean will be. If it is good enough to go for boating, or later on in the fall, when it starts to get dark. If the moon is not this way, but if it's this way, it is filling with water, so the next day it will rain. Just little things like that. I just remember them reading the weather, sitting out. You know as I was playing. I wasn't really aware because I was so young, but I remember my aunts and uncles, and my grandparents, or my grandma talking about the weather and reading the sky."

Donna Eriksson

"We still... [read the weather and use the traditional markers]. Like vesterday, I noticed there was like a rainbow around the sun, and that brings the wind. So, in a couple of days it's going to get windy. What some of the older people do, and I do with my teaching the language and culture, I'm trying to let my students realize that you can tell what the weathers going to do by just observing the clouds and the sun. What I did with my students this past year, I told them in the evening to go look at the stars. If they're blinking and twinkling then that means it's going to be windy. And if they're calm then the next day is going to be nice. And if you notice that there are sundogs or moondogs, then the weather is going to change into something other than what we have right now. And it's mostly to wind. And then like if you look at the northern lights too, when they come out it's getting colder. So, I just tell [this to the students], and let them do like a journal of what they've observed in the weather that day. And then the next day I'll ask them, 'Ok, was your prediction, was it correct?' And then we will talk about it. You can also use the wind and the tide, somehow I can't think of how you can do it right now. But you can tell which way the wind is going to blow by just looking at the tide. Also, when we are out berry picking and it's very calm and all the mosquitoes are there, we usually whistle. You know, and it'll bring the breeze. So we still do that."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

15. "They do a lot of skiing, those Laplanders" – Elder Oscar K'soutchak and his wife Mae's Memories of Relations with the Sámi

"We had some Laplanders here. Long time ago, I guess he spoke to whoever was in charge of... but I don't know who. But they exported... imported some reindeer from Siberia or somewhere, or over Norway or somewhere. And they brought them over here. I think they came from Seattle or some place, but they transplanted some Laplanders here. They had hair like yours, blond people. I grew up with those kids when I was young, blue-eyed kind, blond hair. And they learned how to talk Eskimo.

In fact, one P-A-H-R [possibly means family name 'Pähr'], he was born at Norway. And he raised [by an] Eskimo family. He married Eskimo gal, and they raised a family. And he learned to speak several dialects of Eskimo along his. I don't know, his own dialect, that Norway.

There were some Finns here too. I don't know about...There was one guy they called 'Tom Nikolah.' I heard he was a Finn, I'm not sure though, I might be wrong. But there were some Finns here. I heard they were good skiers too. They do a lot of skiing, those Laplanders. Come down, they slide down long ways. Sometime, they laid their little dog way behind. Their little Lapp dog, when they are herding the reindeer, very interesting..."

"My mother, I remember my mother and Inga Ranna, she was, I think she was born in Norway, Oslo. They used to weed their gardens. You know, that's our next door neighbor, and they talked Eskimo both of them. She had hair like that. They know a lot of Eskimo language. In fact, they speak it too..."

16. For the Future

"I would suggest to keep on living your Inupiaq way of life. Following the values of respect, respect for nature and for yourself; humor, and hard work, and spirituality, and keep on believing. That this why you're here. Is because of what you learned from your parents and grand-parents. And it makes it a lot easier if everyone just did live their Inupiaq way of life. Of being hard workers and respecting their nature, and having humor when things get too tough. It's just... it makes it a lot better, and you feel a lot better doing what you're doing."

Jolene Katchatak Nanouk

17. Return to Unalakleet in November 2008

Tero Mustonen, Snowchange

17.1. Introduction

In November 2008, after six years and many international communications, I returned to Unalakleet, as a representative of Snowchange, to bring the archived Knowledge to the participants of the 2002 oral history study on climate change. Mr. Art Ivanoff worked with me to identify and meet all the people we could in the limited time available. I again wish to thank him very much for the help and support he gave then and earlier. I presented the main findings, outcomes, and purposes of our research to the local people at an elders' lunch. We met all the participants in the project who were present at the village during my visit. For those that were not present, their archived Knowledge was made available in the form of copies from their interviews, also with contact information for Snowchange, in case they had questions or wished further information, and some additional communication was made via email after the visit.

During the visit, I learned that a project participant, the esteemed Elder Stanton Katchatag had passed away. I and all of us at Snowchange were sorry to hear of his passing, but I was able to meet his son, Sheldon, at the time. I also met with Rector Benjamin Howard from Unalakleet school and Mrs. Vanessa Nasset from the Bering Sea School District. We discussed at length the possibilities to get the archived Knowledge back to the village and region. They also helped out with accommodations during my stay.

During the visit, especially during



Art Ivanoff 2002

Elders' lunch, many new people spoke about the changes that had occurred, as well as the present situation in Unalakleet. One of the Elders at the lunch said that, "We have only prayers left to fight for our subsistence." The question of rights, especially about subsistence fishing and hunting came up often, and people stressed the increasingly worsening situation. One of the men in the village said that "We are occupied. We are a threat to the mainstream US society because we can still hunt, fish, live autonomous lives. There is therefore a need to control us."

17.2. Reflections of the People

Mr. Art Ivanoff reflected on changes, both imposed and internal, and said that because their own *quasiq* system of governance was broken, people have become broken too; alcoholism and suicide are not discussed enough. Opinions were that the village is divided on some issues, but as a staff member at the school said: "It is beautiful when we work together."

"There are changes which have become present. No Chinook salmon are returning. Mostly this has to do with high seas trawling and fishing 'pirates.' In the past five years [2002–2008], it has gotten warmer. My ocean does not have ice. We used to be able to drive eighteen miles out in the past. The ocean changes began about ten years ago. In my childhood there used to be eighteen feet snow banks. Silver [Coho] salmon has been strong. It is still good, but there are concerns for sustainability. Tomcod is plentiful, it has no commercial use.

Crabbing used to be a commercial fishery ten to fifteen years ago, catch between 100 000–340 000 pounds. There were only five moose to be hunted, which allowed for the whole community in 2007. There was a big forest fire in 2006, with a lot of smoke, and many animals left the area. They are now returning. This is part of a natural cycle.

I did not hunt any Belugas in 2008, but I got three young ones in 2007. The Inupiaq language is still declining, even though there is interest for the language. Public awareness about these issues is important. Climate change is impacting the coast, for example Shishmaref people have to leave soon, as well as Kivalino community."

Jerry Ivanoff 13.11.2008

"Silver [Coho] salmon is doing well. In the past six years, many king [Chinook] salmon have been canned, salted, and smoked, but now kings are disappearing. The Department of Fish and Game limits the fishing and the catch

places. My husband and children have not received any Beluga in 2002–2008, but our friends give the meat to us.

Berries seem to be further out from the village, maybe due to the weather changes happening. Four wheelers as well, leave their marks to the nature. Visitors use berry-pickers [a tool], which damage the plant, and they die. We pick by hand. The 2006 forest fire was put out fast. They used salt water to extinguish it; this water is not good for the plants. Our culture and language are dying out. Our children are eating Westernized foods." Joan Johnston 13.11.2008

"I work seasonally now with heavy equipment. I continue subsistence and commercial fishing. There is not much work here in the wintertime. I am receiving training for heavy equipment profession, and I have a small son.

I have not hunted much Beluga between 2002–2008. There does not seem to be too many. They stay in the deep waters in Norton Sound. We usually receive four to five Belugas with nets. King [Chinook] salmon has gone dramatically down. People say that there are twenty-four year cycles to salmon run, so these might be part of those cycles. The King salmon fishing is closed down. Silver [Coho] salmon is plenty. But there is a fear of it collapsing. This would mean the loss of our subsistence and commercial fishing, as well as impacts to the ecosystem.

These impacts would as well influence the food chain, and therefore there is a fear of a collapse. How to bring it back? Subsistence activities are still going on, but it does not help. Perhaps we need to let go of that too. There are many seals around and they will be impacted

as well. There is concern for the community. There has been a five to six year collapse in the fish, and it would be good to see in a book. What about the future? We need a plan for the next ten years." *Galen Doty 13.11.2008*

Oscar: "The weather has warmed much [2002–2008] in the period. One of the reasons is that the sunshine is different than five years ago. The ice is melting at the polar ice caps. In November-December usually, there would be snowstorms with forty to fifty Fahrenheit below. Now, this does not happen anymore. On St. Lawrence Island there is a feeling of change as well. Me, I was born in 1930, and used to burn the oil lamp as a child in the community. I have noticed that the days are getting shorter." Mae: "The ice used to come earlier to the ocean. Cold weather is towards the spring, not autumn. We should have big snow banks, but we do not. The old people did not know about this warming. The Beluga pass here by on their way to the Arctic. They come in the spring and late autumn now. There are now oil and gas prospects for the Bering Strait, which is only forty miles across." Oscar: "Fish is easier to catch than in the old times because of technology. The fish, such as humpbacks have cycles of two to three years. There are people who disturb the spawning areas on the river." Mae: "The fish spoils quicker in the summer when putting food away. We used seal oil in the dinner. Last seal hunt was two to three years ago. Seals migrate faster to north to colder waters, because there is no ice at Unalakleet. The old ways of predicting weather could come back. We were too busy to pay attention to the weather younger, only as adults we do that. There have been many flies in 2007–2008. Three years ago there was a 'big ant,' a big, long insect. The caribou have not been here since 2001. The culture is changing, and teachers and parents are not helping children to learn the culture. There are no jobs here. What language should be taught at the school? ...Malamiut? ...Northern Inupiaq? Yupiaq?" Elders Oscar and Mae Koutchak 13.11.2008

"I have seen hummingbird here, which is strange. As well we saw a big eagle,

which we could not identify, but took photos of it. In October the eagles were still here. Seagulls stay longer. There is no solid ice on the ocean anymore. The river mouth was still open in October.

Summer 2008 was cool, which had impact on the carrots. Between 2002–2008 the caribou have not returned here. Since 2000, I shot caribou, because my father was a bad shot. Berries are damaged due to the use of berry-picker [tool]. Berries should be picked up by hand."

Elder Betty Anagick 13.11.2008

"Education is very important, especially in the village. It is important to see other cultures, and there are better opportunities outside the village. Stock market crash of 2008 influences the small villages worst. I had to move outside to find job.

Regulations are restricting the amount of food for catch. Climate change influences the reproduction of animals. Animal populations are lower and the cost of hunting almost defeats the purpose. These are tough times for the world. We are seeing the impacts of a corrupt government. I am going to college in January 2009, to study fish sciences in New York, in Paul Smith College. I would like

to know more about the culture, as the school is failing to teach the culture." *Byron Kotongan 14.11.2008*

"Climate change is more due to manmade elements. In 2008, there are lot more willows growing in the tundra, even though in 2002, I said, 'There are no plant changes.' This is different. There is a fear that our spit [landform, like beach extending off into water] will be gone. An elder told me that the weather cannot be predicted anymore."

Paul Ivanoff III 14.11.2008

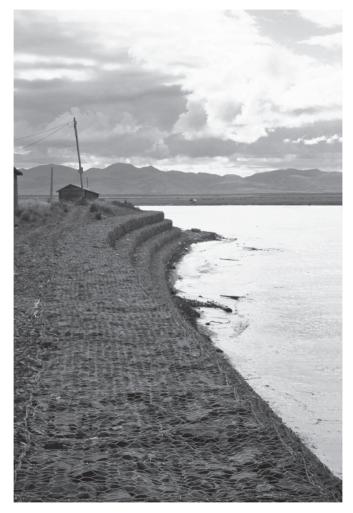
"In summer 2008, one of the children was bitten by an eel in the ocean. Big new insects have appeared, 'Beetles that fly' [American Burying Beetle]. In commercial fishing, new species have been caught. Language is not succeeding, it needs to be spoken at home. Beluga and caribou migrations have changed since 2002. I am trading with other villages for items."

Jolene Nanouk Katchatag 14.11.2008

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Seashore erosion

