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WORKING PAPERS:
DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE IN ALASKA, 1975

VOLUME V

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE IN ALASKA, 1975

Final Report

November, 1977

Prepared by

Analysis of Alcohol Problems Project
Dennis Kelso, Ph.D.
Project Director

Prepared for

State Office of Alcoholism
Robert L. Cole, Coordinator
Department of Health and Social Services
State of Alaska

Funded by a Special Grant for Implementation of the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act
(Grant Number 1 H83 AA 00001-01)

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Volume I	The Economic Impact of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse in Alaska, 1975
Volume II	An Analysis of State Legislation Pertaining to Regulation and Control of Beverage Alcohol and Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse, Alaska, 1975
Volume III	Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse Programs, Services Delivery Systems, Alaska, 1975
Volume IV	Social Systems Indicators of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse in Alaska, 1975
Volume V	Executive Summary: Descriptive Analysis of the Impact of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse in Alaska, 1975

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FOREWORD

There is no topic in Alaska more familiar, more controversial, and simultaneously more opaque than alcoholism. Almost as if the problems and concerns associated with it were an intrinsic part of the Alaskan experience, everyone seems to have something to say about it. Newspaper articles and radio talk shows debate public drunkenness. Political campaigns are waged, promising greater priorities for the alcohol problem. Even the national wire services carry stories dubbing alcoholism "the bane of Alaska." From the person on the street, to merchants and city councils, to the most specialized of government and health officials--everyone seems to agree that alcoholism and alcohol abuse constitute the greatest human problem facing the state.

In short, there is no shortage of opinion in Alaska about alcoholism and alcohol abuse. In point of fact, however, there is precious little else except opinion. Theories abound as to the causes of problem drinking. Definitions of the very nature of the "problem" are as numerous as the dozens of State agencies, officials, organizations, and interest groups created (or simply compelled) to deal with it. Concerning what to do about it, feelings range all the way from simple apathy, to lip-service, to honest concern, to almost ideological fervor operating at the limits of reason. This is not to say that the public concern is in error: it is not. It is instead to say that, without foundation, not much can be done to seriously respond to that concern.

For so volatile and perduring a problem, there has been in Alaska virtually no significant statewide research to date. What research has been conducted, has been fragmentary and poorly disseminated. Most often, as well, it has largely been based on concepts and models transplanted from other, inapplicable regions of the country. In all cases, such research has confined itself to a single problem or single aspect of a problem. Never, in other words, has an attempt been made to comprehensively conceptualize the problem in terms of all its major manifestations and attendant effects. By no means is this a denigration of any prior research efforts anywhere, for such was not their ambition. The time has simply come for a particular kind of undertaking: an integrated information and data base capable of addressing Alaska's alcoholism and alcohol abuse problems in all their important interrelationships.

The Analysis of Alcohol Problems Research Project, organized in September of 1975, began just such an undertaking. In response to the question of what (in its entirety) constitutes the problem of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in Alaska, the Project assumed as its province the full context of

the intended and unintended consequences of the sale, distribution, and consumption of beverage alcohol in the state. Formally stated, the mission of the Project became the systematic collection of valid and reliable information for implementation of Alaska's Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act. (The adoption of this act in 1972 essentially established policy for the State by decriminalizing public drunkenness and defining alcoholism as a public health problem.)

Throughout the Project, the nature of the research process was considerably less difficult to specify than the nature of the topic. With the health and medical services community exhibiting as much variance within its own ranks as between itself and the law enforcement or educational communities, little agreement existed as to how "alcoholism" and "alcohol abuse" should be defined. Considerable agreement existed, however, on the fact that alcoholism and alcohol abuse impact the general public and the social system in a variety of ways. Alcoholism program client loads, child abuse, automobile accidents, alcohol-related crime, etc.--all became, from this perspective, equally valid and interconnected ways of looking at alcohol's impact on Alaskan society. In the same sense, they also thereby provided a composite basis for relating the many extant definitions of the problem (e.g., as a public health problem, mental health problem, criminal justice problem, child welfare problem, etc.).

For this reason, the Project took as its focus the measurable indicators of alcohol's impact on Alaska's social system, and on selected specific subsystems: the economy, health and medical services delivery system, criminal justice system, et al. The intention was not be exhaustive, for such was impossible given the limitations of resources and time available for conduct of the study. Nor was the intention to be definitive, as the general pausity of useful information which plagues research efforts in Alaska made such a goal unrealistic. (In many cases, even basic information is not systematically reported or collected, nor kept in summary fashion.) Rather, the ambition was to develop a research methodology capable of being inplemented at once, but also capable of being elaborated and refined on a continuing basis. Such an instrumentality, it was hoped, would serve the dual purpose of linking for the first time the several major areas (e.g., economic, legislative, programmatic, social, et al) related to alcohol affairs in Alaska, and of constellating and grounding future alcohol-related research efforts in the state.

It should be said that such concentration on the collective effects of alcoholism and alcohol abuse was not intended to preclude genuine concern for the health and well being of individual alcohol abusers and their families. From the perspective taken, and because of the limitations mentioned, it was not possible to address such highly relevant questions as to whether alcoholism is a disease, addiction, defensive coping mechanism, etc.; or whether it derives from genetic transmission, learned

behavior, cultural assimilation, or--in Alaska's case--a set of environmental factors so pervasive but elusive of description that it might quite unjokingly be called the "Arctic Factor". These remain, nonetheless, serious questions, and their omission had only to do with the fact that a need for the multiple-definition approach described above was considered more pressing.

The beginnings of this kind of multiple-definition approach are contained in the present report, Working Papers: Descriptive Analysis of the Impact of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse in Alaska, 1975. The title is preceded by the term "Working Papers" because this is the first time that alcohol-related information of this scope has been collected and put to use, and because a great deal more information is still missing. For these reasons, reaction to the content of this report is not only seriously invited, but regarded as indispensable. Only by such review and response, it is felt, will the efforts initiated by this project and report yield more complete and comprehensive information about the impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse upon Alaskan society.

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PART I INTRODUCTION

The information presented in the volumes of this study has provided a description of the nature and extent of alcohol problems in the state, from a variety of perspectives. One does not have to read this report to know that alcoholism and alcohol abuse are problems in Alaska. That is common knowledge to Alaskans. However, alcohol problems can be described in many different ways--in terms of individual cases, public health problems, social problems, and overall population problems. There seems to a tendency to view alcoholism and alcohol abuse in terms of the particular effect with which one is familiar or concerned, or to perceive only one large undifferentiated problem. In view of the differences of opinion, and the lack of available research and information in Alaska regarding descriptions and analyses of alcoholism and alcohol abuse, there is need to specify the problems which are alcohol-related rather than continue to use such very broad ambiguous terms as "alcoholism". For certain levels of discourse, such terms are wholly appropriate, but for the purposes of social problem solving, a more refined specification of problems is required. This was the general concern of this report.

There does seem to be common agreement that no one factor or cause is capable of adequately explaining or describing alcoholism or alcohol abuse at either the individual or population level of concern. But there does not appear to be a common understanding of the specific nature, relative magnitudes, or interrelationships of the various effects of alcohol abuse. In addition, the extent and nature of the problems differ from one group or locality to another. These differences in perception are also influenced by differing social, cultural, economic and personal value systems, as well as by the information obtained through research findings.

Because of this diversity of views, many different official and voluntary organizations and agencies become involved with one another. It thus becomes very important to have general agreement on the part of those involved as to the goals and objectives to be achieved and the mutual understanding of the approaches and methods to be used. This common agreement and understanding are particularly important for the formation and development of a general alcohol policy for the state, which is the primary responsibility of the state legislature. Without such agreement and understanding among those involved, the actions taken are likely to be confusing and ineffectual, or even counterproductive.

The increasing prevalence of alcohol-related problems is not confined to the state of Alaska. It is also apparent on a national and international level. The extent and obviousness of the problems are more marked in Alaska, however. In response to this international trend and the need to develop common agreement regarding the goals and objectives to reduce and prevent alcohol problems and develop mutual understanding about the methods and approaches to be used, the World Health Organization suggests that governments: 1) investigate the extent and seriousness of the individual, public health, and social problems associated with the current use of alcoholic beverages and the trend toward increasingly higher levels of consumption; 2) examine the magnitude of the human and financial costs of alcohol-related health and social problems as compared with the private and governmental revenues and other benefits related to the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages; 3) examine current government policies regarding the regulation and control of consumption, particularly taxation in relation to the average purchasing power of the population; and, 4) eliminate mass media advertising of alcohol beverages.

The goals of the present research roughly parallel the first three suggestions of the World Health Organization. Volume I addresses the economic costs and benefits of the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages in Alaska. Volume II examines state legislative statutes, policies and regulations pertaining to regulation and control of beverage alcohol and alcoholism and alcohol abuse. Volume IV examines the nature and extent of individual, public health and social problems related to beverage alcohol consumption.*

Because this report is long and detailed and its parts interrelated, a summary of contents and the major points of each volume are presented below in Part III. This Part provides an overview of the entire report, and indicates to those interested in specific issues where a more complete discussion can be found. The next section, Part II, presents the same findings, but in different contexts and with more or less detail as the relationships between various items are discussed. This synthesis presents related findings in terms of population sub-groups, social systems and overall population units of analysis.

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*Work on Volume III has been indefinitely suspended.

particularly true in countries with a traditional consumption of distilled spirits. This is also the case in Alaska, where distilled spirits are the preferred alcoholic beverage. During the last eighteen years, the average annual consumption of distilled spirits has increased by 64%, whereas the consumption of beer has increased by 86%, and wine consumption has increased 178%. In terms of the gallonage consumed, distilled spirits are still very clearly the beverage of choice, accounting for 53% of all absolute alcohol consumed in 1975 in Alaska.

The important point is that alcoholism and alcohol abuse, and alcohol-related problems, cannot be linked to any particular type of alcoholic beverage; it is the absolute alcohol consumed, not the type of drink, which determines the effect on a person.

Geographic Area

Although the prevalence of problem drinkers could not be estimated by geographic area, there are some indications that the relative impact of alcohol-related problematic behavior is greater in rural-city areas (smaller cities which serve as regional centers). The general death rate, which in Alaska contains a high percentage of alcohol-related causes of death, is higher in the less densely populated areas. (The availability and accessibility of medical facilities is also a consideration.)

Rural-city areas also evidence the greatest percentage of alcohol-related arrests relative to total arrests for all offenses. In the rural-city areas, 48% of arrests for all offenses were for alcohol-related offenses, compared to 39% and 34% for urban and rural areas.

While these two indicators are far from conclusive evidence, they at least suggest that alcohol plays a somewhat greater part in the individual and social problems of rural-city areas than it does in the urban areas.

Race

Natives, who comprise about 17% of the State's population, are disproportionately represented in alcohol-related mortality; 43% of all suicides, 38% of homicide victims, 60% of alcoholism deaths, 25% of cirrhosis of the liver deaths occur among the Native population. For all violent deaths the death rate (per 1000 persons) is 3.21 for Natives, compared to 1.25 for non-Natives. More generally, the overall crude death rate is 7.36 for Natives and 3.51 for non-Natives.

PART II. INTEGRATED SUMMARY OF ALL VOLUMES

Attempts to control alcohol abuse can be cast into three general categories. First, anti-abuse efforts can be focused on certain groups of individuals which have high rates of alcohol-related problems. Second, after considering the different effects of alcohol abuse (e.g.,drunk driving, increased mortality, lost production, etc.) appropriate resources can be allocated to various social systems to identify individuals who need assistance and to reduce and prevent these effects. Finally, measures can be taken which affect the general population in such ways that the prevalence of excessive consumption of beverage alcohol will be discouraged and minimized, and thus,the individual, public health and social problems associated with excessive levels of consumption will be reduced and prevented.

Since those who design and implement alcohol policy will be using one or more of these methods, more probably a combination of them, the findings presented in each of the volumes of this report are integrated and presented in the following section according to these general methods and labeled as--target groups of individuals, social system problems, and general population problems.

A. GROUP CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS WITH ALCOHOL RELATED PROBLEMS

Specific Types of Alcoholic Beverages

In addition to standard demographic groups (e.g., area, race, age, sex, and occupation), analyses of alcohol abuse have often considered the type of alcoholic beverage consumed. Beer and wine, for instance, have often been touted as "beverages of moderation." However, "hard drinkers" do not necessarily drink "hard liquor". In fact, the preferred alcoholic beverage for most Americans is beer. Further, characteristics of drunk drivers indicate that beer is the alcoholic beverage of preference.

The international increase in the average annual consumption of beverage alcohol represents an increase in the consumption of all three major beverage types. But the increased consumption is marked by a gradual shift away from the consumption of distilled spirits and toward greater consumption of lighter alcoholic beverages. This has been

In addition, 67% of all client admissions to state-funded alcohol programs were Natives.

There is also an overrepresentation of Natives in arrests for alcohol-related violent offenses. Natives account for 42% of all homicide arrests, 44% of aggravated assault arrests, and 31% of arrests for forcible rape--all offenses which have a strong relationship with alcohol abuse. However, for the misdemeanor offense of OMVI, which accounts for 22% of all adult arrests, only 14% of the total arrests were Natives. Arrests for alcohol-related misdemeanor offenses account for 39% of all arrests, whereas arrests for violent crimes account for only four percent of all arrests.

Age

Younger persons also appear to be overrepresented in relation to alcohol-problems. Persons in the age group 15 to 34 account for 51% of all accidental deaths, 70% of all suicides, and 65% of all homicide victims. Violent deaths tend to be associated with alcohol abuse and affect younger persons more than older persons. Yet older persons show the effects of long term excessive consumption of alcohol in that over 88% of deaths for alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver occur among persons over 35; 70% of deaths for these causes occur among persons over the age of 45. The effects of alcohol abuse among older persons cannot be discounted, particularly in view of the fact that Alaska has a relatively young population, yet also has a very high rate of death due to alcoholism, 418% higher than the national average. Death due to alcoholism is, of course, far more common in the age category from 45 to 54 because of the progressive nature of the disease.

Most generally, available evidence suggests that heavy drinkers have a rate of death that is two to four times higher than persons who are not heavy drinkers. The alcohol-related mortality information for Alaska demonstrates this general trend very well.

With regard to alcohol-related crime, adults (over 18) account for 70% of arrests for all offenses, but 87% of all arrests for alcohol-related offenses. With regard to specific alcohol-related offenses, adults account for from 95% to 98% of arrests for OMVI, disorderly conduct, drunkenness and vagrancy. About 64% of the number of persons convicted for OMVI were between the ages of 18 and 39. Juveniles, however, account for about 52% of all arrests for liquor law violations, and 64% of the arrests for non-aggravated assaults.

Younger persons also comprise the greatest bulk of the estimated problem drinkers group--about 63% are between the ages of 20 and 40.

Sex

Drinkers with problems are primarily males, 82%, according to the Marden procedure for the estimation of problem drinkers. It should be noted however, that this method under-enumerates the unemployed, many of whom are women. Female problem drinkers, 18% of the total, seem to be concentrated in the age category from 30 to 49, which accounts for 78% of their estimated number. Males, on the other hand, tend to be concentrated in the age group from 20 to 40, about 70% of their estimated number is in this category. For females, the largest percentage of problem drinkers is in the 30-39 age group (47%), whereas for males, the largest percentage is in the age group of 20 to 29(46%).

Males also account for the greatest majority of alcohol-related arrests, (85%). The pattern of arrests for alcohol-related offenses for males and females is also different. Almost half,(43%) of all male arrests are for the offense category of OMVI. However, female arrests for alcohol-related offenses tend to be more evenly distributed for the offense categories of OMVI, disorderly conduct, and liquor law violations.

Similarly, client admissions to alcoholism treatment programs are predominately males,(76%).

Occupational Category

The application of various procedures for the estimation of the prevalence of problem drinkers resulted in an estimate of approximately 30,000 drinkers with problems, in 1975. One of the three procedures that resulted in about the same estimate, the Marden method, provides an estimate according to occupational category. This procedure estimated about 31,700 drinkers with problems in the state. Of this group: 15,630 were employed civilian males; 5,800 were females (employed and unemployed); 5,740 were military men and women; and, 4,530 were unemployed civilian males.

Employed males (civilian and military) constitute 67% of the total estimated number of drinkers with problems; employed and unemployed females comprise 18% of the total (occupational information for females is not available for Alaska); and, unemployed males make up about 14% of the total number of drinkers with problems.

The occupational distribution of drinkers with problems showed that craftsmen and kindred workers, primarily in the age group of 20 to 29, constitute the largest single target group of drinkers with problems, about 14% of the total. However, the remaining number of estimated employed drinkers with problems was distributed fairly evenly over the categories of managers and administrators, professional workers, laborers, operatives,

and service workers; each of these categories represents from four to eight percent of the total. Males in the military in Alaska, aged 20 to 29, constitute a disproportionate share of the population of drinkers with problems, relative to their number in the total population.

The estimated number of female drinkers with problems is probably very low due to lack of appropriate information.

Unemployed male drinkers with problems make up about 14% of the total number of drinkers with problems. But 44% of this group is in the age group of 20 to 29. This estimation category reflects more the rate of unemployment in the Alaskan labor force, rather than the public inebriate population.

The relative distribution of drinkers with problems shows that these persons are primarily employed--in skilled, professional, and managerial jobs, both males and females, but predominately males, civilian and military, and not at all characterized as "skid row", or "down-and-out" type of persons.

B. SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Criminal Justice System

Although a great number of the violent crimes against persons are alcohol-related--64% of all criminal homicides, 34% of all forcible rape cases, and 41% of aggravated assault cases have been linked to alcohol abuse--violent crimes against persons comprise only four percent of all arrests in the state. It is the alcohol-related misdemeanors which have the greatest impact on the criminal justice system. Those misdemeanor arrests for alcohol-related offenses account for 39% of all arrests statewide, and about 60% of all misdemeanor filings in district court, and cost the criminal justice system a total of about $11.76 million in 1975. This figure represents more than three-quarters (77%) of the total cost of alcohol-related crime to the criminal justice system, which amounted to $15.263 million. These dollar figures do not include any cost to victims, or economic consequences of the criminal activity, just the costs to the enforcement, prosecution, court and corrections components of the criminal justice system. The total cost of $15.263 million for alcohol-related crime amounts to slightly over 30% of the total criminal justice system expenditures.

The impact of alcohol-related crime on the criminal justice system in Alaska is relatively greater than would be expected based on projections derived from national findings. Nationally, the economic impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse on the criminal justice system accounts for about 1.7% of the total costs attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

In Alaska, alcohol-related costs to the criminal justice system account for 11.3% of the total costs attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the state. This relatively greater impact of alcohol-related crime in Alaska contributed to the total economic cost attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse in Alaska in 1975, which amounted to $131.2 million, and which is about 65% greater than the corresponding estimate based on adjusted national findings.

When consideration is given to the relative distribution of alcohol-related costs to the criminal justice system, and the manner in which financial resources are allocated for alcohol-related crime, two striking facts emerge. First, the cost for alcohol-related law enforcement is disproportionately greater relative to the distribution of budgeted costs for criminal justice system components, and municipal governments bear a relatively heavy burden for this alcohol problem.

Approximately one-third of the criminal justice system budget is allocated for law enforcement, yet alcohol-related law enforcement accounts for over one-half (52%) of the total alcohol-related costs to the criminal justice system. In addition, municipal police departments account for about 68% of the total arrests for all offenses in the state, compared to the remaining 32% provided by the Alaska State Troopers. Furthermore, with regard to alcohol-related arrests, municipal police departments account for 74% of all arrests for alcohol-related offenses. Local governments must thus bear the financial burden for the control of this alcohol problem.

Part of the law enforcement effort of local police departments provides services for the enforcement of liquor laws. But this function is delegated by the State Legislature for the control of the sale of alcohol, and is accompanied by a rebate from the alcohol beverage license fees. However, the burden on local law enforcement for alcohol-related activity is far greater than liquor law enforcement. It includes a whole range of arrests that are associated with excessive alcohol consumption.

Other State policy, as provided in the Uniform Act, also places the burden for initiation of responses for the control of alcohol problems on the local governments, and provides limited assistance through a financial grant-in-aid program through the State Office on Alcoholism for alcohol treatment programs, but no assistance for law enforcement.

The State further encourages local control for alcohol problems by the local option provision which allows local areas to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages. However, if this option is exercised, the license fee rebate for associated law enforcement activity is precluded. In addition, local governments find no relief in that they are prohibited from imposing a special tax on the sale of alcoholic beverages at the local level. If the localities are to be innovative in developing methods

of controlling alcohol abuse, or even able to meet their needs in this area, they should not be denied the mechanisms to do so. Localities need the alternative of being able to experiment with a local tax on alcohol in order to provide money for local treatment and prevention programs, and as a way of controlling excessive consumption and associated anti-social acts. Such provisions would provide realistic alternatives for local responsibility for alcohol problems, other than merely the exercise of the local option.

The great majority of the impact of alcohol-related crime on law enforcement comes from arrests for misdemeanor offenses. More specifically, consideration of only those offenses considered to be "100% alcohol-related"--driving while intoxicated (or OMVI), liquor law violations, drunkenness, non-aggravated assaults, disorderly conduct, and vagrancy, accounted for 39% of all adult and juvenile arrests for all offenses. This estimate has to be considered conservative since individual arrests for all offenses could not be investigated for alcohol involvement.

The greatest volume of arrests for alcohol-related offenses is, of course, in the major urban areas of the state. The greatest relative impact, however, is in the rural-cities, or regional centers in the state. In these settings, almost half, 48%, of arrests for all offenses were for alcohol-related offenses. It is in these areas where the burden on local law enforcement for alcohol-related crime is greatest.

Analysis of the characteristics of individuals arrested for the designated alcohol-related offenses indicates that adults (over 18 years old) account for 87% of all such arrests. The great majority of this group is male --85%. The offense of OMVI accounts for the greatest majority of arrests for males and females. Arrests for OMVI constitute the largest single category of arrests in the state. Females, however, showed a pattern of alcohol-related arrests more evenly divided among OMVI, disorderly conduct, and liquor law violations, whereas male arrests were very definitely concentrated on the OMVI offense.

Although juvenile arrests for alcohol-related offenses account for only 13% of all such arrests, they comprise about two-thirds of all arrests for liquor law violations. These arrests, together with arrests for assaults, comprised 85% of all juvenile arrests for alcohol-related offenses.

Another significant fact that emerges from the economic impact of alcohol-related crime on the criminal justice system is that slightly less than one-quarter of the cost of alcohol-related crime is attributed to the corrections component--punishment and rehabilitation.

Of course, the passage of the Uniform Act, 1972, which decriminalized drunk in public offenses, may have reduced the correctional system's need for money for alcohol-related crime offenders somewhat. Nevertheless, the high proportion of offenses which are alcohol-related, the high proportion of misdemeanor court filings and convictions which are alcohol-related (48 to 75%), the fact that those incarcerated for alcohol-related offenses had the second highest recidivism rate (43%) among 1971 and 1972 jail releases, and the fact that more than 50% of all sentences served for fewer than ten days in 1975 were for alcohol-related offenses, indicate that funds spent on effective treatment and rehabilitation for alcohol offenders would ultimately save the state criminal justice system money. The obvious additional individual benefit is the potential for earlier identification of drinkers with problems and intervention in the alcohol abuse pattern.

Funds for rehabilitation need not, of course, be given to correctional programs alone. Greater cooperation between courts and alcohol treatment and rehabilitation agencies (as well as corrections agencies) could lead to the development of systematic sanctions which would not involve incarceration, but which would attempt to treat the underlying alcohol problem. The effectiveness of court-coerced and monitored enrollment and attendance in alcohol treatment programs for certain types of offenders has shown some impressive results in demonstration sites around the country. While it is probable that in some cases of alcohol-related crime the alcohol problem is only a symptom of and underlying social or psychological problem, the systematic availability of alcohol rehabilitation services within the purview of the court would make the identification of individual problems and designation of available treatment resources an effective part of the court's arsenal of sanctions, and contribute to the prevention of future offenses that would not occur without the excessive consumption of alcohol.

Drunk Drivers and Traffic Safety

The offense of OMVI creates a major problem for the criminal justice system and for public safety. Certainly, the offense cannot be committed without the excessive consumption of beverage alcohol, and it is the largest arrest category in the state--22% of all adult arrests for all offenses; in numbers, about 3300 in 1975, and increasing (39% increase from 1973 to 1975). At least 46% of all traffic fatalities in the state involved alcohol (determined by chemical testing), and 80% of all traffic fatalities in Anchorage involved alcohol, in the same year. Furthermore, the economic cost of excess motor vehicle traffic accidents attributable to alcohol was estimated to be $19.7 million in 1975. (The term excess reflects adjustments made in the calculations in view of the fact that traffic accidents occur even without the consumption of alcohol).

A profile of those convicted for OMVI indicates that these offenders are genuinely dangerous drivers, and they also constitute a fairly small but distinctive group. The average blood alcohol concentration (BAC) for arrested persons was .18%, on a scale in which .10% BAC is the statutory limit, and .05% BAC indicates the beginning lower level of impaired ability and judgement. Furthermore, two out of ten convictions had had at least one prior conviction for OMVI, 18 out of 20 had had at least one prior major traffic violation (reckless, negligent, etc.), and 13 out of 20 had had at least one traffic accident.

There is no indication that police have routinely exceeded proper limits in making arrests for OMVI--92% of those arrested had BAC levels above the statutory limit of .10%, and 71% had BAC levels above .15%(a 160 pound person would have to consume nine drinks of 86 proof liquor within two hours to reach a .15% BAC). Furthermore, the rate of arrest was only 15 per 1000 licensed drivers (not indicative of special enforcement efforts), and the court conviction rate was 89% in 1975.

The limited personal characteristics information for persons convicted of OMVI shows that the typical person convicted of OMVI is a non-Native male between the ages of 18 and 39. Of all convicted OMVI drivers, 88% were males, and 64% were between 18 and 39 years of age.

It is difficult to interpret the court sentencing patterns for drivers convicted of OMVI. During 1975, 93% of the OMVI convictions were fined an average of $316, with an average of $92 suspended; 78% were sentenced to an average of 14 days in jail, with ten days suspended; about four percent received no sentence or fine. But these averages include both first offenders and multiple offenders. If one considers the extent of alcohol-related traffic accidents, the high BAC levels of persons arrested, and the number of arrests and rearrests for OMVI, one may consider the sentencing patterns too lenient for individual and public deterrence, if indeed deterrence is possible. If, on the other hand, one considers that a major portion of this group of drinking drivers is problem drinkers, then perhaps the sentencing patterns have been too severe, or inappropriate.

The information that is available for drivers convicted of OMVI allows a logical and valid conclusion that, not only are the overwhelming majority of these drivers drunk and impaired, independent of one's precise definition of "drunk", but also, that a very high proportion of these drivers may be classified as problem-drinker-drivers. As such, they are valid clients for alcoholism treatment and rehabilitation, as well as for the judicial-correctional system. This area has been the subject of relatively extensive demonstration and research nationally, with the result that the coordinated and integrated efforts of the criminal justice system and the alcohol treatment system produces more satisfactory outcomes than each system can produce on its own.

Lost Production

Many alcoholics and alcohol abusers do not engage in any form of antisocial behavior. Nevertheless, excessive consumption of alcohol by workers in the labor force is generally considered to cause diminished productivity. These workers are considered to produce less because of the combined effects of alcohol abuse and absenteeism, increased injury rates, premature death and associated industrial costs. Since these workers produce less than they can, because of alcohol, society suffers as a result of fewer goods being produced, and therefore, consumed. The economic cost of diminished productivity can be measured indirectly and provides an estimation of the impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse on society that is very significant but much less apparent than alcohol-related crime or traffic accidents.

In 1975, the economic cost of lost production due to diminished productivity of alcohol-troubled workers, and the result of occupational injuries attributable to excessive consumption of alcohol amounted to $61.8 million. This figure represents 43% of the total economic cost associated with the alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the state, which amounted to $131.2 million, and constitutes the largest single cost category. Comparison of this figure with a corresponding estimate based on the projection of national findings to Alaska indicates that this area produces a relatively greater impact, in relation to the other cost categories.

The relative magnitude of this cost is quite startling, and serves to focus attention to the subtle pervasiveness of the social impact of excessive consumption of alcohol. In addition, it serves to confirm the distribution of the estimated prevalence of drinkers with problems, which indicates that the greatest majority of drinkers with problems are workers in the labor force.

The Marden procedure for the estimation of the prevalence of drinkers with problems, which was one of the three procedures found to be generally applicable to Alaska, yielded an estimate of about 31,700 drinkers with problems in the state in 1975. Of this number, 15,630 were employed males, 5,800 were females (employed and unemployed), 5,740 were military men and women, and 4,530 were unemployed civilian males.

Employed males, both civilian and military, made up 67% of the total estimated number of drinkers with problems. Employed and unemployed females comprised 18% of the total, and unemployed males made up about 14% of the estimated number of drinkers with problems. The occupational distribution of drinkers with problems indicates that craftsmen and kindred workers, primarily in the age group of 20 to 29, comprise the largest single target group of problem drinkers, about 14% of the total.

However, the remaining number of estimated problem drinkers is distributed fairly evenly over the occupational categories of managers and administrators, professional workers, laborers, operatives and service workers--each of these categories represents from four to eight percent of the total. Thus, the great majority of persons at risk for alcohol abuse are primarily persons employed--in skilled, professional, and managerial jobs, both males and females, but predominately civilian and military males between the ages of 20 and 40.

It is obviously in the best interests of each individual involved, and of society in general, to prevent alcoholism and alcohol abuse, and to identify and treat cases as early as possible in the progression of the alcohol abuse patterns. Although treatment and rehabilitation programs are treated separately in another section, it should be noted at this time that the State Workman's Compensation Policy makes it more difficult to return the recovered alcohol abuser to productive labor. Currently, a finding that an occupational injury was solely attributable to the excessive consumption of beverage alcohol would disqualify a claimant. If this provision was designed to punish or deter a person from being intoxicated on the job, it is apparently not working. Only one in approximately 14,800 claims was denied for this reason, yet it was estimated that about 15% of the occupational injuries are alcohol-related. Therefore, only a very few workers will be denied any benefits while many who have alcohol problems will not be encouraged, or required, to enter treatment programs. As an alternative, benefits could be conditioned on vocational and alcohol rehabilitation programs, or only a certain percentage of the benefits could be paid for such services.

In addition, the State could encourage early diagnosis and treatment of alcoholism and alcohol abuse by requiring health insurance plans to cover alcoholism and alcohol abuse as a primary diagnosis for both inpatient and outpatient treatment. Such a provision could encourage the craftsmen, managers, professional workers, and all other occupational categories of alcohol-troubled workers, who constitute the largest percentage of alcohol abusers, to seek treatment and rehabilitation. Furthermore, such a provision would enable employers and supervisors to encourage better work performance and production for alcohol-troubled workers with the availability of the treatment and rehabilitation support system.

Excess Mortality

Mortality rates and the events underlying the various causes of death would certainly still occur, even if alcohol did not exist. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the excessive consumption of beverage alcohol does contribute to mortality rates a certain additional increment which otherwise would not be there. Generally, it is considered that heavy drinkers

have a mortality rate that is two to four times higher than those who are not heavy drinkers. Because of this increased rate of premature death, society again loses the potential contributions that would otherwise have been made.

In dollar terms, lost production due to excess mortality attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse in Alaska cost $24.6 million in 1975, not counting any health costs or aid to families depending on the alcohol abuser. This particular cost made up 19% of the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in 1975.

The magnitude of the economic cost of excess mortality reflects in different and more common terms, dollars, what is also indicated in the information regarding the relationship between excessive consumption and alcohol-related death. A valuable indicator of alcohol's involvement in Alaska's mortality rates is the extemely high rate of death due directly to alcoholism. Alaska's alcoholism mortality rate has dramatically increased by 153% from 1959 to 1975; in 1975 the alcoholism rate of death was 418% higher than the nationwide average.

Another major indicator of alcohol's impact on Alaskan mortality is the rate of death due to cirrhosis of the liver, since alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver is the result of long term excessive consumption of beverage alcohol. During the period from 1959 to 1975, the rate of death for this cause increased by 142% in Alaska.

The increases in rate of death due to alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver correspond very closely to the increases in average annual consumption of alcohol in Alaska. Mortality directly associated with excessive consumption of alcohol is an indicator of the prevalence of alcoholism in a population. Also, theoretically, the rate of alcoholism is directly related to the rate of average annual consumption in a population. The pathological relationship between the rates of death due to alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver, and the average annual consumption of alcohol is particularly well demonstrated in Alaska. The relationship is discussed more in Section C.

More generally, Alaska's rate of death due to violent causes--a mortality category greatly influenced by alcohol abuse, ranges from two to five times the national rate, depending on the specific cause of death. Violent causes of death account for almost 40% of all deaths in the state. Over 68% of all accidental deaths were linked to transportation in one form or another (water, motor vehicle, aircraft, drownings), a fact particularly relevant in view of Alaska's peculiar lifestyle. It is known that at least 46% of all traffic fatalities involved alcohol in 1975.

With respect to the human consequences of alcohol-related excess mortality, it results that the younger and middle age ranges of the population suffer the highest rates of significant if it is remembered that in 1970 almost 85% of the statewide population was under the age of 44, and that the 15-44 age-bracket stands as the greatest population at risk in the state with respect to alcoholism, and violent death. Section C discusses measures to help deal with these events.

Health and Medical Care, and Social Services

Part of the adverse consequences of the excessive consumption of beverage alcohol includes the need for more extensive health, medical and social services, than would otherwise pertain, were it not for the abuse of alcohol. The impact of these consequences places an additional burden on the health and social service delivery system. These services would still have to be provided, even if alcoholism and alcohol abuse did not exist, but because of excessive consumption, excess resources are utilized that would otherwise be available for alternative uses.

The economic impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse on the health and medical care delivery system, that is, the cost of the utilization of excess services only, was determined to be $13.3 million in 1975 in Alaska. This cost figure includes the costs of excess hospital services, physicians' services, nursing care, drugs, and other professional services. But it does not include indirect costs associated with health and medical care users, such as illness, disability and premature death attributable to excessive consumption of alcohol, which were included in the costs of lost production.

The comparison of this figure with the estimate that could be projected from national findings, that is, Alaska's share of the national cost of excessive health and medical services due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse, indicates that the $13.3 million is a relatively low expenditure for this cost category. The $13.3 million represents about 10% of the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in Alaska. National findings show that about 27% of the total national costs are accounted for by excess health and medical services.

In view of the fact that the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in Alaska exceeds Alaska's share of the national estimate by 65%, and in view of the constant and rapidly increasing rate of average annual consumption in Alaska for the last eighteen years, and in view of the higher rates of alcohol-related mortality, as well as the extent of

alcohol-related crime, and the estimated number of over 30,000 drinkers with problems in this state, the difference in the costs estimates suggests that the need for alcohol-related health and medical care is even greater than the present cost estimate indicates.

Part of the reason for the underrepresentation of need may be due to the fact that health and medical services are generally less available and less accessible in Alaska, compared to nationwide information. In addition, the use rate of available hospital beds is considerably lower in Alaska, compared to national averages. This is in part related to the generally younger population of the state and consequently the reduced demand for hospital services in the first place, and also the potentially shorter required length of stay once admitted. Available national information indicates that the average length of stay of alcohol abusers is about 45% longer than for non-abusers, independent of the admission diagnosis. This is due to the fact that abuse of alcohol serves to complicate and extend treatment for most other health and medical problems. Altogether, this additional information indicates that the need is probably greater than the health and medical services system presently feels.

Furthermore, a decrease in the utilization of the health and medical care due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse cannot be realistically expected. Admissions to hospitals for the primary diagnosis of alcoholic disorders, not counting admissions categories complicated by alcohol abuse, has increased by 28% between 1973 and 1975. It is likely that reported admissions for alcoholic disorders will increase in relation to the increases in the extent of third party payment for such admissions. Considering the fact that Alaska's population is fairly young, and that alcohol-related illnesses and diseases are progressive, it is probable that the need for health care and medical care services will increase in the following years if the trend of increasing annual consumption is not reversed.

Part of the pervasiveness of alcoholism and alcohol abuse includes generation of adverse individual and social events beyond the individual alcoholic and alcohol abuser. The economic consequence of this is the possible additional cost of public and private social services and assistance to others in addition to alcoholics and alcohol abusers, including foster care, daycare, homemaker services and social work services.

The estimated economic cost, based on actual expenditures, made for provision of public social services and assistance attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse was found to be about $3.5 million. In addition, public assistance payments, or alcohol-related transfer payments for AFDC, AD and Medicaid cases total $3.1 million. In economic terms, the cost of social services is a true economic cost, but transfer payments

are not. However, transfer payments do represent a transfer of part of the burden of reduced income due to alcoholism from the alcoholic and family to the taxpayor.

Furthermore, although this cost estimate only represents less than three percent of the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the state, it is more than five times greater than the corresponding national estimate for Alaska. Thus, relative to the other cost areas, social welfare costs due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse indicate a disproportionately greater impact in Alaska.

Direct Alcohol Programs

Despite the need for prevention and treatment of alcohol abuse to reduce traffic fatalities, accidents, crime, lost production, excess mortality, and health care and social service costs, the society seems unwilling to commit its resources to that end and unable to reach very many of those in need of rehabilitation.

A cost analysis for nine statewide agencies reporting expenditures for alcoholism and alcohol abuse programs indicated that about $3.7 million was spent for such programs in FY 1975. Of this amount, 32% was spent for prevention, and 55% for treatment and rehabilitation. The Federal government accounted for the bulk, 82%, of the money spent; State funds accounted for less than 12%. The total cost of such programs amounted to less than three percent of the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the state in 1975.

While the resources commited to prevention and treatment may be relatively small, the need for such services clearly outweighs the use of such programs. Although the number of problem drinkers in Alaska was estimated to be about 30,000 in 1975, only about 3,600 persons were admitted to local alcoholism treatment programs in FY 1976. A cost analysis of both statewide and local alcoholism programs showed a total cost of about $5.76 million for FY 1976. The willingness of the state to allocate resources consistent with the evident problem seems somewhat hesitant. About 63% of the total funds came from Federal sources, while only 23% came from State funds. Local government contributions amounted to about 12%, either in cash or in-kind contributions. The remaining 2% came from third party payments (primarily Veterans Administration and Bureau of Indian Affairs). Certainly the burden for the financing of Alaska's alcohol prevention, treatment and rehabilitation presently rests with Federal and State authorities. As mentioned elsewhere, local governments have been hampered by statutes and policies inconsistent with the policy of the Uniform Act, in their ability to initiate and develop programs. Similarly, the extent to which third party payments contribute to the cost of services is very slight and could be developed more by the State.

Clearly, it is in the best interests of the entire population, as well as in the individual's best interest, to encourage treatable persons with alcohol problems to enter effective programs, and provide the resources and/or mechanisms for the development of such programs. Client characteristics information suggests the clients admitted to local alcohol treatment programs represent only a small, concentrated segment of the entire distribution of alcohol-troubled persons, as identified by alcoholism prevalence procedures and investigations of persons involved in alcohol-related traffic fatalities, arrests for OMVI, other alcohol-related arrests, etc.

If the State is to implement the policy of the Uniform Act, it must (1) encourage the earlier identification of all types of alcohol abusers and entry into treatment programs (e.g., through coordination with employers, courts, health and social services, etc.); (2) determine the effectiveness of different treatment modalities and programs; (3) allocate the funds necessary to meet the need for adequate education, prevention, and treatment programs; and/or (4) modify present state statutes and policies to enable local governments to initiate and develop local prevention and treatment programs and to rapidly develop and increase the extent to which third party payments may help pay for alcoholism services.

Money spent for the development of effective programs should not be regarded as charity to any particular group of people, but rather, as insurance against the very high costs of crime, lost production, excess mortality, and health and social services which are attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

C. ALCOHOL PROBLEMS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION

INTRODUCTION

The fact that one can isolate and describe demographic groups and social systems affected by alcohol abuse should not obscure the fact that alcohol abuse pervades the entire population and must also be addressed as a population problem. In 1975, the number of drinkers with problems in the state numbered about 30,000, which represents about 15% of the drinking age population. The State also clearly qualifies itself as a high alcohol-consuming population. Not only is the annual per capita consumption of 4.54 gallons of absolute alcohol 57% greater than the national average, but the average annual consumption in Alaska increased by 80% from 1958 to 1975, whereas the corresponding increase for the nation was only 46%. The rapidly and dramatically increasing rate of annual consumption was matched only by a corresponding increase in the rate of death directly related to alcohol consumption--cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholism.

Numerous other indicators point to the widespread impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the entire state. The estimate of the statewide economic impact of alcohol problems amounted to a conservative $131.2 million (1975).

While various groups and agencies can try to cope with the existing problems of alcohol abuse, it is clear that a comprehensive and consistent state legislative policy is necessary.

STATE POLICY

Since 1933, the primary responsibility for formulating an alcohol policy rests with each of the states. In Alaska, the legislature did not meet this responsibility until 1972, fourteen years after statehood, and even then the legislature's statement of policy was merely added to the statutes, with little regard for its relationship to other laws. The Uniform Act contains the only clear statement of legislative policy about alcohol abuse. The policy of the Uniform Act is to treat and rehabilitate those abusing alcohol, and to decriminalize alcoholism and intoxication.

In addition to the stated purpose of the Act, five other inherent policies appear in the body of the Act, all reflecting the public health approach to alcohol abuse. First, alcohol abuse is to be treated comprehensively through research, educational programs, treatment programs and facilities, and cooperation among interested groups. Second, the State must respect the autonomy and decisions of the person being treated, unless that person is incapable of rational thought, in which case the function of the state is to protect his or her safety. Third, programs should reflect the fact that alcoholics, intoxicated persons, and persons incapacitated by alcohol may have different needs. Fourth, treatment should occur at the local level whenever possible.

In passing the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act in 1972, the legislature chose to attack the problems of alcohol abuse from a public health perspective. The Uniform Act attempts to solve the problem of alcohol abuse by preventing it and treating those who already abuse alcohol, rather than by relying on the criminal justice system to deter abuse per se. However, other laws have not been changed to reflect the public health orientation of the Uniform Act. If the State is to deal with alcohol-related problems as efficiently as possible, some attempt must be made to form a cohesive alcohol policy.

One of the major policy conflicts involves the control of sales on one hand and the control of abuse on the other. Statewide regulations, licensing procedures, and the ABC Board emphasize an economically stable liquor industry, divorced from criminal activities, but do not treat alcohol as a dangerous drug. The Uniform Act assumes that it is. The effects of alcohol are treated as a public health hazard, yet little is

done to control the sale of the substance itself. If alcohol were officially designated as a dangerous drug, the ABC Board would have stronger grounds for implementing sales regulations which discourage abuse when such control measures are identified by scientific research. Although the Uniform Act primarily addresses alcohol abuse as an illness, it recognizes that alcohol abuse also has direct social consequences from which the public must be protected.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL MEASURES

The primary control measures the state government has available are in the areas of price, number of outlets, hour of sale, and public education. Of course, measures which affect the price and availability of beverage alcohol will have an impact on the entire drinking population. Since the problem is the abuse of alcohol, the question of why the utilization of measures which influence consumption in general must be considered. Why make it more difficult for every drinker to obtain alcohol when only some drinkers abuse it? The main justification comes from research indicating that the number of problem drinkers in a population increases as the average annual consumption increases. In other words, the more one drinks, and the more often one drinks, the more one participates in, and contributes to, the problem of abusive consumption by others.

Although there is no generally accepted theory that explains the cause of alcoholism and alcohol abuse, it does appear that excessive consumption is more likely to be the result of the prevailing drinking patterns and social practices of groups with high annual per capita consumption. In populations having lower levels of annual per capita consumption, excessive drinking is less common and not encouraged, and the cases of alcohol abuse are more likely the result of individual psychopathology or sociopathology. In a high-consuming population, as in Alaska, relaxed government controls on the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol serve to encourage more frequent and socially accepted drinking. As more people consume more beverage alcohol and do so on more frequent occasions, the average annual consumption increases, and so does the prevalence of excessive drinking. In short, the primary justification for measures which affect the entire drinking population is the effect which the entire drinking population has on the proportion of drinkers who consume excessive amounts of beverage alcohol.

This case is particularly well demonstrated in Alaska. As mentioned previously, Alaska can clearly be considered a high-consuming population. The annual per capita consumption exceeds the national average by 57%. But more importantly, the rate of increase in average annual consumption

has been continuous and dramatic--an 80% increase in the eighteen years after statehood. That this continuous increase in consumption is directly related to the rate of increase of excessive consumption is demonstrated by the corresponding increase in the rate of death due directly to excessive consumption of beverage alcohol.

The major implication of the application of this framework, and its high degree of suitability to the Alaskan situation, is that in order to reduce and prevent the number of drinkers with problems in the state, and thus reduce and prevent the alcohol problems associated with the current levels of consumption, the increasing average annual consumption must be at least stabilized, and if possible, reduced.

The three main factors available to the government in Alaska for affecting annual rates of consumption are price, availability and education. There are discussed separately below. Because some of the state responsibility and authority for the control of sale and consumption of alcohol has been delegated to localities, their problems with general control measures are also presented separately.

Price

Taxes affect the consumer price of alcoholic beverages, and there are strong indications that the price of alcohol relative to personal disposable income is closely related to overall consumption and the prevalence of alcoholism.

In a license state such as Alaska, where retail sales are allowed by only those licensed by the state, rather than through direct government outlets, the consumer price of alcoholic beverages will be primarily determined by government taxes. The influence of taxation on consumer price is substantial however, since from 50 to 75% of the consumer price is made up of state and federal taxes. As a result, if taxes do not change, then the consumer price of beverage alcohol does not behave like other non-controlled commodities in the free market. In Alaska, the excise tax on beverage alcohol has not changed since 1961, and this situation provides a very good example of the relationship between the decreasing relative consumer price of alcohol and the increasing average annual level of consumption.

In Alaska, during the period from 1970 to 1975 (complete data prior to 1970 are not available), the Consumer Price Index of all items increased by over 41%. The Consumer Price Index for alcoholic beverages increased by only .3% (three tenths of one percent). During the same period average disposable income increased by about 92%, while real disposable income increased by almost 36%. In net effect, while the relative purchasing power of Alaskans increased by 36%, the price of all commodities increased by over 41%, and the price of alcoholic beverages increased by only .3%--which means that the price of alcohol actually decreased by 40%. The decrease in relative price of alcohol has been matched by a

corresponding increase in the average annual consumption of alcohol. It would seem that, particularly as applied to Alaska, the relationship between increasing average annual consumption and decreasing relative price of beverage alcohol is well demonstrated.

Alcohol Revenue and Expenditures

The primary thrust of the above statements presents the state's taxing authority as a primary prevention measure, which costs the state no additional money for stabilizing consumption and thus the incidence and prevalence of alcoholism. There is another view concerning taxation that attempts to balance the social costs of alcohol abuse with the revenue generated from the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The main points of this position are that revenue for alcohol-related expenditures ought to come from alcohol consumers, and that alcohol revenues should be spent for alcohol-related programs. Essentially, this position holds that the excise tax is a "user tax", which forces the consumer to pay the costs associated with consumption of the item. A user tax on alcohol, like all user taxes, assumes that one should pay according to one's level of consumption, and not according to one's ability to pay. Some claim that the moderate drinker is required to pay for the abuse of problems caused by excessive drinkers. Actually not, heavy drinkers consume a disproportionate amount of beverage alcohol. According to the liquor industry, about 30% of beer drinkers consume 70% of all beer consumed. It is the drinkers who consume the most, who would be most affected by the tax. Moderate drinkers would be paying, to a certain extent, for their role in perpetuating the acceptability of drinking.

The second major point of this position involves the use of alcohol-generated revenue. Accordingly, alcohol revenues should at least pay for the social costs of alcohol abuse. The social costs of alcohol abuse are not all limited to the costs of alcohol prevention and treatment programs. As mentioned, in 1975, the total economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the state amounted to about $131.2 million. This includes costs for lost production, crime, excess deaths, excess health and medical services, etc., attributable to alcohol abuse. The total economic benefit of the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages amounted to about $91.7 million. An additional economic benefit in the form of federal dollars designated for alcohol-related programs, in the amount of $3.4 million, must be added to the above figure for a total economic benefit of $94.1 million.

From the point of view of the state government, alcohol-related expenditures totalled about $24.8 million. At the same time, alcohol-related revenues amounted to about $10.4 million--$7.5 million from fees and taxes associated with the sale and consumption and another $2.9 million from federal and other sources. However, only about $1.7 million of state money was allocated to alcoholism prevention and treatment programs.

Thus, in terms of the user tax, or even just in terms of a balance of revenues and expenses, the cost of alcohol-related problems far exceeds the economic benefit generated by the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol. Similarly, the money allocated to alcoholism prevention and treatment programs compares very unfavorably to the tax revenue presently being generated.

The present static tax on alcoholic beverages has had the effect of making alcoholic beverages relatively cheaper for the drinker, and the costs of alcohol abuse more expensive for the state as a whole. Because the excise tax has not been tied to the relative cost of living, the relative price of alcohol has, in effect, become much lower than other noncontrolled commodities. Furthermore, another effect of the static tax has also been a form of subsidization of the alcoholic beverage industry by the state legislature.

The excise tax can be viewed as a no-cost form of primary prevention of alcoholism by reducing the increasing rate of average annual consumption and the associated problems and costs, or it can be viewed as a revenue source for the support of the social costs associated with abusive consumption. It can also be viewed both ways simultaneously.

The tax formula need not be a matter of consideration each year. It could simply be formulated in terms of the consumer price index, average disposable income, and average annual consumption. Once the formulation is established, the tax could be self adjusting--increasing or decreasing within the framework specified. In restructuring the excise tax, consideration should also be given to the absolute alcohol content and not beverage preferences. It should be established on the basis of the absolute alcohol content of each beverage, independent of the type of beverage. There is no basis for the differential tax rate on absolute alcohol in beer or wine. Alcohol problems are just as likely to result from the excessive consumption of beer or wine, as distilled spirits. It is the absolute alcohol consumed that is important, not the solution it is in.

Availability

The general availability of alcoholic beverages is another factor affecting levels of annual consumption. In Alaska, in 1975, there were twice as many retail outlets (per 1000 persons) as the national average. In addition, fewer hours of prohibited sales were imposed on license holders in Alaska, than in most other states. While it cannot be maintained that either limiting the number of licensed outlets, or increasing the number of hours of prohibited sale will directly change consumption patterns, these control measures nevertheless have an affect on consumption. The complex relationship between licensing regulations, numbers of outlets, hours of sale, urban or rural influences, price, legal age of consumption, etc.,

makes it very difficult to determine which measures have what affect. However, it has been noted that in countries that have the highest levels of overall consumption and alcohol-related deaths, alcoholic beverages are easily obtained and relatively inexpensive. The same trend is evident in Alaska. Information presented regarding the exercise of the limited control measures available to governments indicates that formal controls appear to be more relaxed than in many other states.

Education

Educational efforts are much less controversial than price or availability measures. This may be related to the difference in the potential immediate outcomes, and the number of intervening variables involved in these different approaches. But further consideration shows that both the taxation measures and the availability measures, as control measures, are also educational in their effect. The approach taken by the government, and the policies and the actions that demonstrate that approach provide the tone for the public. Further, the daily and constant contact that the drinking population has with the various control measures instituted by the state serve to inform and educate in direct experiential ways.

Infrequent public service admonishments to not abuse alcohol have dubious force when contrasted to the multitudinous array of drinking establishments that seem to be open endlessly, the relatively low price of the substance, and the increasing number of occasions that have become appropriate for drinking, all of which are constantly in view in the form of industry advertising.

Certainly different approaches could be studied as to the type of messages and the best media available for more effective information and education campaigns for the reduction and prevention of alcohol abuse and alcohol-related problems. But the context in which these messages are offered also tells something to the receiver about the relative worth, or importance of that message. The government, and its designated agencies, stand in the position to set the attitude of the state for the public regarding the alcohol problems in the state and the goals and approaches that pertain, not only in the statements of public officials, but in the exercise of the control measures for which it has authority.

One of the major policy conflicts involves the control of sales on the one hand, and the control of abuse on the other. At least part of the reason for this is the lack of a suitable forum for the discussion of possible control measures, including educational programs, restrictions on advertising, etc. The Uniform Act provides for the existence of an Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee, made up of a number of agencies concerned with the control of abuse of alcohol, but does not specifically include the Alcohol Beverage Control Office or its Board. The ABC Board

has delegated responsiblity for statewide regulations and procedures and taxation, but is not directed to treat alcohol as a dangerous drug, and does not have responsibility for the unintended consequences of the abuse of alcohol. Further, the ABC Board, which is required to have two members from the alcohol beverage industry, is not required to have any members representative of public health or alcoholism programming.

The lack of legislatively specified coordination between the ABC Board and the Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee certainly does not serve to promote the communication necessary for the identification and development of effective educational programs (sales and consumption patterns, related factors, control measures available, types of educational materials needed, distribution of materials, related intervention and treatment programs, etc.) In short, the current governmental structure does little to bridge the schism between the control of sales and the control of abuse of alcohol, which is essential for effective coordination of efforts.

Local Controls

While the primary responsibility for the creation and development of a statewide alcohol policy rests with the State Legislature, some responsibility has been delegated to local government. One of the main local control measures to deal with alcohol problems is the local option to go "dry", whereby a locality may prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages. Although this procedure is allowed under present legislation, it is hampered by the ability of common carriers to transport alcohol to "dry" communities as cargo via mail, telephone, or telegram order, and by the present alcohol license fee rebate system.

According to this system, municipalities receive the license fees generated by licensed outlets within their boundaries to be used in enforcement of state liquor laws. Communities that choose to exercise the local option will not generate license fees and thus not receive those fees, yet will probably still have law enforcement problems associated with excessive consumption of alcohol purchased elsewhere but consumed within the local area. For the local option provision to be a potentially effective local measure, revisions in the present revenue-sharing mechanism are necessary so that localities are not, in effect, punished for their action. Similarly, provisions regarding the transportation of alcoholic beverages to dry communities by common carrier, which become retail outlet extensions in these communities, need attention.

No matter what type of alcohol policy a local government may adopt, however, it will inevitably have the responsibility for coping with alcohol-related problems--the burden of alcohol-related law enforcement activities, and local treatment programs rests with local areas. Indeed, the Uniform Act encourages the local initiation and development of prevention and treatment

programs. While the municipalities cannot escape the financial burdens of alcohol-related problems, they are prohibited by statute from using special local taxes on alcoholic beverages to generate local revenue. They must somehow generate revenues in other ways, and/or apply for the rather limited amount of state and federal funding for alcohol prevention, intervention and treatment programs. This type of funding is, of course, not only very limited at any one time, but also temporary. This conflict in notions of responsibility and response, and availability of resources could not be judged as good potential for the development appropriate prevention and treatment programs which must be able to endure over long periods of time in order to be effective.

It would appear that the inconsistencies in state policies regarding the control of alcohol consumption and alcohol abuse also have the effect of inhibiting, if not prohibiting, the type of responses required of local areas, for more effective control of alcohol abuse. State funds are not provided in the manner and extent necessary, and at the same time, local municipalities are prevented from generating revenues from the sale of alcohol from the users of alcohol. The prohibition of a special sales tax on alcohol also, of course, prohibits local governments from experimenting with price control as a method of prevention of excessive consumption of alcohol.

PART III. VOLUME SUMMARIES AND MAJOR POINTS

This Part contains a summary of the contents and major points of interest to be found in each of the volumes.

A. VOLUME I. THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE IN ALASKA, 1975

SUMMARY

Volume I investigates and describes the economic impact on Alaska of alcoholism and alcohol abuse. Major goals of the volume include the identification and estimation of financial benefits deriving from the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol, and determination of the economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse for the state as a whole. Findings and methodologies for each of the cost categories utilized are presented. Further, the absolute and relative magnitude of economic costs for each category are analyzed, then compared with corresponding estimates based on national findings. Finally, a separate part of the volume examines the fiscal revenues and expenditures for state government which are directly attributable to the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol.

The economic benefit is defined as the total value added to production in the state; the economic cost is the value of resources which would be available for other purposes if there were no alcoholism or alcohol abuse in Alaska.

This volume of the study is broken down into sections according to the particular benefit or cost being analyzed. The method used to calculate each figure is discussed, and where estimates are required due to lack of data, the bases for the estimates are explained.

The analytic sections are: economic benefits, including federal monies; the economic costs of lost production, alcohol-related motor vehicle accidents, the criminal justice system, health and medical services, social services and public assistance, and statewide alcoholism and alcohol abuse programs.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Economic Benefit of Sale and Consumption of Beverage Alcohol

The estimation of economic benefit of the sale of beverage alcohol in the

State of Alaska was calculated through the value added approach, that is, through determination of the total value added to state production by the beverage alcohol industry. This was approximated by the difference between sale (at both the wholesale and retail level) and the costs of the intermediate products. The estimated wholesale value added was computed to be $8.7 million and the retail value added was $83.0 million, for a total value added to state production of $91.7 million in 1975.

Certain federal dollars that come into the state as a result of the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol may also be viewed as a benefit to the state. These funds totaled $2.4 million in 1975. Thus, the total economic benefit of the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol amounted to $94.1 million in 1975.

Economic Cost of Lost Production

The economic cost of production lost due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse was examined within three major considerations: (1) the diminished productivity of alcohol-troubled workers which results from the loss of efficiency and absenteeism due to alcohol; (2) the labor lost as a result of occupational injuries; and (3) the work not performed (foregone earnings) due to the premature death of the alcohol abuser.

Reduced productivity for men was determined through use of national sample studies on the effect on family income of alcohol abusers. Available data allowed the particularization of economic cost estimation according to male head of households, income differentials and prevalence of alcoholism and alcohol abuse by age groupings. The results were adjusted for inflation to produce a net loss of $47.8 million in 1975 for reduced productivity for male alcohol abusers.

Reduced productivity for women was approached differently in that no similar study as that for males was available for analysis of female loss of income due to excess drinking. The prevalence of female alcohol abusers was determined by the Marden procedure and a diminished productivity figure of 25% was used, as suggested by the National Council on Alcoholism. An economic cost of $9.69 million was determined for diminished productivity for females in the 1975 work force in Alaska.

The economic cost of lost production due to occupational injuries resulting from alcohol abuse was determined by the analysis of costs incurred by the three plans providing compensation to employed workers in the state. This economic loss was estimated to be $4.3 million after the costs due to mortality were excluded.

The economic cost of lost production due to excess mortality attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse was estimated separately for males and females. The estimation was based on national sampling information and

applied within the income, age and sex differentials in Alaska. The economic cost was found to be $2.8 million for females and $21.8 million for males.

The total economic cost of lost production attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse is summarized in the chart below according to the major categories for analysis.

Diminished Productivity Females--$9.7 million Males--$47.8 million	-	$ 57.5 million
Occupational Injuries	-	4.3 million
Excess Mortality Females--$2.8 million Males--$21.8 million	-	24.6 million
Total		$ 86.4 million

Economic Costs of Alcohol-Related Motor Vehicle Accidents

Alcohol abuse is often associated with traffic accidents; however, automobile accidents would occur even without alcohol abuse. The estimation of economic costs thus involved determination of excess costs, not just a percentage of total motor vehicle accident costs. Three types of accidents (fatalities, injuries, and property damage) were considered separately since costs differ substantially according to accident type. Excess economic cost for all accidents attributable to alcohol abuse amounted to $19.7 million 1975. In order to provide an economic cost figure not redundant with any other category of costs, the cost associated with loss of future earnings--$10.7 million--was calculated and extracted to yield a figure of $9.0 million.

The Economic Cost of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse to the Criminal Justice System

The overall economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse for the criminal justice system was calculated for different categories of crime and for the separate components of the system--enforcement, courts, rehabilitation and "other" (essentially planning and support services). This cost estimate concerns the cost to the system rather than social cost of criminal acts to victims. In this economic sense, the resources used for alcohol-related crimes could have been utilized in alternative ways had these acts not taken place.

Total economic costs for all components of the system for all categories of offenses amounted to $15.3 million. Separate system component costs were: enforcement--$7.95 million; court costs--$1.97 million; corrections costs--$3.78 million; and other costs--$1.56 million.

Economic Costs of Health and Medical Care Associated with Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse

In this Part, an estimate was made of the economic cost of the impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse on the health and medical care system. Here again the estimated economic costs refer to system costs, the cost of providing the services to consumers. The primary interest was in estimation of excess economic costs, cost of services due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse that would not have been necessary without alcoholics or alcohol abusers.

Economic cost estimates were made for a variety of categories of health and medical care--hospital services, physicians' services, nursing care, drugs and other professional services.

In addition, non-institutional costs--administration and planning, health care administration, research and training--were determined and discussed as much as available data would allow.

The total estimated economic cost for health and medical care services for alcoholics and alcohol abusers totalled $13.3 million. Indirect costs associated with health and medical care users such as illness, disability and premature death attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse were estimated and reported in the Part on Lost Production.

Economic Cost of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse and Social Services and Public Assistance

Part of the pervasiveness of alcoholism and alcohol abuse includes generation of adverse individual and social events beyond the individual alcoholic and alcohol abuser. The economic consequence of this is the possible additional cost of public and private social services and assistance to others in addition to alcoholics and alcohol abusers, including foster care, daycare, homemaker services and social work services.

Economic cost estimates, based on actual expenditures, were made for provision of public social services and assistance attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse. The estimated economic cost for alcohol-related social services was found to be about $3.5 million. In addition, public assistance payments, or alcohol-related transfer payments for AFDC, AD and Medicaid

cases totaled $3.1 million. In economic terms, the cost of social services is a true economic cost, but transfer payments are not. However, transfer payments do represent a transfer of part of the burden of reduced income due to alcoholism from the alcoholic and family to the taxpayer.

Economic Cost of Direct Program Services for Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse

A variety of statewide administrative organizations in Alaska provide for direct alcoholism and alcohol services such as prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, training and research, as well as planning, coordination and administration. Financial information regarding the operation of eleven primary statewide organizations was obtained and expenditures were analyzed for all alcohol-related components. The total cost for all programs for all alcohol-related components totaled almost $3.7 million in 1975. This cost is independent of the costs in any other economic cost category considered. The program expenditures were distributed as follows: treatment-rehabilitation--55%; prevention--32%; administration--7%; training--6%; and research--1%.

Impact of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse on State Government Revenues and Expenditures

This Part of the Volume examined the expenditures and revenues of state government and identified amounts attributable to the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol and alcoholism and alcohol abuse. Revenues and expenditures were delineated by use and source of funds in order to more clearly separate the inflow and outflow of alcohol-related dollars.

Total state government expenditures attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse totaled about $24.8 million in 1975. Total state government revenues amounted to about $10.4 million.

Conclusion

This Part provided a summary of the total economic cost attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse for each category considered, and the total economic benefit for the entire State of Alaska. The absolute and relative magnitude of the economic cost for each and all categories was reviewed and compared with corresponding national information.

The total economic cost attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse amounted to $131.2 million for the State of Alaska during 1975. The

largest percentage of the total economic cost, 65 percent, was derived from lost production due to alcoholism and alcohol abuse. This category itself is rather broad and includes costs associated with diminished productivity, occupational accidents and foregone earnings due to premature deaths.

Alcohol-related costs to the criminal justice system accounted for about 12% of the total and alcohol-related health and medical care costs contributed about 10% of the total cost. Motor vehicle accidents (excluding excess mortality costs) represented 7% of the total and social services and direct alcohol service programs each accounted for less than 3% of the total.

The total economic benefit to the state was calculated to be $94.1 million.

In comparison with national findings, the total economic cost attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse, $131.2 million for the state, was found to be 65% greater than a corresponding adjusted national estimate. The finding that the actual economic cost for alcoholism and alcohol abuse was greater than might be projected from national findings was not surprising, as discussed in this Part, but the magnitude of the difference is dramatic.

Further comparison of the distribution of the findings of this study with corresponding national findings for each of the categories studied indicated additional distinguishing characteristics of the economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse in the State of Alaska. When adjusted for the overall difference in total economic cost, the categories of lost production and the criminal justice system contributed a disproportionately greater percentage of the total cost, compared to national findings. In addition, health and medical care costs and motor vehicle accidents were relatively less important in overall contribution to the total cost.

A summary of the total economic cost attributable to alcoholism and alcohol abuse for the state of Alaska in 1975 is provided below:

ECONOMIC COST OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE, 1975

Lost Production	$ 86.4 million
Criminal Justice System	15.3 million
Health and Medical Care	13.3 million
Motor Vehicle Accidents (exluding mortality costs)	9.0 million
Direct Alcohol Services	3.7 million
Social Services	3.5 million
Total Cost	$131.2 million

Comment

The final estimate of total cost of $131.2 million is probably conservative. The estimate may contain some double counting, but if so, the effects are minimal. Also, as with most types of descriptive statistics, the total cost estimate is more reliable than any of the separate elements.

However, the conservative nature of the total estimate is primarily due to the inability to include all that could possibly be considered in this investigation, because of the lack of reliable data.

In addition, future estimates of the economic cost of alcoholism and alcohol abuse will probably increase considerably as more becomes known about the relationship of alcohol and human behavior and its physiological effects on the body. This will open additional areas of consideration and also allow development and refinement of estimation procedures.

B. VOLUME II. AN ANALYSIS OF STATE LEGISLATION PERTAINING TO REGULATION AND CONTROL OF BEVERAGE ALCOHOL, AND ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE, 1975

SUMMARY

Volume II of the Study, which summarizes and analyzes the State's alcohol-related legislation, is divided into three parts.

Part One presents an overview of the alcohol-related policies of the State and Federal governments and the relationships between them.

Part Two is a compilation of all alcohol-related legislation in Alaska, apparently the only one in existence. The laws and regulations are summarized, with citations given to the Alaska Statutes and the Administrative Code. Since alcohol-related legislation is scattered throughout the statutes, the following order was adopted in organizing Part II: (1) Sales, including statewide regulations, local controls, licensing provisions and the ABC Board; (2) Revenue, including licenses and taxation; (3) Criminal sanctions and civil disabilities; (4) Treatment, rehabilitation and education of alcoholics and alcohol abusers, including the Uniform Act and Article 4 on Alcoholics; (5) Administrative agencies concerned with alcohol abuse.

While Part II presents the laws, Part III summarizes the apparent policies and purposes of these laws, using the same organizational scheme. The various policies are also compared to the only alcohol policy explicitly stated by the legislature--that in the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act. The conclusion identifies the major areas of conflicting policy, and suggests some legislative remedies.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Despite the resurgence of Federal interest in alcohol abuse in the 1960's, the primary responsibility for formulating an alcohol policy rests on the states. In Alaska, the legislature did not meet this responsibility until 1972, fourteen years after Statehood, and even then the legislature's statement of policy was merely added to the statutes, with little regard for its relationship to other laws.

Given the fact that, since 1933, it has been the state's responsibility to regulate the sale and distribution of alcohol, one would expect to find a policy statement on alcohol in Alaska's statutes enacted at statehood. In fact, however, no such legislative policy exists in Title 4; it was left to the Supreme Court of Alaska to "discover" and enunciate the state's alcohol policy in Boehl v Sabre Jet Room Inc., 349 P2d 585(Alaska 1960). Finally, in 1972, the legislature enacted the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Act, which does contain a statement of policy.

The policy of the Uniform Act, which follows, but broadens, the public inebriate laws, is to treat and rehabilitate those abusing alcohol, and to decriminalize alcoholism and intoxication. Because the Uniform Act contains the only clear statement of legislative policy, and reflects the most recent attitudes towards alcohol abuse, it is assumed for the purposes of this study that the policies of the Uniform Act are the policies of the state.

In addition to the stated purpose of the Act, five other inherent policies appear in the body of the Act, all reflecting the public health approach to alcohol abuse. First, alcohol abuse is to be treated comprehensively through research, educational programs, treatment programs and facilities, and cooperation among interested groups. Second, the State must respect the autonomy and decisions of the person being treated, unless that person is incapable of rational thought, in which case the function of the state is to protect his or her safety. Third, programs should reflect the fact that alcoholics, intoxicated persons, and persons incapacitated by alcohol may have different needs. Fourth, treatment should occur at the local level whenever possible. Finally, the Uniform Act recognizes that, while alcohol abuse is an illness, it can also have direct social consequences from which the public must be protected.

In passing the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act in 1972, the legislature chose to attack the problems of alcohol abuse from a public health perspective. The Uniform Act attempts to solve the problem of alcohol abuse by preventing it, and treating those who already abuse alcohol, rather than by relying on the criminal justice system to deter abuse per se. However, other laws have not been changed to reflect the public health orientation of the Uniform Act. If the State is to deal with alcohol-related problems as efficiently as possible, some attempt must be made to form a cohesive alcohol policy.

One of the major policy conflicts involves the control of sales on one hand and the control of abuse on the other. Statewide regulations, licensing procedures, and the ABC Board emphasize an economically stable liquor industry, divorced from criminal activities, but do not treat alcohol as a dangerous drug. The Uniform Act assumes that it is. The effects of alcohol are treated as a public health hazard, yet little is done to control the sale of substance itself. If alcohol were officially designated as a dangerous drug, the ABC Board would have stronger grounds for implementing sales regulations which discourage abuse when such control measures are identified by scientific research.

Because of the vital role of the ABC Board in controlling sales of alcohol, the legislature should also consider requiring at least one member to have experience with the prevention and treatment of alcohol abuse.

Because the legislature has delegated some of its power to control the sale of alcohol to the municipalities, some changes in the laws need to be made in order to help them exercise that power. If municipalities are to carry some of the state's burden in this area, they must be given the means to do it effectively. The first problem is the local option to go "dry". The current system of license fee rebates tends to discourage municipalities from exercising that option. Several alternatives are available. If the legislature wants to spend more money on treatment and abuse, the license fee revenue could be used for the grant-in-aid program. If the legislature wants to continue to direct the money to alcohol-related law enforcement costs, the money could be divided among the municipalities on the basis of population or some other formula which gave "dry" communities at least some of this revenue.

In order to discourage the importation of alcohol into "dry" communities, the legislature should also consider prohibiting common carriers from transporting alcohol from one part of the state to a "dry" community in the state.

The second problem is the prohibition against special local liquor taxes. If the localities are to be innovative in developing methods of controlling alcohol abuse, or even be able to meet their needs in this area, they should not be denied special local liquor taxes. Allowing such taxes would enable localities to experiment with tax as a way of controlling consumption, as well as providing money for local treatment and prevention programs, and would provide a realistic alternative for local responsibility for alcohol problems other than exercise of the local option

The state's taxing power is also relevant to a cohesive alcohol policy. While a fuller discussion of the role the excise tax can play in controlling alcohol abuse or paying for its social cost is found in Volumes IV and V

of this Study. It can be said at this point that the stability of the excise tax during the last fifteen years, when compared with dramatic increases in the consumer price index, has resulted in a relative decline in alcohol prices (in excess of 40% since 1970, Volume IV). In effect, the legislature has subsidized the liquor industry. This treatment of alcohol as a mere luxury and source of general revenue is inconsistent with the Uniform Act's treatment of alcohol as a danger to public health.

In addition to a reluctance to control sales, some of the current statutes also reflect a punitive response to alcohol abuse which is inconsistent with the Uniform Act's emphasis on prevention and treatment. Both Workman's Compensation and private disability insurance can be denied one, if his or her injuries resulted from his or her intoxication. If these provisions are not necessary for the solvency of the fund or do not in fact deter abuse, consideration should be given to allowing compensation, at least if the compensation were used for treatment and vocational rehabilitation purposes.

In the area of insurance, the state should also consider requiring alcoholism to be covered as a primary diagnosis in the health insurance and health care payment plan for carriers in the state. This would allow treatment of alcoholism as such before the effects of the disease required more extensive (and probably expensive) medical intervention.

The punitive approach to alcohol abuse also seems to have found its way into Alaska's changes in the Uniform Act itself. While the Act as a whole favors voluntary treatment, and provision is made for the early release of one involuntarily committed on grounds of assault, no such provision is made for involuntary commitment on grounds of incapacity in Alaska's version of the Uniform Act. If there was a good reason for this change, it is not readily apparent. If it is a result of an oversight, the law should be changed. In addition, involuntary commitment proceedings allow an easy change to voluntary status during the proceedings, which typically results in voluntary entry to treatment and then voluntary exit almost immediately. Obviously, the intent and use of the involuntary commitment alternative has been effectively eliminated.

Consideration should also be given to another modification of the Uniform Act. Currently a person is committed to the custody of the Office of Alcoholism, while the emphasis on local treatment would be better served if the local treatment center had custody.

Finally, it should be obvious that a cohesive alcohol policy will not be effective unless administrative efforts are coordinated. While cooperation among all state agencies is desirable, the three most important are the ABC Board in regulating sales, the Department of Health and Social Services and Office of Alcoholism in preventing and treating abuse, and the criminal justice system (including the Courts, Division of Corrections, and Parole Boards) in protecting the public and rehabilitating offenders who abuse alcohol. Requiring at least one member of the ABC Board to have a public health background in alcoholism would help coordinate sales,

prevention and treatment policies. In addition, representation of the ABC Board on the Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee is essential. The possibilities for interaction between the Office of Alcoholism and the criminal justice system include cooperation in sentencing and parole procedures, although specific recommendations should come from the people who would be involved. Perhaps the greatest aid to interdepartmental cooperation, however, will be the formulation at the legislative level of a clear and coherent alcohol policy.

In brief, the inconsistencies in current laws fall into three categories. First, the conflict between a punitive and a health-oriented alcohol policy still exists in insurance provisions, the Uniform Act's provisions for early release, and the lack of communication between the courts and treatment agencies. Second, the state has delegated some of its responsibility to municipalities, while at the same time making it more difficult for them to meet that responsibility; e.g., the license fee rebate system which discourages the local option, the prohibition on special local liquor taxes, and the failure to allow commitment to local treatment centers. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, controls on the sale of alcohol through the ABC Board and the excise tax are totally divorced from the prevention and the treatment of alcohol abuse.

The legislature must make some adjustments in these three areas if it is to fulfill its responsibility for developing a cohesive alcohol policy. One can, of course, live with inconsistencies; but the inconsistency in this case makes it difficult for different state agencies which deal with alcohol-related problems to coordinate their efforts.

C. VOLUME IV. SOCIAL SYSTEMS INDICATORS OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL ABUSE IN ALASKA, 1975

SUMMARY

Volume IV assembles and discusses a range of current data and information regarding the social impact on Alaska of alcoholism and alcohol abuse. The data compiled are regarded as conventional social system indicators, and discussed accordingly. Each part of the volume concentrates on a specific set of such indicators, with primary attention given to the prevalence of alcoholism in Alaska, the consumption of beverage alcohol, related mortalities, crime, and highway safety. A number of other, related indicators are also reviewed. Wherever possible, information is analyzed historically and compared with corresponding national (and where applicable, international) information and research findings.

Etiology of Alcoholism

There is little understanding about the underlying causes of alcoholism

or alcohol abuse. Because the addiction syndrome takes so long to become established in a person, its developmental antecedents are particularly obscure and difficult to isolate. A number of theories have been advanced to attempt to explain alcohol dependency in an individual, but no one theory suffices for all known manifestations and/or syndromes of alcoholism, alcohol abuse, alcohol dependence, alcohol addiction, etc. The crucial determinants in the developmental process are still unknown, and the very nature of the addictive process remains largely a matter of conjecture.

The main physiological theories are: (1) the genetotrophic in which a person born with a high need for certain vitamins develops a chronic vitamin deficiency, which leads to a craving for alcohol once the person is exposed to it; (2) the genetic, which assumes an inherited susceptibility to alcohol; and (3) the endocrine, in which low thyroid is linked to alcoholism, although it is not clear that the alcoholism did not cause the thyroid disorder.

There are three psychological theories. The psychoanalytic, which is useful for treatment but difficult to measure, emphasizes alcohol abuse as a self-destructive mechanism or way of coping with frustration. The learning theory, which is supported by aversive conditioning experiments, suggests that drinking lowers anxiety, thereby teaching the person to drink to avoid problems. The third theory, which has not been very successful so far, attempts to identify "personality traits", (e.g., low tolerance, sociability, feelings of inferiority, and dependence-independence and love-hate conflicts) which are linked with alcohol abuse.

There are two sociological theories. The cultural theory assumes that alcohol reduces socially-caused anxieties and posits that alcohol abuse will differ from culture to culture according to the amount of anxiety created, the attitudes toward drinking, and the availability of other ways of reducing anxiety. The "deviant behavior" theory suggests that a person engages in "deviant" behavior because of the strain between goals and the means available to attain them or because his subculture does not consider the behavior deviant. This theory emphasizes, however, that it is the labeling of the behavior as "deviant" that reinforces and imprisons the person in his behavior.

Estimated Prevalence of Problem Drinkers

Although it is impossible to explain the causes of alcoholism and alcohol abuse, the social impact is not so deceptive. Various procedures have been developed to estimate the prevalence of alcoholics or alcoholic abusers, in a population group, that are based on a variety of measures that reflect some of the consequences of alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

The prevalence of alcoholism in a population group is a general, large scale, indirect indicator of the number of alcoholics or problem drinkers in that population. Independent of the specifics of the estimation procedure involved, the final count is generally considered to enumerate a subpopulation group loosely characterized by behaviors defined as problematic because of their relation to the consumption of alcohol.

Review and application of several estimation procedures for prevalence of alcoholism found each and all of the procedures deficient in some respects for a theoretically close estimation of prevalence in Alaska. Most of the deficiencies had to do with the interaction between the unique population characteristics of Alaska and the estimation procedures. Most of the procedures are useful primarily for population groups larger than the population of Alaska. This is to say that because of the relatively small size of Alaska's population, for the use of such procedures, the elements used in the computation procedures fluctuate in erratic ways that result in the distortion of their intended outcomes. Furthermore, such general characteristics of the population as the recent rapid growth rate, the cultural diversity, the high proportion of relatively younger persons, and the extreme fluctuations in the economic and employment situation, obtain to produce a less than stable population group amenable to these estimation procedures.

Nevertheless, it was concluded that there were approximately 30,000 problem drinkers in Alaska in 1975. This was based on the strength of the correspondence of the findings of the three major methods--Jellinek,Marden and Ledermann, and the fact that each method uses independent sources of data. This number must be considered an underestimate because of the interplay of the factors mentioned above.

One of these three methods, the Marden method, provides for a more refined specification of target groups within the total population of drinkers with problems. This procedure estimated about 31,700 drinkers with problems in the State of Alaska in 1975. About 15,630 were employed civilian males, and 4,530 were unemployed civilian males. There were about 5,800 civilian females (employed and unemployed) and about 5,740 military men and women (about 26 women). Of course, as with most estimation procedures more credibility must be given to the total number, than to any of the subdivisions.

Generally, the distribution of drinkers with problems was fairly evenly distributed over the occupational and analytic categories employed for estimation.

There are a disproportionate number of drinkers with problems in the groups analytically defined as "women", "military", "unemployed males". and "craftsmen and kindred workers". Collectively, these groups account for 65% of the estimated number of drinkers with problems, as defined by this procedure.

Some further explanation of this distribution is necessary however. The Marden procedure does not distinguish occupational categories for women. This group contains all employed women for all occupational categories, as well as unemployed women. Similarly, military personnel were treated collectively in this estimation, independent of the various occupational classifications they might occupy. These considerations leave the groups of unemployed males and males in the occupational category of craftsmen and kindred workers as showing a clear, relatively greater prevalence of problem drinkers, compared to the other occupational categories. In overall terms, however, civilian employed males (all categories) constitute a full 50% of all estimated drinkers with problems and 78% of all civilian male drinkers with problems.

The estimated number of drinkers with problems among employed males is greatest for the 20 to 29 age group, accounting for 36% of the estimated total for that group. However, 83% of that number is spread over the age group from 20 to 29 years of age. The prevalence of drinkers with problems among unemployed males is definitely greatest within the 20 to 29 age group, 44% of the total in that group. Similarly, but to a much greater degree, the greatest, and almost entire proportion of estimated problem drinkers in the military group is concentrated in the 20 to 29 age group (81%).

An overall comparison of the distribution of drinkers with problems for all males with that for all females shows definite differences. The greatest concentration of female problem drinkers is in the 30 -39 age group, which is older than their male counterparts. The greatest concentration for females is in two age categories--30-39(47%) and 40-49(31%) for a total of 78%. For all males the greatest percentage is concentrated in the age groups of 20-29 (46%) and 30-39 (24%) for a total of 70%.

Estimated Problem Drinkers: Group Characteristics

Drinkers with problems in Alaska are primarily male (82%),compared to 18% females; drinkers with problems comprise about 15% of the drinking age population; they number approximately 31,000 (Marden procedure).

Civilian, employed males make up half of the estimated number of drinkers with problems in Alaska (during 1975) and 78% of all civilian male problem drinkers are employed. They are distributed fairly evenly over all age

and occupational categories. There are however, minor concentrations within the occupational category of craftsmen, and the age group of 20-29.

Males in the military comprise 18% of the total population of estimated drinkers with problems. Over 80% are in the 20-29 age category. Unemployed males comprise about 14% of the estimated population of drinkers with problems. About 44% of their numbers are concentrated in the 20-29 age group.

Females comprise about 18% of the total number of estimated drinkers with problems in the state. Of these numbers, 78% are in the age groups of 30-39 (47%) and 40-49 (31%).

Estimated Problem Drinkers:
Summary Remarks

The distribution of drinkers with problems in Alaska shows that males who are employed, particularly craftsmen and kindred workers, primarily in the age group of 20-29 years old, constitute the largest categorical target group.

It is clear that public inebriates do not constitute the greatest proportion of the population of problem drinkers; but unemployed male drinkers with problems are much younger than might have been expected.

Males in the military, aged 20-29, constitute a disproportionate share of the population of drinkers with problems, relative to their total numbers.

Females, unemployed and employed, aged 30-49, constitute a clearly identifiable target group.

Consumption of Beverage Alcohol

The per capita apparent consumption of alcoholic beverages in Alaska is high, viewed from various perspectives. As is true nationally and internationally, overall per capita consumption of beverage alcohol in Alaska has also steadily increased. The average level of per capita consumption for Alaska however, is relatively high by international comparison, and significantly higher than averages for the nation, national regions, and other states. Further, Alaska's increasing overall per capita consumption has been marked by a gradual shift away from consumption of distilled spirits towards lighter alcoholic beverages, but the shift is very slight. Alaska is distinguished from most other countries, the nation, most national regions, and states, by its continued and definitive preference

for distilled spirits over beer and wine. Perhaps most important, however--and independent of its overall level of consumption or its specific beverage preference--is Alaska's dramatic and alarming rate of increase in annual per capita consumption.

Recent epidemiological research indicates that an increasing rate of average annual consumption indicates an increasing prevalence of alcoholism--a fact that makes Alaska's rapid rate of increasing consumption all the more disturbing.

When compared to national consumption figures, the recent increases in Alaska's level of apparent consumption appears even more drastic. Alaska's level of annual consumption of absolute alcohol in 1958 was 27% greater than the national level--2.52 compared to 1.98 gallons of absolute alcohol per person, in the drinking age population. By 1975, Alaska's rate of per capita annual consumption was 57% greater than the nation's--4.54 compared to 2.90 gallons of absolute alcohol per person. In other words, while average annual consumption for the nation had increased by 46% from 1958 to 1975, for Alaska it had increased by 80%.

In short, the apparent consumption of absolute alcohol in Alaska since statehood is characterized by three facts. First, the quantity of absolute alcohol consumed annually by Alaskans has been, and still is, relatively high by both international and national standards. Second, the apparent consumption of absolute alcohol in Alaska has increased steadily since statehood--a trend consistent with international and national patterns. Finally, and most importantly, the rate of increasing annual consumption is alarmingly greater for Alaskans than the rate of increase for the national average--almost twice the rate of increase.

Consumption of Beverage Alcohol and Prevalence of Alcoholism

The relationship between the rate of consumption of beverage alcohol and the rate of alcoholism in a population has been a topic of increasing research investigation. One major position states that the overall level of consumption of beverage alcohol in a population determines both the prevalence of alcoholism and the extent and nature of alcohol-related organic pathologies.

According to this formulation, as the rate of average annual consumption increases, so does the rate of excessive drinkers; and so, too, does the rate of alcohol-related mortality.

Given the fact, then, that consumption levels in Alaska have increased substantially since statehood, it follows that death in the state due to cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholism should show a similarly proportional

increase, if this theoretical formulation holds true. The dramatic increases in Alaska's annual average consumption of absolute alcohol since 1958 have indeed been matched very closely by equally significant increases in the death rate due to cirrhosis of the liver, and alcoholism.

It is evident that the relationship between increasing annual consumption and chronic excessive use, along with increasing annual rates of alcohol-related mortality, is particularly well demonstrated in Alaska.

That Alaska can be classified as a high consuming population goes without question. Excessive drinking of beverage alcohol appears to approach normative drinking patterns, rather than representing deviant behavior. In populations with a relatively high rate of average annual consumption, alcoholism is more likely the result of social practices, whereas in low consuming populations, it is more likely the result of individual psychopathology or sociopathology. Given the relationship between excessive consumption and moderate consumption, attention must be focused on factors that affect rates of consumption in a population, in order to reduce the prevalence of alcoholism.

Factors Affecting Consumption of Beverage Alcohol

A number of factors that affect consumption--the number and type of retail outlets for beverage alcohol, closing hours, and taxation of beverage alcohol, are also government measures for the regulation and control of the sale and consumption of beverage alcohol in Alaska. Available information regarding these factors indicates that consumer accessibility is greater in Alaska, and that government control measures are considerably more relaxed than in other states.

Compared to national averages, there are twice as many retail liquor outlets per 1000 persons in Alaska. In addition, there are fewer prohibited hours of sale in Alaska than in most other states. Further, the relative price of beverage alcohol in Alaska has actually decreased by 40% in the period from 1970 to 1975.

Taxation. Taxes affect the consumer price of alcoholic beverages, and there are strong indications that the price of alcohol relative to personal disposable income is closely related to overall consumption and the prevalence of alcoholism.

In Alaska, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for alcoholic beverages in Alaska increased by .3% (three-tenths of one percent) in the period from 1970 to 1975. The CPI for all items increased 41.2% during the same time period.

Average disposable income increased by 92%, while real disposable income (average disposable income adjusted for CPI changes) increased 35.7%. In effect, the consumer price of all commodities from 1970-1975 increased by more than 40%, while the price of beverage alcohol increased by only .3%--which means that, in relation to all other commodities, the price of alcohol decreased by more than 40%.

According to the Distilled Spirits Council, 50% to 75% of the price of alcohol is comprised of taxes--federal and state; thus, if taxes do not change, the price of alcohol obviously does not behave like other non-controlled commodities in the free market. In Alaska the excise tax on beverage alcohol has not changed since 1961.

It would seem that, particularly applied to Alaska, the relationship between increasing annual average consumption and decreasing relative price of beverage alcohol is quite clear. Along with the relatively greater accessibility, the decreasing price helps explain the dramatic increases in consumption that were noted for Alaska.

As the overall level of average annual consumption is allowed to increase, so does the prevalence of chronic excessive use and thus, the prevalence of hazardous consumers, and alcohol-related pathologies.

Alcohol-Related Mortality

It has already been demonstrated that increasing average annual consumption is associated with increasing rates of death due to cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholism. Although it is impossible to conclusively link alcohol to a precise portion of mortality for other causes of death, national and international studies have established that heavy drinkers have a mortality rate that is two to four times higher than those who are not. Given the rates of mortality in Alaska for causes of death known to be frequently related to excessive drinking, and the relatively high level of consumption, alcohol involvement in the deaths of Alaskans is

With respect to such "risk populations" in general, specific-cause mortality data show that two subpopulations in Alaska are characterized by especially high mortality: (1) the young, as mentioned above, and (2) the state's Native population, whose overall rate of death in Alaska is more than twice that of non-Natives.

The regional distribution of fatalities in Alaska indicated that overall death rates were highest in the less populous regions of the state, but that overall mortality was concentrated in the Southeastern Region. The pattern of mortality distribution also shows that Native death rates were greatest in the Northern Region (least densely populated region in the state), while the highest non-Native rate of mortality occured in the Southeastern Region.

In the aggregate, these trends and apportionments of mortality in Alaska suggest a confluence with other, known characteristics of the effects and consequences of excessive consumption in the state.

Alcohol-Related Arrests

The greatest impact on the criminal justice system of alcohol-related crimes derives primarily from the commission of misdemeanor type offenses. A large percentage of violent crimes is considered to be alcohol-related: homicide-64%, rape-34%, and aggravated assault-41%. But arrests for all violent crimes, and robbery, only account for about four percent of the total number of arrests for all offenses in the state.

Arrests for alcohol-related misdemeanors account for about 39% of the total number of arrests for all offenses, for both adult and juvenile arrests for all offenses. If juvenile and adult arrests are separated, then 47% of all adult arrests are for alcohol-related misdemeanor offenses. This group of adults is primarily male (85%), and accounts for 87% of all arrests for alcohol-related offenses.

Although the greatest volume of arrests for alcohol-related offenses is in the urban settings, where most of the population lives, the greatest relative impact is in the rural-city settings. In these settings, a somewhat greater percentage of all arrests is for Part II type offenses. More significantly,however, nearly half (48%), of all arrests were for alcohol-related offenses, compared to 39% in urban settings, and 34% in rural settings.

Most of the adult arrests for alcohol-related offenses were for OMVI, for both male and females. Females, however, showed a pattern of alcohol-related arrests more evenly divided among the offenses of OMVI, disorderly conduct, and liquor law violations, whereas male alcohol-related arrests were very definitely concentrated on the OMVI offense.

For juvenile arrests for alcohol-related offenses, about two-thirds were for liquor law violations. Liquor law violations and assaults together accounted for 85% of all juvenile arrests for alcohol-related offenses.

Although there was not enough information to adequately address the impact of alcohol-related arrests on the court and corrections components of the criminal justice system, it appears that misdemeanors would again be emphasized. Forty-eight to 75% of all misdemeanor cases filed with the district court were for alcohol-related offenses in 1975. Also, 42% to 78% of all misdemeanor convictions were for alcohol-related offenses.

During the period from 1971 to 1975, the number of releases for jail sentences of ten days or longer for alcohol-related offenses decreased by 72%, most likely in relation to the decriminalization of public drunkenness provided in the Uniform Act (1972). Also, during 1975, more than 50% of all served sentences fewer than ten days were for alcohol-related offense. In addition, the recidivism rate for alcohol-involved

offenses was established to be about 43%.

Alcohol and Traffic Safety

In Alaska, as elsewhere, most people killed after drinking and driving have a very high blood alcohol concentration (BAC). During 1975, 46% of the motor vehicle fatalities involved alcohol. Most drivers convicted for OMVI have very high BAC's. The average BAC for OMVI drivers in the state is almost twice the statutory legal limit of impairment.

Research information clearly demonstrates the increasing probability of involvement in any kind of crash with increasing BAC levels, as well as the increasing likelihood of responsibility for the crash with increasing BAC's. The probability for crash involvement begins to increase apprecably above .05%BAC. The presumptive limit for intoxication for conviction for OMVI is .10%BAC. The average BAC of arrested OMVI drivers in 1975 was .18%. Ninety-two percent of all OMVI arrests recorded BAC's above .10%.

The great majority of licensed drivers have generally clear driving records, a very low rate of previous crash involvement, and account for very few OMVI convictions, or other traffic convictions. The great majority of licensed drivers--80to 90%, also register no measurable BAC during random road stops; only about 3 to 5% show BAC levels above .10%. This contrasts very sharply with the subpopulations of drivers involved in crashes, and drivers convicted for OMVI. The average BAC of these drivers is almost twice that of the limit of legal impairment. They account for an extremely disproportionate number of prior convictions for OMVI, as well as other serious and minor traffic violations and accident involvement.

Given the array of information available about these drivers, it is logical and valid to conclude that the great majority were indeed drunk, independent of one's precise definition of the term. While the conclusion seems obvious, the information available also allows the inference that a very high proportion of these drivers also qualify for the label of "problem-drinker." As such, these problem drinker drivers are valid clients for the alcoholism treatment and rehabilitation as well as for the judicial-correctional system.

This group of people is generally well known to the courts, accounting as they do for so many traffic violations and accidents. In Alaska, about 22% of all adult arrests are for OMVI. Of those convicted, two out of ten had at least one prior OMVI conviction, 18 of 20 had at least one prior major traffic conviction (reckless, negligent, careless, etc.), and 13 out of 20 had one or more traffic accidents. Drivers convicted of OMVI tend to be young, between 18 and 39 years old, non-Native, and male.

The general trends of increasing consumption in Alaska, along with increasing numbers of licensed drivers, roadways, and vehicle-miles driven, can be expected to continue. Given the nature of these increases--a younger population, less driving experience, increasing consumption of alcohol, and increasing recreational driving, the extent of alcohol involvement in crashes will probably increase.

Alcohol Abuse and Health and Social Service

There are also a number of other indicators of the impact of excessive drinking that comprise the general category of reported morbidity, including both diseases and trauma. This category represents the incidence of various adverse events as reported in the utilization of inpatient and outpatient health services, and other social services. The information needs to be approached with a great deal of caution, since the inadequacies of the reporting systems, combined with the differing philosophical, financial, and administrative practices of the various health and social service agencies, aggregate to mainly underrepresent the impact of this category of service. Further, this information does not reflect the nature or extent of the need for services in the population, but rather the nature and extent of the reported utilization by the agencies.

The findings point to the lack of inclusion of the effects of alcohol abuse and alcoholism in the reporting systems of the agencies that concern themselves with alcohol-related health and social services. In spite of the inadequacies of the reporting systems, the limited information did show a system wide impact that can be felt in inpatient and outpatient hospital services, emergency room services, mental health services, alcoholism and drug abuse programs, and in field services provided by public health nurses, as well as in reported cases of child abuse and neglect.

In addition, some of the very limited client data available suggests that there may be disparities in the characteristics of treated clients and the theoretical supopulations at risk. Much more investigation is needed, but it seems that only a small and rather concentrated segment of the range of "at risk" persons is being encountered by the various health and social service agencies.

Generally it can be expected that the existing minimal indications of the already pervasive impact of alcoholism and alcohol abuse on health and social services will increase dramatically in the near future. The increases have begun to show in the period from 1973 to 1975, as more effective reporting systems were developed. The future increases will in part reflect the further development of better reporting systems (as well as changes in third party payment schedules for alcoholic disorders), but increases are also predictable in relation to the present patterns of increasing average annual consumption of beverage alcohol.

Alaska Criminal Justice Plan 1978
by Criminal Justice Planning Agency, Pouch A-J
Juneau 99811

ALCOHOL ABUSE AND ALCOHOLISM

Continuing efforts to deal with the impact of alcohol abuse on the quality of life in Alaska resulted, during 1976 and 1977, in a number of approaches and suggestions. A "Governor's Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism" made its final report to the Governor in January, 1977.

Many of the recommendations were incorporated in an extensive package of bills prepared as a part of the CJPA's Standards and Goals project. This legislation, which emphasized issues of taxation and local control as prevention measures, was not passed by the Tenth Alaska Legislature and is in committee to be heard in the second session.

The CJPA has identified seven areas of immediate concern to the criminal justice system.

1. Establishment of non-medical detox centers

The Uniform Alcoholism Act (which decriminalized public intoxication) was adopted in 1972 without adequate development of facilities to serve as alternatives to jails. The resulting problems were particularly acute in rural areas, where detox and sleep-off facilities were virtually nonexistent. The ninth Alaska legislature passed what was intended as remedial legislation which provided that public inebriates may be taken into protective custody and, as a last resort, held involuntarily for up to twelve hours in a "state or municipal detention facility", i.e. jail.

No data is available concerning the effect of this legislation on jail intake in either urban or rural areas. One innovative application is found in the operating procedures of the North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety, which describes its "Drunk Release Program" as follows:

Operating Procedures Manual Reference: Chap. 214 and 301

A. "Drunk Release Program"

A major part of our crime prevention program is the detention of those persons so intoxicated as to represent a definite threat to themselves and a lesser threat to others. Of the following purposes behind this program, one additional feature will be added:

1. Protection of the person intoxicated
2. Protection of others from intoxicated persons
3. Non-criminal detention, processing and release

The additional feature will be an attempt to reduce "returnees" to this system by making referrals to the Barrow Council on Alcoholism for interviews, counseling and treatment. While it is assumed that no enforcement of this diversion method can be made, there is room for a very light push in the general direction--that push being in the form of "voluntary referrals" directly from their release. These referrals will be a consistent part of this program.

The method of "voluntary referrals" will be as follows:

A. At time of release by any officer, the person detained will receive a direct invitation (with officer assistance) to meet with personnel of the Barrow Council on Alcoholism presently located in the Youth Center. They are to be encouraged to go directly from release to BCA for initial intake.

B. Since there is no legal provision for enforcement of referrals, a strong recommendation by the officer releasing will be encouraged.

C. An alternative method is to call up the BCA and ask for a staff person to come to the station and make the request and invitation directly to the person released from detention.

The Governor's Inter-departmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism made the following recommendations:

- Amend the Uniform Act (AS 47.37) to allow sleep-off facilities to hold "intoxicated persons" and/or "incapacitated persons" for up to 72 hours involuntarily.
- Provide the funds to operate a statewide network of sleep-off facilities...
- Require all sleep-off facilities to employ at least one person with Emergency Medical Training on each shift seven days a week.
- Require an initial medical examination within 24 hours.
- Require hospitals and physicians to admit intoxicated persons to hospitals if they also present other severe complicating medical problems.
- Require sleep-off facilities to conduct an evaluation for the purpose of disposition and referral of the patient prior to his release at the end of 72 hours.

The Committee recommended the establishment of sleep-off centers in Juneau, Ketchikan, Valdez, Yakutat, Wrangell, Petersburg, Seward, Unalaska, Cordova, Kotzebue, Barrow and Kenai. An estimate for establishment of these centers in single or double-wide trailers was $439,050 in capital expenditures and $2,193,750 in annual operating expenses (including 117 total staff).

The report also recommended a needs assessment to determine whether sleep-off centers should be established in Dillingham, Galena, Fort Yukon and Glenallen-Copper Center, should funds be available. The report encouraged other communities without jails or sleep-off centers to develop statistics which could be used to determine the need for and probable utilization of sleep-off centers.

At a June, 1977 meeting of the Governor's Advisory Board on Alcoholism, it was decided to establish detox facilities in Kenai, Kotzebue and Juneau, and to expand the existing facility in Bethel.

2. Establishment of alcohol prevention and rehabilitation programs in rural areas

The lack of effective alcoholism treatment programs in rural areas is widely acknowledged. The Alaska Federation of Natives, in their 1976 Resolutions, point out that:

- there are inadequate and inefficient alcoholism treatment centers in rural Alaska
- there are no current alcoholism prevention programs
- there is a lack of emphasis in existing alcoholism, drug abuse and mental health programs specifically relating to the treatment of juveniles
- group homes, receiving homes, and alcoholism treatment facilities are not available for the treatment of non-delinquent youths in most of the regional service centers of Alaska.

Among the AFN recommendations were:

- that the Department of Health and Social Services establish as a top, on-going priority, alcoholism prevention programs for rural Alaska, and that the Department work closely with local, communities to determine the kind of treatment facilities needed and the appropriate kind of alcoholism services.
- that the problem of treatment of alcoholism as it relates to juveniles and families in rural Alaska be addressed; that more emphasis be placed on research and treatment of juveniles.

- that group homes, receiving homes and alcoholism treatment facilities be made available on a regionalized basis and that the Legislature make financing available so that small communities can develop programs that will deal with juveniles before these children enter the juvenile justice system, and that they be funded on a regionalized basis (i.e., Nome, Kotzebue, Ft. Yukon, Bethel, Dillingham, Barrow, Kodiak, Yukon Delta, Copper Center and Ketchikan, etc.)

Information provided by the State Office of Alcoholism, the National Council on Alcoholism/Alaska Region and the Alaska Native Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse shows that there are "prevention" programs of one type or another in a number of rural areas, and that more are planned in the near future (see Available Systems and Resources for Prevention/Diversion). Thus the AFN statement chat "there are no current alcoholism prevention programs" must reflect a sense of frustration with the performance of current programs, or perhaps with the fact that no one, as yet, has actually found an effective way to prevent alcoholism which has universal, or even widespread, application.

The Governor's Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism noted that nationally some of the most successful residential treatment programs are those that do not use government grants for funding, but which rely primarily on reimbursement for services given. They add:

> The size and stability of existing rehabilitation programs in the state are not adequate to meet the needs of this type of service. Patients who can pay and/or who have insurance coverage for this kind of care are typically transported "outside". It would be a functional and economic benefit to the State to have such a facility/program available within Alaska. It would afford existing smaller local programs with an inpatient resource within the State. It would also keep the money paid for treatment within the State.

The Coordinating Committee recommended:

- The State should provide funding for the establishment of a quality, short-term residential, intensive treatment program which is directed primarily toward those rural and urban clients who are covered by public or private insurance or able to pay their own way.
- This facility should be centrally located but not directly adjacent to a large metropolitan area.
- This facility should not exceed 70 beds and should have an average patient stay of 30 days.
- The program should be available to residents from throughout Alaska and serve both urban and rural populations.

The report also recommended establishment and initial operation of a long term domiciliary care and rehabilitation facility for the chronic public inebriate.

- The primary client population for this program should be the court-committed chronic public inebriate and/or those addicted individuals in need of long-term in-residence care who choose to commit themselves voluntarily for a period of 90 days or longer.

- The program should be operated by the State for a period of five years, at the end of which the program should be evaluated to determine whether or not it should be contracted to the private sector.

Realistically, perhaps, Alaska should work to get one stable residential facility in a central location, and then move to establish community-operated residential facilities in the regional service areas.

The Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism made the following recommendation: "Because of the predominance of alcoholism problems in rural communities, because of the limitation on available resources in rural communities, and because of the importance of skilled help for the alcoholic:

- It is recommenced that the primary direction and identity of the Community Mental Health outpatient program be that of an alcoholism treatment service.

- Rural alcoholism, drug abuse, and mental health professionals and paraprofessionals should be cross-trained in all three areas.

- It is our recommendation that rural alcohol, drug abuse, and mental health outpatient services maintain their separate identities and budgets but that they colocate in order to facilitate cooperation in patient care and facilitate cross-training for personnel in all areas.

- Existing local community alcoholism programs should provide information and referral services on an ongoing basis as part of their normal activities.

- Existing local community alcoholism programs should be required to develop formal referral networks with all health, social services, judicial and law enforcement agencies in their local catchment area.

Currently, the strategy of the State Office of Alcoholism is to establish major rehabilitation centers in Fairbanks, Anchorage, and an as yet to be determined site in Southeast. Existing programs in Fairbanks and Anchorage will provide the nucleus for these programs. Programs in other areas will utilize these treatment centers.

A spokesman for the State Office of Alcoholism indicates that most rural areas share a set of social/cultural/economic/political processes which have created conditions leading to high rates of alcoholism but which are not amenable to rehabilitative efforts. The Office recognizes two major areas for prevention efforts as (1) local control and (2) an apparent lack of recreational opportunities, particularly during the winter months.

3. Establishment of screening and treatment programs for alcohol offenders

There are a variety of programs in urban areas in Alaska which presently provide or have the potential to provide alcohol screening treatment services. Presently these programs operate independently and may be duplicative or may leave gaps in services needed in a particular community. Through an LEAA discretionary grant the Criminal Justice Planning Agency has recently funded a TASC (Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime) program for the Anchorage area. One of the major functions of this project is to coordinate the efforts of the many alcohol-related services in the Anchorage area. The State Planning Agency should monitor the project closely to determine if its techniques can be transferred to other communities or regional areas through the use of the State's Technical Assistance Program.

Very little is known about the extent of alcohol screening and treatment programs available in smaller cities and rural areas of Alaska. Existing data does demonstrate the need for these services. According to surveys conducted by the Corrections Task Force for Standards and Goals and the Public Opinion surveys conducted by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency, the problem of alcohol related crime is more severe in rural areas than it is in urban areas. In a survey of police chiefs throughout rural Alaska, the Corrections Task Force found that rural communities attributed from 36% to 98% of all arrests to the problem of alcohol abuse. Victimization rates in rural northwest Alaska were higher than Southeast, Anchorage or Fairbanks. Also, rural respondents in the statewide survey of public opinion felt that alcohol was a basic cause of crime (22% for crimes against people; 13% crimes against property) whereas less than 3% of the respondents from more urban areas surveyed identified alcohol as a basic cause of crime.

The Criminal Justice Planning Agency should compile all data regarding alcohol abuse programs in all regions of the state which may provide screening and/or treatment services to the criminal justice system. The gaps in services should be identified, and a method for coordinating existing services must be established.

4. Development of alcohol abuse curricula

There is general agreement that long-range planning in the area of alcohol abuse must focus on primary prevention and that the schools provide the logical focus for such efforts. At present three approaches are being taken to the development of alcohol abuse curricula, and are at various stages of development.

The core of a kindergarten through 12th grade curriculum has been developed by the National Council on Alcoholism/Alaska Region, and is currently in use on an experimental basis in Kenai and Fort Yukon. The curriculum has also undergone preliminary review in the Anchorage area. The Council estimates that it would take one year of work by an educator (who would consult with students, parents, educators and agency staffs statewide) to complete the curriculum, prior to training teachers to use it.

A sub-committee of the Governor's Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism recommended the development of an academic curriculum package by the State Department of Education. This is seen as a three-year program with the first year devoted to the initial development of the curriculum and the beginning of teacher training, the second year for field testing and further teacher training, and the final year for duplication of multi-media curriculum packages and on-site regional training. The three-year program would have a price tag of somewhat over $300,000 and would aim at reaching 52 school districts and 93,000 students in grades K through 12. The curriculum would coordinate other existing programs (including the NCA curriculum described above and a program currently in use in Anchorage, described below).

Wonder Park Elementary School in Anchorage is currently using a curriculum prepared in Washington and which may be made available free of charge by the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism in the near future. This program, which has been enthusiastically received, is called, "Here's Looking at You" (Teachers Edition) and is now available for $15.00 from:

Educational Service District #110
1410 S. 200th St.
Seattle, Washington 98148

Wonder Park is one of seven Anchorage elementary schools participating in a Teacher Training Program prepared by the University of Alaska Center for Alcohol and Addiction Studies. This program provides instruction in the dynamics of human behavior and how they relate to alcohol and drug use and other forms of deviancy. The approach is aimed at providing incentives for the development of community programs and involves both parents and teachers. It is currently being broadcast by KAKM in Anchorage once a week for ten weeks. Parents were invited to participate and may either view the programs in their homes or go to the schools where they participate with the teachers in group discussions and activities related to the training materials. Participating teachers receive graduate credit from the University. The complete training program has also been provided in Tok.

An Office of Alcoholism FY '78 budget item to provide a curriculum was not funded, but will be resubmitted in FY '79.

5. Improvement of correctional treatment programs

The Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on Alcoholism recommended to the Governor that the Division of Corrections should:

- provide treatment within correctional facilities for alcoholic inmates
- ensure that appropriate aftercare and follow-up are provided for all alcoholic inmates upon their parole
- make referral and aftercare available to alcoholic inmates who have completed their full sentence.

It is the position of the Criminal Justice Planning Agency that while alcoholism training should certainly be made available to correctional personnel, it would be counterproductive for the Division of Corrections to have to develop a cadre of trained alcoholism counselors. Both management of treatment and continuity of care can be improved by the use of existing community resources. Corrections' clients should have access to services funded either through the state Office of Alcoholism or by local communities. These services should be provided within institutions, and should also be available to clients when they return to their communities. The role of Corrections personnel should be to make referrals and encourage participation in community programs. The State Office of Alcoholism agrees with this position, and has instructed all local programs to work closely with the Division of Corrections and other components of the criminal justice system.

The Criminal Justice Planning Agency is presently funding two alcoholism counseling programs in Corrections as described in "Available Resources". In one, funding has been provided for a Corrections staff member to establish and run A.A. groups (and related courses and activities) in the Anchorage area. It is the intent of the grant that inmates will be encouraged, on their release from jail, to return to the A.A. meetings as community members.

The second approach, currently being used in Juneau, is to provide funds to a local alcoholism treatment agency (the Juneau Alcoholism Central Agency) to make services available to the population of the Juneau Correctional Center. Continued service is thus automatically available when an inmate is released on parole or completes his sentence. Community services are available to probationers as members of the community.

The eventual success of either of these approaches will depend on the involvement and support of probation/parole officers, who can do a great deal to ensure continuity of the programs.

During 1979 CJPA will support a comparative evaluation of the two approaches to include recommendations for the course of future development of alcoholism programming in corrections.

6. <u>Strengthen enforcement capacity of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board</u>

At present the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board has a staff of five investigators with three based in Anchorage and two in Fairbanks. Licensed establishments are distributed as follows:

1st Judicial District (Southeast)	25?
2nd Judicial District (Northwest)	2
3rd Judicial District (Anchorage, Valdez)	66
4th Judicial District (Fairbanks)	24?

The Board's investigators work with local and state law enforcement agencies to investigate applications before licenses are issued. They perform routine surveillance of licensed establishments and investigate complaints.

Although no statistics are available, ABC staff estimate on the basis of complaints and observations that 75% of licensed establishments serve intoxicated persons and about 25% are serving minors.

Revenue sharing provides that municipalities with law enforcement capability will receive the revenues from their licensing fees for the purpose of enforcement. This is seldom carried out, however, and enforcement is generally seen as the responsibility of the ABC Board.

Various resolutions to the problem of enforcement have been proposed: the Governor's Management and Efficiency Review (May, 1977) indicates that, "the activities mandated to the Board are being carried out effectively. However the investigative staff needs to be enlarged to provide adequate coverage for Southeast Alaska." The Review Committee recommends the addition of one investigator.

On the other hand, Convention Resolution #76-27 of the Alaska Federation of Natives (1976) states that the "level of staffing and funding is absolutely disgraceful considering the ABC Board's statewide enforcement responsibilities--especially in rural Alaska." The resolution recommended:

- that the Governor and the Legislature increase the ABC Board's funding to at least $1,000,000; and
- that sufficient positions of that funding be devoted to providing adequate enforcement of State and local alcohol beverage control laws in rural areas, and
- that sufficient portions of that funding also be devoted to investigate and overhaul the present alcohol control procedures and to develop new and better coordination of control procedures throughout the State; and
- that such procedures should be enacted as law and fully funded no later than July 1, 1978 (FY 79).

The recent Director of the ABC Board recommended, in April 1977, the reorganization of the enforcement staff to include an upper level administrative position (Range 21 or 22) to be responsible for the activities of five investigators in Anchorage, three in Fairbanks and two in Southeast. She feels that the administrator of the enforcement unit should be experienced in investigation of "white collar" and organized crime.

The State Office of Alcoholism and the CJPA concur regarding the need to strengthen the ABC Board, and to diversify its membership to represent a broader spectrum of interests.

7. Use of alcohol as a mitigating circumstance; penalties for driving while intoxicated

The law states that voluntary intoxication is not to be used as a mitigating circumstance except in "specific intent" cases. It is commonly felt, however, that it is quite frequently used by both judges and juries. There is less agreement as to whether or not it is appropriate.

Senate Bill 206, "An act relating to sentencing", currently in committee, attempts to strengthen the existing law and to address the issue of whether intoxication is "voluntary" in the case of an alcoholic. This bill, commonly referred to as the "Presumptive Sentencing Bill", defines conditions that may be considered aggravating or mitigating in the determination of sentences.

> In no event may punishment be mitigated or reduced because of voluntary alcohol or other drug intoxication or chronic alcoholism or other drug addiction.

Current pending legislation also addresses penalties for operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated. Senate Bill 38, "An act relating to driving under the influence of intoxicating liquor or drugs", amends AS 28.35.030 as follows:

1st conviction--a minimum sentence of not less than three days shall be imposed (in addition to the previous fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year or both).

2nd conviction--within five years of first, imprisonment not less than ten days (from three days presently required).

3rd or subsequent conviction--within five years of second, imprisonment not less than 30 days (from ten days presently required).

The Division of Corrections estimates the impact of this legislation on their facilities in the first year at an average of six prisoners a day x 365 days x $48 a day per inmate, or a total expenditure of $105,000. This cost estimate does not address the issue of already-crowded short-term holding facilities. Neither does it address the problem of small communities where the state does not have contracts for jail services.

The proposed legislation does nothing to reduce discretion on the part of police and D.A.'s, and thus to ensure that those with money and/or influence are as likely to be prosecuted as those with "nothing going for them".

Problem Statements

20. At present there are a total of seven alcoholism programs in the state (only one in a rural area) with either detoxification or sleep-off capability. In other areas intoxicated individuals who are held in protective custody must be housed in local jails where they may be held for twelve hours.

21. There is a need for coordination and consolidation of efforts to ensure that at least one quality curriculum is available for use on a statewide basis. This should involve careful evaluation of already available materials and approaches.

22. Effective prevention and rehabilitation programs are generally not available in rural Alaska. Additional emphasis needs to be placed on juvenile problems of alcoholism and drug abuse.

23. There is a need to provide alcohol screening and treatment services throughout the State of Alaska and to coordinate the efforts of existing services.

24. The present enforcement capacity of the Alcohol Beverage Control Board is insufficient to regulate and control the liquor industry.

25. Many feel that the use of intoxication as a mitigating circumstance is contrary to a perceived "sense of justice". Proposed legislation which increases penalties for OMVI is an attempt to force the public to take the issue of drinking and driving more seriously. To be effective, the legislation should be amended to reduce opportunities for plea-bargaining, sentence reduction, and discretion in charging.

26. Alcoholism treatment programs are generally inadequate within correctional settings, and must be provided by the Division of Corrections when community services are not available. Community-based programs, funded locally or by the State Office of Alcoholism, should be extended to provide services within correctional institutions, as well as upon the offender's return to the community.

Alcohol Abuse and the Police In Rural Alaska

The North Slope Borough and City of Barrow Experience

Kim L. Moeller

Second Edition
January 1979

North Slope Borough
Department of Public Safety

FOREWORD

This monograph will consider not only the results of a specific program of alcohol abuse intervention such as demographic age distribution, male/female incidents, and how the intervention affects the incidence of crime and types affected, but also how the process is set up, how it functions, what the risks are, the legal basis for such a program, costs, operational evaluations, and how it was implemented. This can be made concrete by showing how it was accomplished by the North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety. It does not represent universal answers; however, it can illustrate a type of solution to a particular problem: alcohol abuse and its effects on crime and public safety. The last section contains suggestions on how it can be designed, initiated, and locally evaluated. Modifications to the whole program or parts of it may also be useful to administrators of rural police departments and can act as a guide to a new systems approach to the problems of alcohol abuse in rural Alaska.

This program could not have been completed without the valuable assistance and support of a number of key individuals. In Barrow, the continual support and recommendations of the Task Force on Alcoholism in early December of 1976, more especially the aid and encouragement of the Magistrate, Mrs. Sadie Neakok, and the Assistant Magistrate, Mrs. Charlotte Brower. Magistrate Brower assisted with the data on death records as well as influenced the continuation of the program when others faltered. Data collection was critical to evaluating the program, and its consistent and careful preparation was accomplished monthly by Records and Identification Clerk, Becky Farmer. Assistance in editing is also acknowledged through the time consuming efforts of Dawn Wilson.

Similar acknowledgements are due Mayor Eben Hopson, who sustained the program and supported other critical efforts of this department and the recommendations of the Task Force on Alcoholism. In the ordinary line of command in any police or public safety agency, there are critical personnel who will make a policy or program designed by administrative directive either work or fail to work. Officer in Charge of the Barrow Division, Lt. James Christensen, was the officer who both pushed and administered the program throughout 1977.

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PREFACE

Since the Department of Public Safety was established by Borough Code in July of 1976, a large part of its time has been devoted to changing the images of the police, to the role of police in rural Alaska, and to developing new programs and solutions to old and long-identified problems. The department has concentrated on developing its own resources and new solutions while the State has decreased its resource people and levels of service to outlying areas of the bush. This concentration on local resource development has led to whole new approaches to old problems.

In late 1975 the State of Alaska, Criminal Justice Planning Agency began looking into common reports that alcohol abuse and crime were indelibly linked to one another; however, no subsequent records or data specifically identified what that relationship was. All law enforcement agencies in the state, and more particularly the rural areas, were asked and encouraged to keep data on alcohol abuse and its effects on rates and types of crimes. The formal procedure for this program was established by Public Safety late in 1976 when Barrow, after being dry for a full year, had voted to sell liquor at a community-owned liquor store. The process was a reaction to events of 1975 when the city had an abnormally high incidence of abnormal deaths related to alcohol, an abnormal number of suicides, and an incidence of crime that was not characteristic of past years.

This monograph and others will be published to illustrate the experience of Public Safety in Barrow and the North Slope and hopefully to delineate new programs and methods tried and tested. These ideas afford other rural areas of Alaska the opportunity to change and/or increase efforts at reducing crime.

Kim L. Moeller
Director

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I

WHY HAVE A DETENTION PROGRAM?

In late 1975, G.U., a 55-year-old alcoholic, who had been treated several times within a month for alcohol overdoses and drinking Lysol, was found by his grandmother locked in her home after she had come home from the Post Office. Barrow Police responded to her call and found that G.U. had committed suicide after nonchalantly saying goodbye to his grandmother as she left to check the mail. He was a likeable and affable person in the community until delerium tremens drove him to suicide.

A short time later, E.T., a 25-year-old female, could not be awakened by a friend at whose home she had been drinking the night before. Again, Barrow Police responded and found E.T. on the floor next to her bed, apparently dead without any trauma. Autopsy later showed that she had drunk so much and so fast the night before that she died from a massive overdose of alcohol. (Her blood alcohol content was .39%). She had never been an alcoholic.

Within weeks of the above reports, E.K., a male, was reported to have frozen to death a short distance from Barrow after drinking all the previous day. It was later determined that E.K. had purposely committed suicide by freezing as a result of severe alcoholic depression.

At the end of 1976, a dry year for Barrow, R.S., a three-month-old boy was reported not breathing by a highly intoxicated mother. Investigation of R.S.'s death showed that the mother had passed out from the effects of alcohol, fallen on her baby and smothered him to death. For many in the community of Barrow this incident represented the last straw of complacent acceptance.

Each anecdote illustrates only a small aspect of the problem of alcohol abuse as seen from year to year. The connections between each began to reach several important people concerned with public safety in Barrow. The result was a Task Force on Alcoholism which met on December 7, 1976. The task force began the job of identifying those common factors that led to these deaths.

Several years ago the Barrow Volunteer Fire Department began to see an emerging pattern of fire deaths. From three to eight people per year were dying in home fires. Causes were examined, and it was found that most home fires were caused by an intoxicated person smoking and passing out from the effects of alcohol. They also discovered that no home fire resulting in deaths of occupants was caused by purely mechanical faults which prohibited occupants from escaping early enough to save their lives.

In combination with the above findings, the police found through experience that most crimes were committed by persons at various levels of intoxication. It was rare indeed to have any type of serious crime committed by someone who was stone cold sober. In fact all serious personal crimes had been committed by people who either were drunk or had

been drinking shortly before. Resolution of these crimes was easy, but the problem increased year after year. It was time to document the facts relating to crime and alcohol.

A Composite Contemporary View of the Alcohol Abuse Problem

Today, the analysis of facts, collection of statistics, and reviews of every unnatural death and major crime have produced a conclusion which others have hinted at or stated without documentary support. The scene was set for some solutions when unnatural deaths began to reach the level of natural deaths--a potentially socially repulsive situation. The composite was produced by combining fire deaths, suicides, and crime data into a cause and effect relationship. The cause--alcohol abuse. The effect--fire deaths, suicides, and crime. A very pragmatic approach led to a very simple principle.

The department determined that a significant reduction in all three above areas might be accomplished if intervention between alcohol abuse and its ultimate effects could be accomplished. Intervention is the key principle. The work of the task force did not center around treatment of alcoholism nor rehabilitation. It was almost unanimously agreed that any effort to reduce problems identified by those means could and probably would bog down both the program and personnel resources. The resources were not present nor likely to be funded by any state or local agency. The solution must be simple, cost effective, and not require new resources. The police were the only available agency which had the existing resources. Only the police had 24-hour community coverage, facilities that could conceivably be used, and funding that was not dependent upon any outside agency or shaky cycle. However, a major problem had occurred just previous to initiating such a program.

Police and the Legal Problem

In 1974 a case involving statutory laws of arrest in incidents of Drunk on a Public Highway (DOPH) and Drunk in Public (DIP) came to the attention of the Alaska Supreme Court. The decision illustrated a case in which an individual had been arrested for Drunk in Public, was searched before being placed in detention, and subsequently charged with a felony crime as a result of stolen property being found on his person. The result of that court review struck down both DOPH and DIP as infringements upon the right of the individual and treating an intoxicated person as someone who had committed a crime by being drunk. The landmark case originated on the streets of Barrow.

Police departments throughout the State cheered the decision because it took the huge burden of managing drunk tanks, with its personnel and costly paperwork, off them and placed it elsewhere. It was placed in the medical community, as a medical rather than a police problem.

While urban police cheered, rural police were puzzled. What were they going to do about intoxicated persons, especially those incapacitated, when no sophisticated medical facilities (nor willing medical personnel) were available? People in the Arctic, incapacitated ten steps from their front door, let alone out on the streets, would quickly

freeze to death. The urban police cheered and sighed with relief while rural police had to find another answer.

Legislation was almost immediately responsive with Alaska Statute AS 47.37 and an amendment that allowed for the public inebriate to be taken into protective custody and, as a last resort, held involuntarily for up to twelve hours in a "state or municipal detention facility", i.e. jail. The only major difference from prior law was the complete decriminalization of public intoxication. Hence, public drunks were not "arrested" and formally charged, with attendant booking, etc. They were detained for their own protection. A great distinction has now been made between "arrest" and "detention".

> The 1976 amendment stated: If no treatment facility or emergency medical service is available, a person who appears to be incapacitated by alcohol in a public place shall be taken to a state or municipal detention facility in the area, if that appears necessary for the protection of the person's health or safety.

The Basis for Initiating a Detention Program

The detention program, by its title and statutory requirements, represents a new term for police custody that must be categorically separated from "arrest". The new term is "detention". With the legal problem not only solved but showing in its content a method by which a program could legally be initiated, the answer appeared and was clearly defined. The burdens of paperwork (case reports), mugging and booking, and other associated ills of the old system of DOPH and DIP were eliminated. The principle was then reasonably sound, and the method was opened through legislation--particularly in the rural areas of Alaska.

With community support and work by the task force, the North Slope Borough initiated a program in January of 1977. The department wanted to push its program, gain community support, and obtain a specific data base from which to evaluate the results. The following premises were used as a basis for the detention program:

1. If alcohol abuse is intercepted during its initial course, there should be a reduction in the commission of crimes by intoxicated persons.
2. Interception, although not necessarily decreasing suicide attempts, should effect a reduction in successful suicides.
3. With interception, there should be a reduction in residential fires and resultant fatalities.

The program is described in detail in the next chapter.

Why Treatment Was Not Considered in the Program

It has been generally agreed that alcoholism is a disease that cannot be completely cured by any method known to science except complete abstention. Even abstention must be supervised and rigidly enforced.

In addition to the a above-stated problem, composite evaluation of past incidents showed that almost all crimes, suicides and fire deaths were caused by alcohol abuse and not alcoholism. The alcoholic was not part of the overall problem to be addressed. The alcohol abuser made up 95% of the public problem.

Very few, if any, police departments wish to get involved in the medical, psychological, and physiological aspects of alcoholism treatment. It simply takes too much secondary effort by an agency that has a more primary responsibility to the public--that of dealing with crime. Hence, the program began with no intention of dealing with treatment nor becoming involved in rehabilitation. If there was an existing agency to deal with treatment, certainly referrals would be made. If not, treatment and rehabilitation were not even considered. The primary principle of the program was intervention.

The Dittman Survey and Alcohol/Crime Perceptions

The Dittman survey had some interesting findings which are highly applicable to a drunk-detention program in rural areas of Alaska. Some of the findings support both the concept of the program and also the connections between alcohol abuse and crime. In the report,

> "The most striking regional difference was found in the area of alcohol use as the basic cause of crime. Respondents in the Northwest, but not in other areas, saw it as a cause of both crimes against people (22% of respondents) and against property (13% respondents). At the other extreme not one respondent in Anchorage saw alcohol alone as the basic cause of crime".

The reports statement that "Alcohol is seen as a basic factor only in rural Alaska..." not only reflects the perceptions of rural Alaskans, but also is representative of facts not yet measured properly by agencies and police departments in those areas. With a consistent effort at data collection there will be a core of facts which will support the people's perceptions and also show the need for a drunk-detention program until such time as State programs/agencies initiate facilities for Sleep-Off Centers and Detoxification programs through Public Health Service Hospitals serving rural areas.

Another section of interest in the Dittman report concerns police issues. Again, a shift in attitude between urban and rural areas is indicated from the public survey. Response to the survey's question regarding where the emphasis of police activities should be placed showed that "In rural....Alaska, a majority of the public favored emphasizing innovative preventive activities over traditional patrol and arrest activities". The rural prevalence of traditional life styles would also indicate that police procedures which are standard for urban areas are not necessarily useful nor preferred over altered methods of patrol and prevention.

II

THE DETENTION PROGRAM: AN OVERVIEW

For our purposes, a Detention Program is an administrative policy initiated by the community and police-agency head to control the problems related to alcohol abuse. All of the elements can be found in any police agency of almost any size. It is specifically designed for those rural areas of Alaska which have neither medical delivery systems directed to alcoholism or alcohol abuse nor the attendant facilities.

The police administrator, either through research in existing records or through personal knowledge, must identify characteristics found in unnatural deaths, suicides, and crime. Certainly if the result of research were the finding that less than a fourth of the problems or causes were related to alcohol abuse, then such a major effort as the detention program of the North Slope Borough's Department of Public Safety might not be all that viable. Yet, clearly, if one-half or more can be attributed to alcohol abuse, then a detention program should be given major attention and concern. A considerable number of conditions must be examined before such a program is initiated. For example:

1. Does a rural police department have time to accomplish the program?
2. Does the rural police department have relatively decent facilities for the program?
3. Is alcohol abuse identified by others in the community as a major problem, or is it so minor as to be the last of their concerns?
4. Is there overall commitment of the department to make it work?
5. After examining the risks involved, does there still remain a commitment to a detention program?
6. How can attendant medical problems or even life-threatening alcoholic trauma be provided for if it becomes necessary?

There are, of course, many more detailed questions about the functional aspects of such a detention program that also have to be answered. A careful and considerate approach must be maintained for the sake of the department and the community.

The North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety

Created in July of 1976, the department had been given the responsibility of delivering public safety service throughout the 88,000-square-mile, seven-village North Slope. The primary concern is delivery of law enforcement, fire protection, and emergency medical services to villages, including Barrow.

The present personnel level for Barrow and the Village Division is nineteen sworn personnel and seven support civilian personnel. The facility for detentions was built in late 1975 as a modification to an old fire station originally built in 1954. The facilities are certainly not modern and are probably representative of most rural areas in Alaska. The extent of available facilities for the detention program is four detention cells, a bathroom separating one cell from the others, and video monitoring equipment.

Present operational levels in Barrow provide for two primary one-man vehicles on patrol. Extensive medical kits are found in each of the primary patrol vehicles. Each Public Safety Officer is required by department policy to obtain Registered Emergency Medical Technician status. The same applies for communications personnel.

The Old Method of Daily Operations

Evaluating operations in terms of actual patrol experience and daily levels of service demands showed that service requests consumed the smallest amount of time. The majority of time was actually used in "driving around" and doing security checks. Several years of review showed that there was no deterrent to crime, including burglaries, by this use of patrol. The department had settled into a response-and-reaction method of operations. Virtually all work was accomplished solely upon reaction to service requests and citizen complaints. It was not unusual to find two officers responding to a single complaint for an eight-hour work shift. The entire operations of the department were reaction oriented.

In dealing with intoxicated persons, most often the officers on duty would stop, pick up the intoxicated or incapacitated person take him or her home. Twenty minutes later a family member would call and complain that A) they want him out; B) he is fighting; or C) he is beating his wife or kids. The patrol would respond, say "stop that", and leave. A recurrent cycle of behavior would be established by taking the intoxicated person home or to a friend's house. It was not unusual to have the person taken home and then found dead from fire or suicide a few hours later.

Another method used in dealing with intoxicated persons was to charge them with Disorderly Conduct, the most abused statutory law on the books. It required the drunk's taking a lazy swing at an officer or cussing one out to justify arrest, booking, and court prosecution. Both methods were exercises in futility. A more positive approach was needed.

The Detention Program Initiated

Two weeks of advance work initiated the program. The first week was spent in giving both written and oral directions to all Public Safety Officers. Staff meetings were formalized to deal with questions about how the program was to be accomplished. Meetings with health personnel and community health providers identified anticipated medical problems. The second week was spent in public explanation of the policy and program through the radio and television. The task force assisted with this phase of the program so that virtually every resident of Barrow would be aware of the program and how it would work in advance of its actual initiation on the streets, in the homes, and in public places.

The Barrow Experience

The first three months (January, February, March) presented a problem with the program that was not anticipated at first. It was found that few of the duty officers were excited about or interested in this program. Little progress was made and only a very slow increase was shown in detentions. With supervisory guidance, departmental meetings, and further convincing, the program began to take off in the proper direction. There was a great deal of confusion about the difference between "arrest" and detention. That confusion led Public Safety Officers to conflicts over the role that they were to take and their personal relationships to the treatment of those detained for public intoxication. It was found that officers were taking intoxicated members of families from their own homes and detaining them, under the assumption that they had the authority to do so. Booking forms were mislabeled as "arrests" rather than "detention only". Fingerprints and mug photos were being taken. A major confusion over the purpose and intent of the detention program existed.

A major complaint of experienced police officers was their reluctance to deal personally with people solely because they were intoxicated. They found it reprehensible and unprofessional to accomplish such mundane tasks as dealing with a person who was slobbering drunk. It did not tax their resources, but it certainly taxed their personal attitudes about the worth of someone very drunk. Another complaint about officers dealing with the program was their intransigence in identifying their role as police who dealt with crime and not the social ills of a community. They simply could not identify the cause-and-effect relationship of alcohol abuse to levels of crime.

However, with training sessions on the causes and processes of alcohol abuse, there came about a complete change in attitude and approach to the overall problem. The program began to work as detentions began to climb month by month. With this type of change, another interesting problem, not anticipated by supervisors and administrators arose.

After six months of experience and monthly charting of detentions, it was found that no one had anticipated answering the question: Where would it stop or level off? The surprising answer at the end of the year is that it never did level off or stop at any particular point. The result was the continuing overloading of facilities and extremely crowded conditions at the jail. On one occasion seventeen persons were detained in a six-hour period in a facility designed for a maximum single occupancy of four. The facility is simply not large enough to handle actual need. In any event, it was decided to continue the program in spite of the overloading, as its effectiveness at reducing crime, suicides, and unnatural deaths was becoming self-evident. At this point even community support grew for its continuance, with frequent calls from the general public asking that persons they had seen intoxicated on the streets be picked up and detained.

The highest level of detentions for intoxication was reached during the last month of the "wet" year, at one-hundred fifteen (115) persons detained for the month of December. It was also discovered that the most consistent average time required for an intoxicated person to sober up completely was between five and seven hours. Of those hours, the first was generally an excitement stage, and the remainder were occupied by sleeping. After the

mandatory eight hours from time of detention was reached, those still sleeping were allowed to sleep until they awoke and then were immediately released. Those awake at eight hours were immediately released.

Recidivism was obviously very high; however, it was soon discovered that those who had completed the process rarely, if ever, committed any crime or attempts at suicide within 72 hours of being released. In addition, it was also discovered that most of the crime that continued during the program was committed by individuals intoxicated but missed by the efforts of the program. Crimes occurring on the streets became nonexistent; most were committed in the offender's own home.

Actual Costs Evaluated for Continuing Impact

Initially, the only cost associated with start-up of the program was installation of a TV-monitor system. This system was installed with two separate goals in mind. First, direct observation by communications personnel to assist in identifying medical problems and abnormal activity (attempts at suicide, DT's, etc.). The second purpose was to reduce any cost impact by eliminating the necessity for hiring guards and providing around-the-clock observation (which would greatly increase actual dollars expended in the program). This simple, one-time cost alleviated a particular threat to the well-being of detainees--suicide attempts in the cells. As a matter of procedure, all property was removed and inventoried in the same manner as for criminal arrestees. Belts and shoes, as well as parkas and coats, were also removed. There were fifteen (15) actual suicide attempts within the cells. Fourteen were immediately prevented by duty personnel. One actually succeeded. (See Section IV: Problems, Costs and Evaluation).

The Results of the Drunk Detention Program in 1977

At the end of the first year, evaluation produced some unusual results. Some were planned as objectives while others were surprise results. The first surprise was the net total of detainees (664) which indicated a huge number of persons processed through the program. Certainly the total number was not indicative of the actual number of individuals detained in the program. Returnees were very common and probably comprise about one-half of the total. Hence, the actual number of individuals may well be closer to 330 ± 5 to 10. This figure represents well over twelve percent of the total population of the City of Barrow.

Another result was the discovery that the ceiling, or maximum level of detentions per month, was never actually reached during any time of the program. Appendix A shows that the single highest month of detentions was the last month of the year, December. The only interruption in steady monthly increases was September and October which reflected a diversion from the effort to the management of an unusual incidence of very serious crimes during those two months. Aside from that single influence, the chart demonstrates a steady upward trend--allowing only speculation on what the peak actually could have been. Also, there could possibly be an artificial limit in terms of man hours applied to the program.

Some of the major effects of the program were:

1. No deaths occurred by freezing.
2. Two suicides occurred as compared to an annual average of five to seven.

3. Service requests doubled, yet there was an overall decrease in reported crime.

4. Arrests, specifically the need for arrests, decreased by 35%.

5. A significant decrease in crimes against persons resulted.

6. A signigicant decrease in misdemeanor crimes resulted.

7. Two deaths by fire occurred, each alcohol related, and each in the victim's own home, compared to an annual average of five.

8. A significant reduction in investigative case work occurred, allowing for a huge increase in time available for the detention program.

With a continuance of the program throughout 1978, a complete data base will be available for detailed analysis, resulting from 1976 dry (no detentions), 1977 wet (detentions) through 1978 dry (detentions). A complete three-year data base analyzing alcohol abuse as it relates to the incidence of crime will be available by January of 1979.

III

NEEDS ANALYSIS, SYSTEM OBJECTIVES, AND APPROACH TO IMPLEMENTATION

Needs Analysis

Barrow. A city with a population of approximately 2600 has stabilized the number of personnel considered necessary for Public Safety Services at eleven officers, taking into account the seasonal peaks and declines in criminal activity, most officers had a great deal of time on their hands in which to take a more positive and preventive role in the community. Personal experience showed clearly that Barrow suffered from an abnormally high abuse of alcohol; however, there were no detailed records to back up the personal knowledge. When compared with other agency data and more especially sociological studies by the University of Alaska, Barrow was typical of native rural populations throughout the State of Alaska. When compared with the urban areas of Alaska, Barrow still displays some anomalies in the area of crime and alcohol abuse. Barrow and the North Slope Borough identified four problem areas. They were suicides, incidence of homicide, fire deaths, incidence of alcohol abuse. The Criminal Justice Planning Agency, through studies of the Uniform Crime statistics, showed a higher rate of incidence for all four areas in native rural Alaska. Barrow is considered to be typical of the norm in those statistics.

Because of its size, job availability, social and economic factors, and seasonal trade-offs in activity levels, Barrow is not representative of most other villages within the North Slope. Barrow is viewed as "the city" by such villages as Wainwright, Pt. Hope, Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, and Atkasook. These villages range in population from 150 up to 450. Barrow and these sister villages have similar problems of alcohol abuse and its results.

The North Slope Borough. Seven villages within the borough have slightly different community natures, but the problems of alcohol abuse and crime are even more accentuated in their life styles. What, in Barrow, is viewed as a minor incident will be perceived as a major problem in the village. This emphasis is the result of a lack of resources for dealing with the problem there. Hence, all the available data applicable to Barrow would be magnified in smaller communities lacking the facilities and personnel to manage them. Very little village data is available; however, personal experience again dictates that the same detention program would have an even greater effect in smaller communities. While the villages outside of Barrow are always "dry", what happens in Barrow has a direct influence on village life. A logical assumption is that the same is true of other regions of rural Alaska. The needs are interrelated and inseparable.

System Objectives

While the principle behind a drunk-detention program is simple, it must reflect specific objectives related to actual occurrences which point out the need for the program. If the objectives are not identified by detailed research it will be very difficult to attempt the introduction of the program to personnel in one's own department. Identifying specific objectives makes implementation much easier to push--both to the community at large and to the local police department. In developing these objectives, there are some hurdles to overcome that will reflect upon both the need and the methods used to implement the program. Several questions must be answered to implement the program.

Several questions must be answered to the general public's satisfaction:

1. Assuming widely accepted justification for such a program, how willing is the community to accept existing facility conditions?
2. What exactly is the objective and goal of the program? Can it be articulated clearly?
3. To what degree will the community continue to support the initial effort?
4. Should it make a difference in program implementation if the community is wet or dry?
5. If something goes wrong (such as suicide in a cell of someone detained) can the program survive criticism and continue?
6. Is there an adequate, trained staff attending the facilities? If not, are the community and the police agency willing to support training?
7. What modifications to facilities and assignment of personnel will the community support? How much will it cost?
8. Can the program demonstrate cost-effective management?

The pattern of research may be evident to the police administrator; however, it must also be shown to community leaders without bias and with a commitment of real concern over possible effects of the program.

The objectives for the Barrow drunk-detention program were identified by both the local task force and managers of the department. The "Task Force on Alcoholism Report" filed in December of 1976 identified the objectives and consolidated ideas from key agencies/personnel. They are:

A. Death rates increase with the greatest impact on the younger people of the community.

B. Adult and juvenile crime greatly increases.

C. Family problems greatly increase with impact from the very young through young adults.

D. Related medical problems greatly increase.

E. Property damage increases.

F. Family life structures are destructively influenced by alcohol abuse.

Research indicated that there were four goals to establish for the program to actually demonstrate that it worked. The first was a clear reduction in suicides since all suicides in the past were directly linked to high intoxication. The second was reduction in the number of house fires and individual death rates from fires directly caused by intoxication. The third was a clear decrease in crimes (initially unspecified by type). And the fourth was to remove "the drunks from our streets" since this was seen as a very negative community image. An adjunct to these goals was the elimination of deaths by freezing in the streets and byways of Barrow proper.

The latter goal was, by far, the easiest goal to initiate since it did not reflect upon any individual's social stature or standing in the community, but was clearly life-saving activity. This single goal was clearly directed towards the officers who would be responsible for the success or failure of the program. Normally being held publicly responsible for individual protection of life, the officer was individually instructed that common occurrences of freezing deaths resulted from intoxicated and incapacitated persons walking to and from parties and/or homes. This single goal reinforced the officer's feeling of responsibility towards intoxicated persons, and, at the same time, increased his motivation to stop and detain rather than "pass by the incapacitated". As a result, not a single person died of exposure in Barrow during 1977.

Approach to Implementation

Implementation was begun by the distribution of a written policy and description of the program to all department personnal as well as all task force members. Only tenacity kept the program from suffering collapse after the first few months when alcohol-related deaths continued to occur. The initial difficulty was the failure to adequately explain it to working personnel and measure what was asked of them against their own private attitudes towards this kind of program. It must be set in the mind of the police administrator that the program will be continued for at least a full year. It can then, and only then, be adequately and intelligently analyzed for results. After the first year it will be time to determine whether or not the program is of such value as to continue it indefinitely or for another trial period.

IV

PROBLEMS, COSTS, AND EVALUATIONS

Data analysis and records kept by the department during calendar year 1977 have identified several specific problems that require not only mention but detailed explanation. They are critical to both the results and the continuance of the program. The most important problems are:

* Officer personnel attitudes and demeanor in handling intoxicated persons.
* Knowledge of alcohol abuse and stages of alcoholic influence.
* Identification of procedures separating "arrest" from "detention".
* Guarding against medical and mental problems occurring in the facility.
* Handling suicide attempts in the facility.
* Officer knowledge of Delerium Tremens.
* Typical cycle of detainees' behavior and signs of critical events.
* TV monitoring versus jail guards.
* Present resource and emergency resource reactions.
* Publicizing fully the operation of the program.
* Officer risks and the use of physical restraint.
* Length of needed detention time.

Identification of all the above areas is the result of an exhaustive study and evaluation of data, personal knowledge and observation, and feedback from both operational personnel and the community at large.

Attitudes

Critical to the program is a whole melange of psychological attitudes found in officer personnel. For many officers who have had little formal training and very negative experiences with intoxicated persons, the handling of drunks reflects the acting out of oftentimes very negative personal habits and attitudes. If an attitude is demonstrated that intoxicated people should be treated as less than normal, or as less than full human beings, the program will accentuate it. Officers will become extremely cynical, an attitude often causing verbal abuse and jeering, and frequently leading to fights between detainee and officer. Another more critical contact-related problem is lack of simple knowledge of the physical influences of alcohol on the body. This is especially important when an intoxicated person becomes combative. The restraint necessary is often very little, but only if knowledge of non-injurious methods are available; when they are not, it is quite possible to break a detainee's arm by using a come-along hold meant for sober persons--simply because the detainees ability to feel pain is extremely reduced.

Knowledge of Alcohol's Influence on Behavior

It is also important that officers be trained in understanding alcohol's effects, both physical and mental, upon the intoxicated person. It will be reflected in behavior ranging from frivolous to boisterous and extremely combative. Officers with full knowledge will immediately understand that intoxicated persons are far more subject to manipulation and control than the hardened

criminal or the mental case in a manic state. If treated properly and carefully, with a measure of respect, the drunk will later frequently thank officers for their assistance and apologize for uncontrolled behavior. It is very important to the individual detainee that he not be treated as a child nor suffer "loss of face" or a feeling of loss of self-respect. Often, these attitudes and feelings will remain even after the alcoholic haze has completely left. Contrary to popular belief, intoxicated persons more often than not remember how they have been treated and will not likely forget mistreatment and belittlement.

Identification Procedures in Arrest Versus Detention

This problem can easily be eliminated from the very beginning if more time is spent in preparing officers and encouraging their participation in the program--assumptions at the beginning frequently turn out to be completely wrong, sometimes to a fault. This area actually represents the detailed operational processes for the program. It should be gone over with officers of the line in advance of starting the program so a clear definition and a clear distinction is made between a person who is detained in a non-criminal manner and a person who is arrested in the normal criminal process. This department, with a full year of experience, has completely overcome this initial problem; however, the experience can benefit others who may want to initiate a similar program and prevent breakdowns in the initial stages which may threaten its continuation.

Medical and Mental Problems

Both problems must be addressed in advance and very carefully if disasters are to be prevented. There must be identified resource people who are immediately available for medical treatment. Also essential is the training of line officers to insure recognition of critical clues to oncoming medical trauma. Officers must understand that at the time a detainee is originally picked up he will be at a certain stage in his consumption and intoxication. There is a clear and critical difference. That difference can frequently make the difference between life and death. Hence, the detainee, for at least the first hour or so, must be watched very carefully for signs of the following physical trauma:

1. Severe depression and suicide attempts.
2. Severe physical depression leading to slow collapse of the central nervous system, i.e., breathing and heart dysfunction.
3. Severe manic behavior that will cause self injury in almost any facility or situation.
4. Aspiration, e.g., choking on own vomit, either while awake or asleep.

Virtually all of the above represent life-threatening situations which almost any detainee can experience. A key check-point principle in observation is any sudden change in behavior. If boisterous and loud, a sudden change to very calm, quiet behavior should be immediately checked in person. It is a common signal of either mental or physical behavior changes. If a subject suddenly goes to sleep and is not checked personally by someone, he or she could aspirate without moving a visible inch, causing death unobserved and unknown to those responsible for his care. Sudden calm also reflects a signal of impending suicide attempts. Attempts are limited only by the material and resources available and sheer imagination. Imagination is never lacking in those intent upon suicide. Pain thresholds are so high as to make the inconceivable a practical reality.

Depression of the central nervous system may occur an hour or more after an intoxicated person is detained, simply because his body and system have not, at the time of interception, completely absorbed the alcohol into the body. He could conceivable die from alcohol overdose an hour after being placed in detention.

Since this area was well planned and response systems were lined up in advance, such occurrences were fully prevented with the exception of a single suicide which occurred in a cell. The suicide occurred within five minutes of the time a highly boisterous, intoxicated female suddenly quieted down--medical aid was immediate; however, it was also too late. The system of safeguards worked fine, but was not fast enough to prevent her death.

It should be a warning, not only to this department but others who detain intoxicated persons for any reason, that constant watchfulness and knowledge of the signals is critical.

Handling Suicide Attempts in the Detention Facility

As related above, during the report period fifteen recorded attempts at suicide occurred within the detention facility. Over 600 detainees were processed prior to a single successful attempt. While the occurrence was singularly tragic in and of itself, only one other suicide occurred in the Barrow population unattended and undiscovered. The normal attempts and actual successes for the year were prevented by the program since no other influencing factor can account for such positive results. It would be logical to deduce that attempts made in detention could and probably would have occurred outside the facility with a greater chance of success and complete anonimity. As it was, fifteen attempts were attended, stopped, and provided treatment.

A system was established to identify each person who attempted suicide at any time, resulting in special attention for those detained another time. Card index files were made (commonly called Field Interview or FI cards) and green notes were attached to the FI of anyone attempting suicide so that screening against such cards alerted communications and officer personnel to pay particular attention to them. Such attention to detail in all probability saved several lives during the course of the program.

Officer Knowledge of DT's

Erratic behavior by detainees frequently demonstrated the effects of Delerium Tremens. Locally, such medical terms are labeled the "snakes"--one manifestation of the hallucinations suffered by those going through DT's. Such erratic behavior can be very dangerous if not understood and treated by proper medical authorities. Oftentimes a demented paranoia occurs that can be transferred onto officers and/or facility personnel. This sometimes leads to attacks, escape attempts, bizarre behavior, and suicide attempts. Personnel were instructed that should any of this special type of behavior occur, the detainee was to be immediately transported to the local hospital and admitted for treatment.

Typical Behavior Cycles of Detainees

No single cycle of behavior is typical of all cases. Most often a detainee was brought in, inventory searched, identified by name only, screened against FI cards, hat coat, belt and shoes removed, and was placed in a detention cell that is always lighted, cleaned daily, and has bedding available. Requests for coffee or water were always filled, and the detainee generally

went to sleep a short time later. Sleeping is common, but also dangerous if not properly observed. A simple procedure for observation is to stand outside the cell and count respirations--it is a good indication of the physical condition in which the intoxicated person is found. This cannot be done over a television monitor. It must be done in person with full knowledge of what signs respiration signals. It demonstrates a clear airway, normal breathing and normal sleep. It will immediately show problems with breathing, airway obstructions, and pre-comatose depression.

Another observation can be made in the same manner--that of uncontrolled urination or bowel movements. Such occurrences are a clear danger signal that requires immediate response and attention.

Frequently detainees will exhibit self-destructive behavior by beating their fists, feet, or heads against the walls of the cell. When this occurred, measures for first aid were carried out and a short waiting period was initiated. If absolutely necessary, detainees were physically restrained until the behavior ended.

TV Monitoring Versus Jail Guards

TV monitoring is a static method of observation that is dangerous for several reasons. It often can create false reliance upon mechanical means of observation. It is also not sufficiently clear enough to make visual checks of critical factors. It will not show breathing difficulties, potential aspiration, pre-comatose conditions, and other signals critical to detainee medical needs. On the other hand, it does provide a safe means to observe manic and erratic behavior; it insulates the observer from becoming a source for the venting of frustrations and potential attacks. The most significant method for calming the intoxicated person is leaving him or her alone, but discreetly observed. The best solution to observation and care is a combination of both. However neither should be relied upon alone to solve the problem of observation.

Emergency Resource Reactions

The Department of Public Safety is the center for all emergency communications in Barrow and the North Slope--including direct radio alerting of medical personnel at the PHS Hospital. Such communications, in addition to direct and immediate ambulance alerts, establishes the foundation for emergency resource reactions. In addition, trained emergency medical personnel are supplemented by department personnel in line officers as well as communications personnel. The result is an almost immediate response to any medical crisis within the facility. This resource must be initially evaluated and provided before such a program of drunk detentions is initiated. It serves to protect all parties concerned. It also prevents gross mismanagement of detainees in the program.

Publicity

The department insured that, with the cooperation of the task force, the whole community was informed about the program, how it would actually work and the potential benefits and risks involved. The public's complete awareness and support of the program saved it from complete destruction when the suicide occurred in December of 1977, the last month of the community-wide effort. Weekly and monthly the public was informed about its progress with radio announcements. Virtually all feedback from the general community was of a positive nature. The program could not be accomplished without full parti-

Officer Risk

It was found that officer risk was actually very small. There was greater risk to the intoxicated person than to officers. Intoxicated persons were found to be uncoordinated and unable, for the most part, to be successful in attacks on officers. Very few attacks occurred, and all were very minor. A primary reason for this was the publicity which informed not only the general public but detainees as well. Intoxicated persons knew in advance what was going to happen, and as a result there was no fear nor mystery associated with it.

Detention Time

Detention time is defined as the length of time necessary to hold the intoxicated person until complete remission of the effects. Initially the time was set at a maximum of eight hours. While only an unproven estimate, the eight hours' maximum time proved to be sufficient. Certainly any longer period of time would have caused a strain on facilities and cost overhead. A minimum was set at four hours. This also proved to be very valuable for those less intoxicated than others. No allowance should be made for more than a twelve-hour limit. An extention of this type would cause a breakdown in operations of the facility, disruption of detainees' time, considered valuable for family and job related needs, and an unncessary burden upon program personnel and officers. The 4 to 8 hour limit proved to be very practical as well as acceptable to officers and the general public. It also prevented any misuse of the program by unnecessary detaining. It acted as one of many checks and balances.

Program Costs

Evaluation consisted of monthly data on the number of persons detained in the program and a comparison with prior years' incidence of crimes, fire deaths, and suicides. A monthly analysis also tells the administrator whether or not modifications are needed in the program as well as performance results by line officers in developing the program objectives. This can only be accomplished if a system of monthly data reporting has already been established. The department's experience illustrates that the ceiling of detainee pickups never was reached for the year 1977, as the last month of the year was the highest. The progression of numbers will act as anchors to the evaluative picture formed after the first few months. Community feedback is also an anchor to the evaluation process, in that negative feedback will indicate changes, modifications, or failure of the program. Such feedback represents a form of reality testing critical to its continuance

Data for the previous year must also be handy for comparison on a month-to-month basis. If it is seen as effecting the reduction of the number of necessary arrests, reduction in misdemeanor complaints filed with the local court, and an overall reduction in the number of crimes reported, the administrator may want a certain part of the program reinforced and other parts de-emphasized. If, after three or four months, there is no difference in activity levels, there will have to be a reevaluation of the program and its effectiveness.

V

IMPLEMENTATION STEPS

Identify and Evaluate Effects of Alcohol Abuse

It is the police administrator's role to accomplish this task through available records of police, fire, and medical activities within his own community. Screening these results through local leaders who may well be aware of the impact of alcohol abuse will result in the formulation of cooperative efforts towards implementation of a drunk-detention program. The effort at identifying effects and causes will dictate the need for the program and a group of concerned and cooperative citizens and police personnel.

Short-Term Group Organization

The organizing of a short-term group will serve to initiate the program since it cannot be developed in a vacuum. The task force may be small in number but represent a group of community leaders. It certainly will not work on a principle of "white hat missionary zeal", nor a one-man showmanship project. Several meetings in a short period of time will effectively bring out identified needs and anticipated impacts. The work of this group is to act as an advisory council to the police administrator in formulating the program and the mechanics that fit the local situation. The group will also identify what facilities are available to select from or determine that a single facility will have to be upgraded with minor additions and used regardless of its inherent faults. Such was the case with the City of Barrow--a facility obviously not designed for such a program, but the only one available, was used.

The group will also tend to establish requirements for care and resources that need to be directed at the program. Those especially important will be medical resource persons, voluntary aides, or personnel training needed prior to program initiation. In addition, all of the necessary functional parts identified in this monograph will have to be addressed in advance. At the end of the group's short life, a decision will have to be made by them and the administrator as to whether to go ahead with the program, or that it is not feasible.

Once the program is actually initiated, the need for the group's existence will diminish, and the responsibility for the program will fall upon the police administrator.

The Police Administrator Evaluates Internal Resources

It becomes incumbent upon the administrator to evaluate several aspects of his own departmental resources before deciding to go ahead. They are the following:

* Train department personnel in advanced first aid at the least, and preferably to the EMT level.
* Check personnel attitudes towards the program after training them in aspects of alcohol abuse and the preventative concerns of the program.
* Evaluate, correct, or modify existing facilities for the function they will serve in the program.

* Insure public information about the nature of the program, how it will function, and when, where and under what circumstances it will be initiated.

* Establish close and permanent relationships with medical facilities and personnel.

After the first three or four months of careful observations any modifications needed should become evident. It is important that the commitment to the program be for at least one full year in order to provide any real and significant effects. Decisions for continuation or elimination of the program altogether will also tend to be self evident at the conclusion of a full years efforts.

Personal involvement of the police administrator during the initial stages will also be very important, simply to insure that his own information is consistent with what may be reported to him by staff and line officers. A breakdown in that information and sharing process will add great risks to the program if the administrator fails to take a personal interest in how it is initially developed. His own personal evaluation is likely to be more objective than those of line officers or staff officers, who may be the recipients of officer complaints and feel obligated to pass them on.

Program Initiated After Public is Informed

With prior public education, one of the most common results to be expected is that some of the informed public will also be those detained. Their prior knowledge of how the program works, that it is completely decriminalized and humanly safe, will prevent stiff opposition to its implementation during the first few weeks or months. There will also be feedback from those actually detained in terms of their expressed feelings about the program and how they were treated. This too, should be considered as valid as other forms of input.

VI

PROGRAM MODEL EVALUATION

Evaluative Methods and Criteria

An evaluation of the Detention Program includes a three-year data base and application of the standard scientific statistical analysis processes. Rather than applying only the "dry" statistical method the author intends to develop and use transliteration into humanistic terms to illustrate what the raw data may not clearly show. This will be accomplished using a comparative method of human activities along with controlled and uncontrolled variables. The uncontrolled variables will be identified and will include such influences as seasonal variations, seasonal community activities, employment rates, raw data on availability of increased or decreased income, and some attempts at relatively viable psychological foundations for alcohol consumption.

The base-line group for all statistical and sociological evaluation will be the Barrow population figures as of July 1978. With this base-line group it will be possible to identify, within reasonable limits, the entire pathology of alcohol use in the City of Barrow for a three year period. While some statistical charting may tend to speak for itself it does not, however, deliniate precisely the extent nor the effect of the whole realm of alcohol abuse in human terms.

The social pathology of crime and its commission can be laid squarely upon alcohol abuse. No other influence, no matter how apparently valid or significant can begin to match the straight line influence of alcohol abuse and crime in Barrow. Raw data results clearly develop specific pathologies and trends in sociological terms.

Interpretation of Raw Data

Some generalizations are clear when viewing the results of the Detention Program for Barrow. The following statements are deduced from raw data as no other variable can account for the net results shown to date:

- Suicide and alcohol abuse are not only linked but pathologically related. As an axiom, suicidal behavior requires a breakdown in inhabitions against such an act and therefore, in the Barrow population at least, requires intoxication. Hence, zero success inclusive of at least twenty-five attempts in the population for a full calendar year is strong support for such a statement. To effectively support the zero suicide-success rate, it is necessary to maintain a 90 to 95% efficiency rate of detentions.
- The incidents of home fires and fire deaths are directly related to alcohol incapacitation. No other influence nor outside variable can be used to explain the zero fire-related death rate.

Interpretation of Raw Data

- Incidents of accidental death have been reduced by an actual 90%. The implications for the population of Barrow are fantastic. It has been 18 months since an accidental freezing death has occurred. The Detention Program has come very close to completely zeroing out accidental deaths.

- Crime reduction, caused by interception of alcohol abusers, is close to 60% in a two-year time frame. Only the efficiency of the program model enforcement dictates the level of crime. Therefore, crime can be, and is, controlled with an iron hand by high levels of detention efficiency. Serious crimes against persons and property have been reduced by nearly 40% in one year.

Conclusions and Implications for Rural Alaska

Since indisputable proof is now available for what was unsupported contentions of rural communities' crime and abnormally high death rates, the only serious question remaining is not if other rural communities should follow suit, but when they should begin their own detention programs. The model results coming from a detention program will no doubt come as a shock to the criminal justice system. Fighting the root cause of crime is far more profitable to communities than the actual investigation and resolution of crimes after the fact.

It is a radical departure for any police agency to examine root cause and effect relationships and decide to attack the cause and not the effect. However, for rural Alaska communities there can be no remaining doubt that attacking alcohol abuse is far more rewarding and profitable in terms of success rates than any other known approach to date. In the savings of life alone, the value of the Detention Program is unquestionable. If a police agencies highest goal is not the saving of life, it certainly ought to be in light of this programs' ability to accomplish just such a goal.

Admittedly, the approach is contrary to the TV and general publics' perception of cops and robbers. There is little glitter and glory in tangent approaches to traditional crime problems but when seen as a wholistic framework, the success can be just as rewarding in the eyes of the community. The basis for such a tangent approach is the early recognition that traditional ways of solving the crime problem do not work. It is a nonproductive exercise in futility to maintain traditional approaches with a proven failure rate. Drastic and experimental methods result in success rates far exceeding those of any known past methods when applied to today's communities.

Controlled Variables in the Detention Model

Controlled variables are those which include facets of the model design during the early stages and any modifications that were made in the process of the two-year development. Early stage controlled variables included:

A. Detention of intoxicated persons in public places and streets.

B. Maximum detention time of 8 hours.

C. Some allowance for transfers of intoxicated persons to their homes and/or release to sober adult care.

D. Minor allowance for removal and detention of those intoxicated in their own homes.

E. Detention considered a secondary patrol strategy by managers.

The above listed variables were not rigidly enforced nor pushed by the staff responsible for patrol strategies. This slow process of enforcement continued for the first 8 months of the detention program model. Only after 8 months was a significant change initiated and added control variables considered. The information feed-back as a result of immediately visible successes resulted in added modifications and a more rigid management of the program.

Later controlled variables, initiated only after approximately 8 months of experience, resulted in the following:

A. Maximum detention time was increased to the statutory limit of 12 hours.

B. Transference of intoxicated persons to homes was absolutely forbidden - enforcement was specific and direct.

C. Complaints from household members about family/relatives being intoxicated resulted in direct removal to detention facility with no exceptions.

D. Detention considered as a primary patrol strategy by managers and adopted by line patrol officers.

Any person intoxicated, anywhere, anytime, was detained without exception and provisions for release to home and/or sober adults was discontinued. Hence, the effeciency of finding and detaining intoxicated persons drastically increase finally leveling off at approximately 90 to 95%. It soon became apparent that any person who was drunk had a 1 in 10 chance of being missed by patrol and placed in the detention program.

Uncontrolled Variables and Potential Effects

Not all uncontrolled variables can be accurately identified nor accurately measured. Among those outside influences were:

A. High employment rate and high availability of jobs throughout 1978 due in large part to Borough construction (major) projects continuing throughout the winter with no let-up.

B. Wein Air Alaska's half fare round trip plan between Fairbanks (the source of supply for Barrow alcohol) and Barrow. The cost of travel on weekends was cut in half. From date of initiation detentions increased by 40%.

C. During 1978 the Whaling Controversy lead to a low success rate and angry social feelings about outside restrictions resulting in higher incidents of detentions and arrests than is normally found during the whaling season (the lowest crime and drinking period in Barrow for the last three years).

D. Seasonal variations on community activity (specifically local native subsistence, fishing, etc.) anticipated and relatively accurate. Cultural community activities cause a significant reduction in alcohol abuse and crime.

E. Cause and effect of major social engineering resulting from massive use of apartment living for a large portion of the elderly population and the division of expanded family units into smaller disassociated ones resulted in increases of alcohol abuse in the Fall of 1978.

F. Increased income availability due to employment opportunities resulted in more money, hence increase in alcohol consumption.

G. Initial drive against bootlegging resulted in eight arrests during a two week period, one conviction, and seven aquittals. Barrow juries would not convict local bootleggers even with substantial proof. Those pleading guilty received meaningless sentences. Deterrence was non-existent.

H. Intelligence collection on bootleggers indicated that a massive number of individuals found it socially acceptable to make a "little money on the side". Nearly fifty persons were identified as illegal sellers of alcohol as oppossed to a relatively few individuals operating on a large scale. There are no large scale bootlegging operations in Barrow during 1978.

I. Present data indicates that one out of every two adults in Barrow purchase and consume bootleg alcohol. Chances are two to one that a juror buys and consumes bootleg alcohol.

Averaging as a False Indicator

During calendar year 1977 the average detention counts per month was 55. However, the charting of detention incidents was highly skewed with the base line year showing a 45 degree increase throughout the year and no sign of reaching any maximum number per month. While 1978 showed a marked flattening of monthly averages (93) the same effect hold true for this recent year. End of year averages are again skewed and increasing.

When the monthly average for 1977 (at 55) is compared to the 1978 average (93) a false impression is apparently shown by the almost double monthly average. The explanation is relatively simple to understand. During 1977 the effeciency of the detention patrol stragety for the first eight months was weak. The late addition or modification of controlled variables easily accounts for this percentage discrepancy.

Averaging detentions by month for the 1978 year is also a false method of determining realistic measures since, once again, the late year increases defy the averages. Only uncontrolled variables can account for a second level increase for 1978. The author can think of only one conclusion to draw from the steady rate of increases over this two-year period.

Aside from the fact that averaging becomes a false indicator, as long as annual increases continue towards the end of each calendar year the only conclusion that can be drawn is the existence of a frighteningly steady increase of alcohol abuse throughout the entire population. The author cannot even begin to determine when and where that steady increase will stop or level off. The implications of this conclusion are terrifying to contemplate in terms of the heart and soul of the community of Barrow.

At the present time data already analysed indicates that fully one-half of the adult population is carrying the other half of the population on their collective backs. The capacity for collective community participation in any activity and/or problem-solving framework is not only hampered by this conclusion but such efforts would be crippled before they began. The problem of escalating alcohol abuse must be attacked with an all-out effort by the few who still can meet the challenge. Failure means total collapse of this communities ability to direct their own destiny.

The Social Aspects of Data Analysis

Transulating numbers into human terms the following is offered as demonstrative proof of conclusion drawn by the author:

- The approximate adult population of Barrow is 900.
- The total number of individual adults detained is 450.
- 50% of the adult population of Barrow has been detained for alcohol abuse at least once during 1978.

- - -

- The average numbers of times for an adult detention during 1978 is three.

- 131 adult females were detained for intoxication in 1978.

- 319 adult males were detained for intoxication in 1978.

- The detention of 450 individuals resulted in 1180 total detentions for 1978.

- The approximate population of Barrow is 2700. 450 separate persons detained represent 1/5th or 20% of the entire population.

- 150 days or 5 months of adult time was spent in jail for detoxification. (Based on an average of 8 hours).

- The youngest adult detained (defined by statutory law) was 19.

- The oldest adult detained was 73 years old.

- The ratio of male to female detentions is 3.38 to 1.

- In a two year time frame there were 1884 detentions.

- From examination of all data for a two-year period one can only conclude that bootlegging is a socially acceptable pastime.

- At the very least, through interpretive statistics, there is absolutely no difference between a "wet" year and a "dry" year as far as alcohol consumption is concerned.

- The only redeeming value of Barrow being "dry" as opposed to being "wet" is the reduction in juvenile alcohol abuse.

- All data strongly indicates that all money, manpower, and equipment applied to Public Safety concerns in Barrow is, in actuality, being spent (at about 80%) on alcohol abuse problems.

- Crime in Barrow is controlled at acceptable levels specifically by the control of alcohol abuse.

- Of the 450 separate people detained at least once, a total of 87 were arrested for some type of crime either before or after their detention.

- Of 131 adult females detained, 16 were arrested either before or after detention.

- Of 319 adult males detained, 71 were arrested either before or after detention.

- 68% of all detainees are between 19 and 35 years of age.

- - -

VII

CONCLUSIONS

The basis for the following conclusions are found in the raw data and analysed data preceeding this chapter. Some of the conclusions are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect specific proof through interpretation of data since all data can be interpreted in various ways. Others, with far more experience in statistical analysis may find conclusions that will be different than the author's. While continued attention to data and records will be maintained for several more years, this effort is the last that will be formally published by the North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety. Others who are interested are more than welcome to use the data and future records for definitive research.

The program approach has been one of providing data that can be used in future program developments and extensions of principles found in this research. Modifications of controlled variables may continue to be made and refined. There are, of course, some precautions that should be noted for the benefit of any other agency who may attempt this type of program in their communities.

A Word of Caution

This program could not have been as effective as it has demonstrated without complete community knowledge and support. In order to illustrate this requirement let me say that working in a vacuum of secrecy (failure to inform) and gross assumptions about community attitudes and opinions (the demigod approach) will result in disaster and grief. The program design and development began on certain assumptions that were not validated in advance but were as reasonable as could be expected with experience. From that point on, community reactions and individual concerns were foremost in determining controlled variables. If even ten individual community members had made formal, or even informal complaints about the enforcement of the program it would have been stopped.

The program began through the efforts of the Department of Public Safety and health professionals taking the risk of public outcry against such policies and lead to institutionalized programs with full community knowledge and support. The intake procedures were a one-way street in the beginning. The careful use of the word "imposed" is not without basis in fact at the start. However, shortly thereafter a complete transference occurred when efforts were made to close the program down. Public Safety no longer needs to seek and find persons intoxicated. The members of the community call and expect this type of programmed service. It is no longer a program wholey owned and claimed by Public Safety - it is now a community based and supported program that cannot be stopped with the stroke of the Director's pen upon an order.

Program Failures

The program is a major social order and maintenance tool that has some great failures (as well as successes). The policy of detention for the public inebriant and the discovery of the overwhelming degree of alcohol influence in the communities daily life only serves to illustrate the next point. The community of Barrow has been given a highly effective anesthetic that results in removing community members from harms way. The disease still remains. The problem of alcohol abuse has not been solved nor even treated. It continues to grow at an alarming rate and infects almost every household in Barrow.

With a justifiable degree of anger the author feels what has been accomplished is not enough. Not nearly enough. Now that the community is anesthesized the disease requires removal by some type of specialized surgery. Without that surgery the community (patient) can still die! The Department of Public Safety does not have the skills nor required knowledge to perform the necessary operation. The overwhelming problem of alcohol abuse has not been solved. Only the effects of the disease have been blunted and prevented.

In terms of the Barrow community as a whole, any potential for self-determination and the building of skills for directing their own destiny is being blunted and misdirected by alcohol abuse. Barrow may now be number one in crime reduction, but at the same time Barrow may also be number one in the process of self-destruction. With one-half of the adult population directly affected by alcohol who is to say that three-fourths of that same population two years from now will not also be affected. The trends that data now prove must be stopped and reversal begun. Otherwise there is no hope for the people of Barrow to ever have control over their own destiny.

The above serves to illustrate that solving the problem of the effects of alcohol abuse does not solve the real critical issue, it only makes it less painful and harder to recognize by the community.

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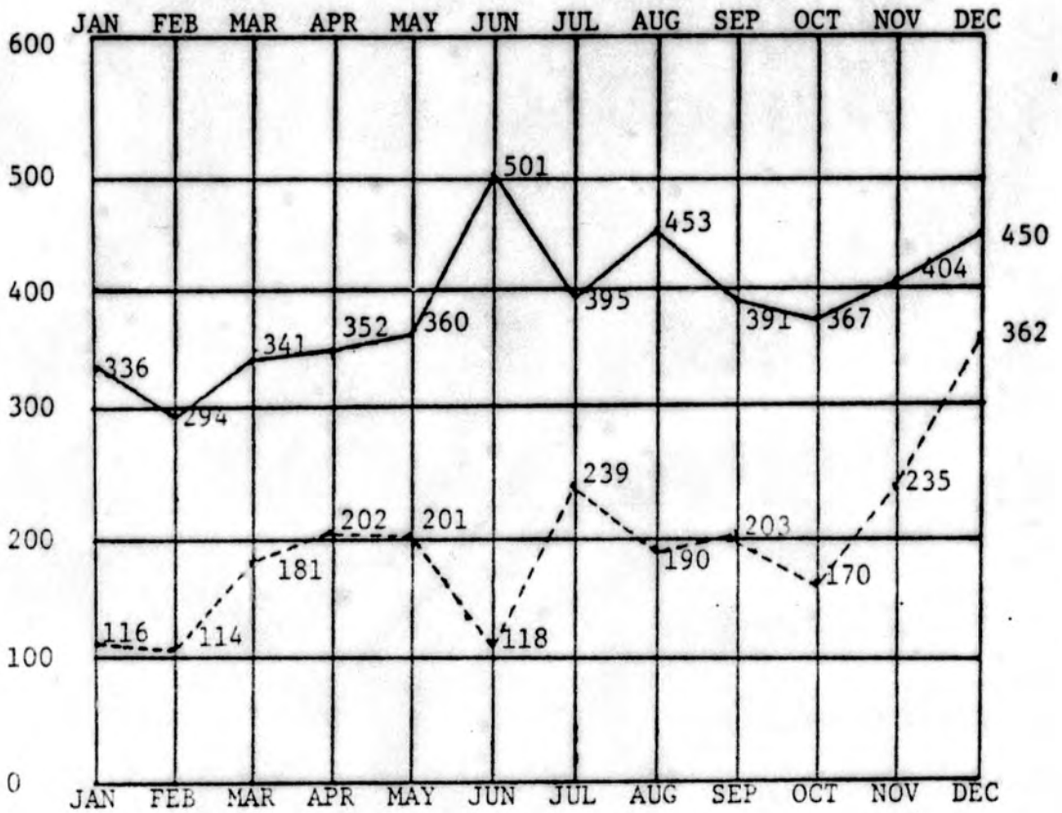
4. North Slope Borough, Annual Report 1977, Department of Public Safety, Projects and Program - Statistics and Analysis, 48-68; 162-170.

5. The State of Alaska, Alaska Statutes, Title 47 Chapter 37, "Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act, December 1976 Cumulative Supplement.

Appendix A

Service Request Comparison
Chart

SERVICE REQUESTS - 1976 & 1977



* Service requests indicate the number of calls received by Public Safety and responded to by Public Safety Officers.

1976 - Total Service requests = 2331 Symbol ----------

1977 - Total Service Requests = 4644 Symbol ——————

1976 - Monthly Average = 194

1977 - Monthly Average = 387

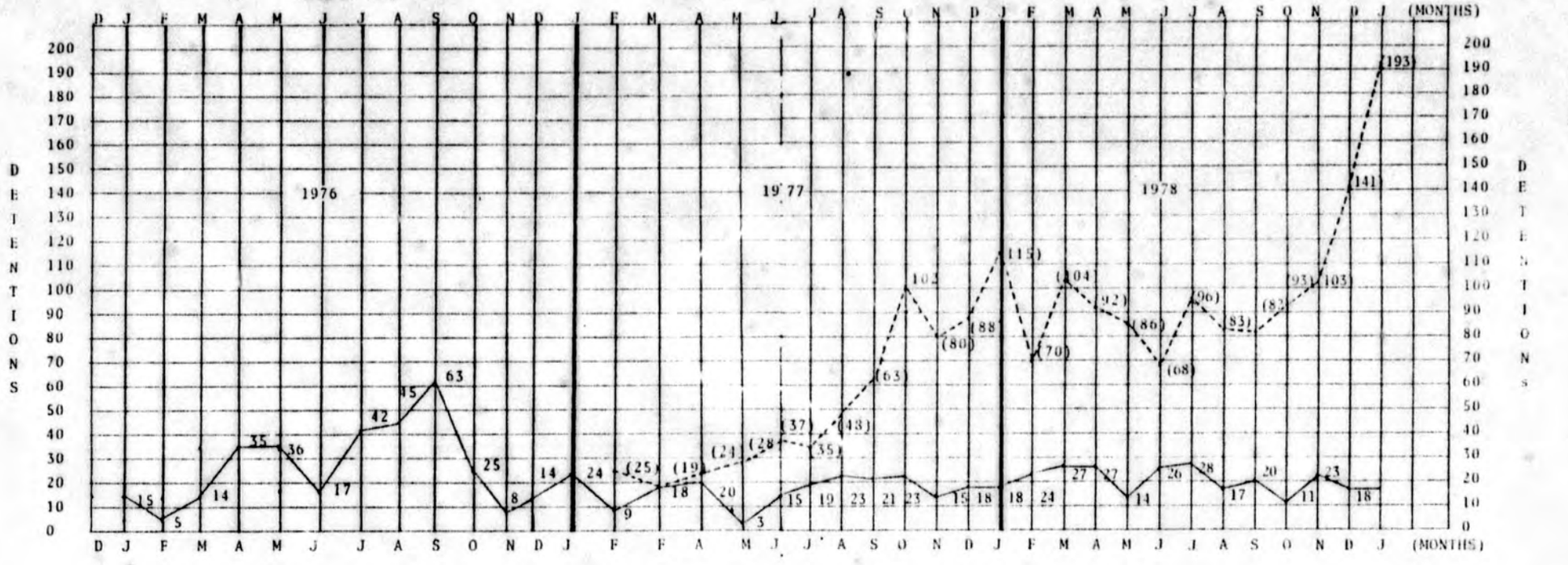
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Appendix B

Annual Arrest and Detention Data 1976/77
Comparisons

DETENTIONS VS ARRESTS

-ADULTS ONLY-



Total Adult Arrests For 1976 319

Total Adult Detentions 1976 0

COMMUNITY VOTED "DRY YEAR"

Detention (Drunk) --------

Criminal Arrests ————

Total Adult Arrests For 1977 208

Total Adult Detentions 1977 664*

COMMUNITY VOTED "WET YEAR"

Total Adult Arrests For 1978 253

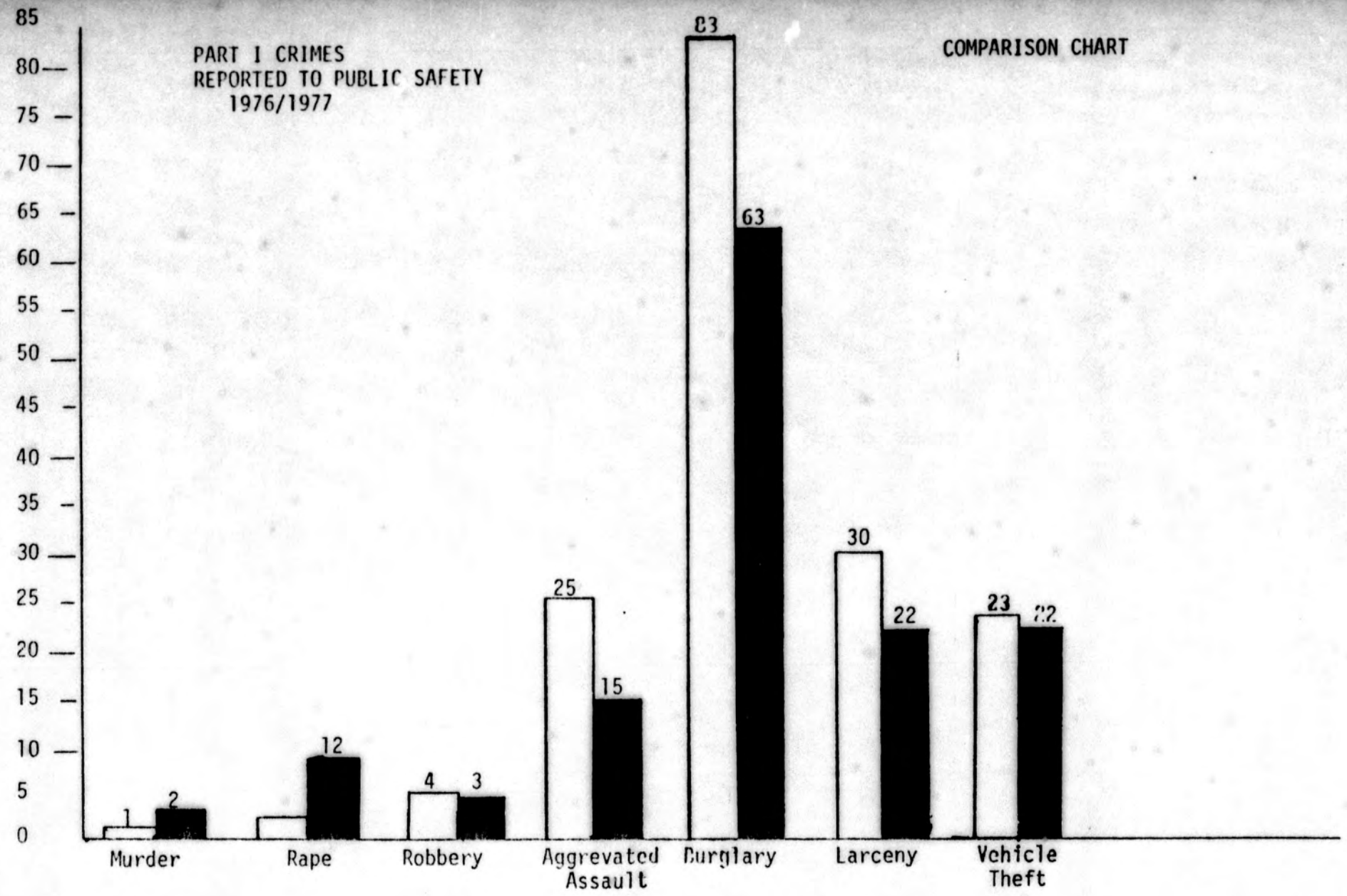
Total Adult Detentions 1978 1,211*

COMMUNITY VOTED "DRY YEAR"

*Two-Year Combined Detentions (1977,78) 1,875

Appendix C

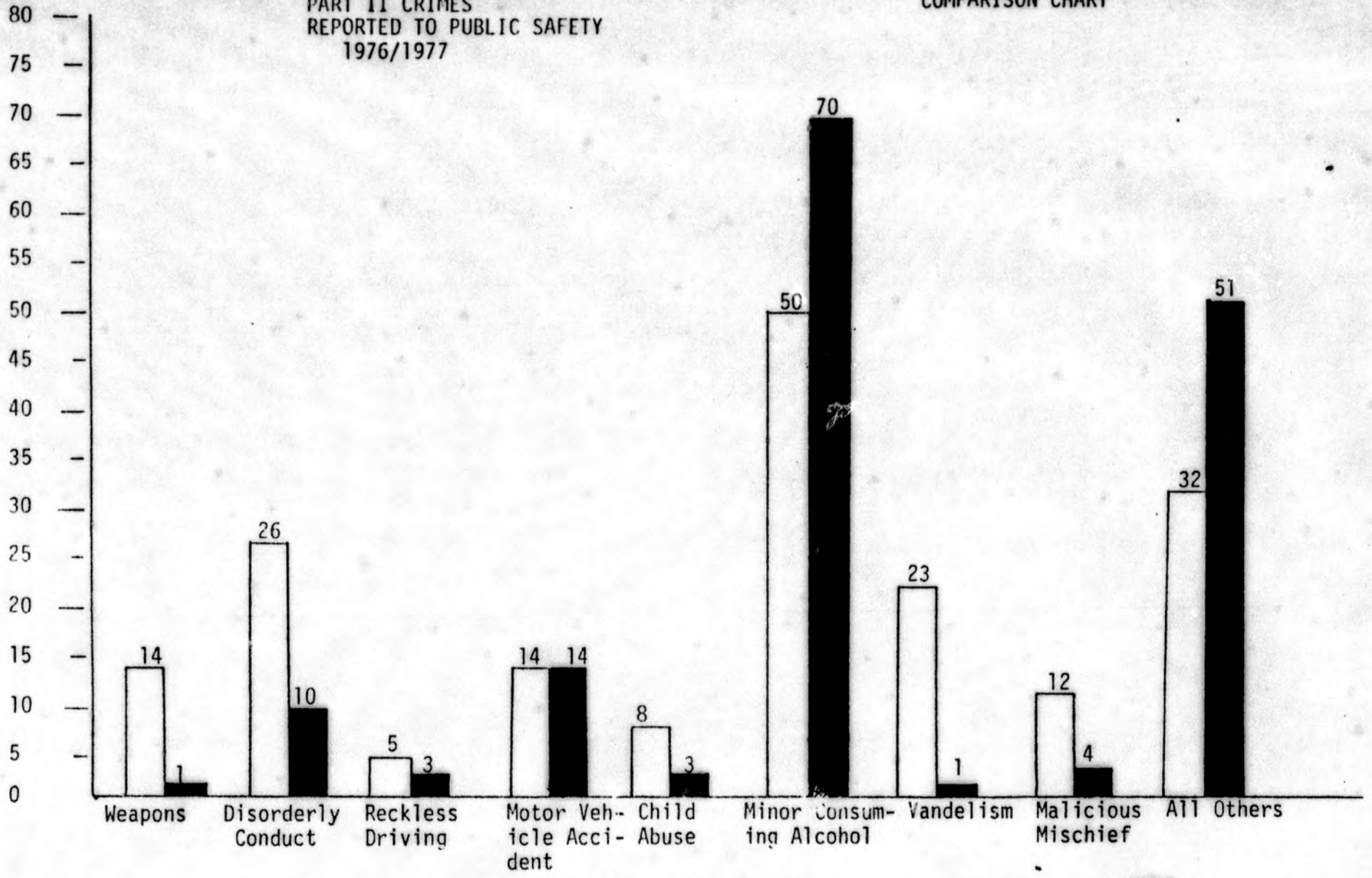
Uniform Crime Statistics
Comparison 1976/77



PART ONE CRIMES COMPARISON CHART

PART II CRIMES
REPORTED TO PUBLIC SAFETY
1976/1977

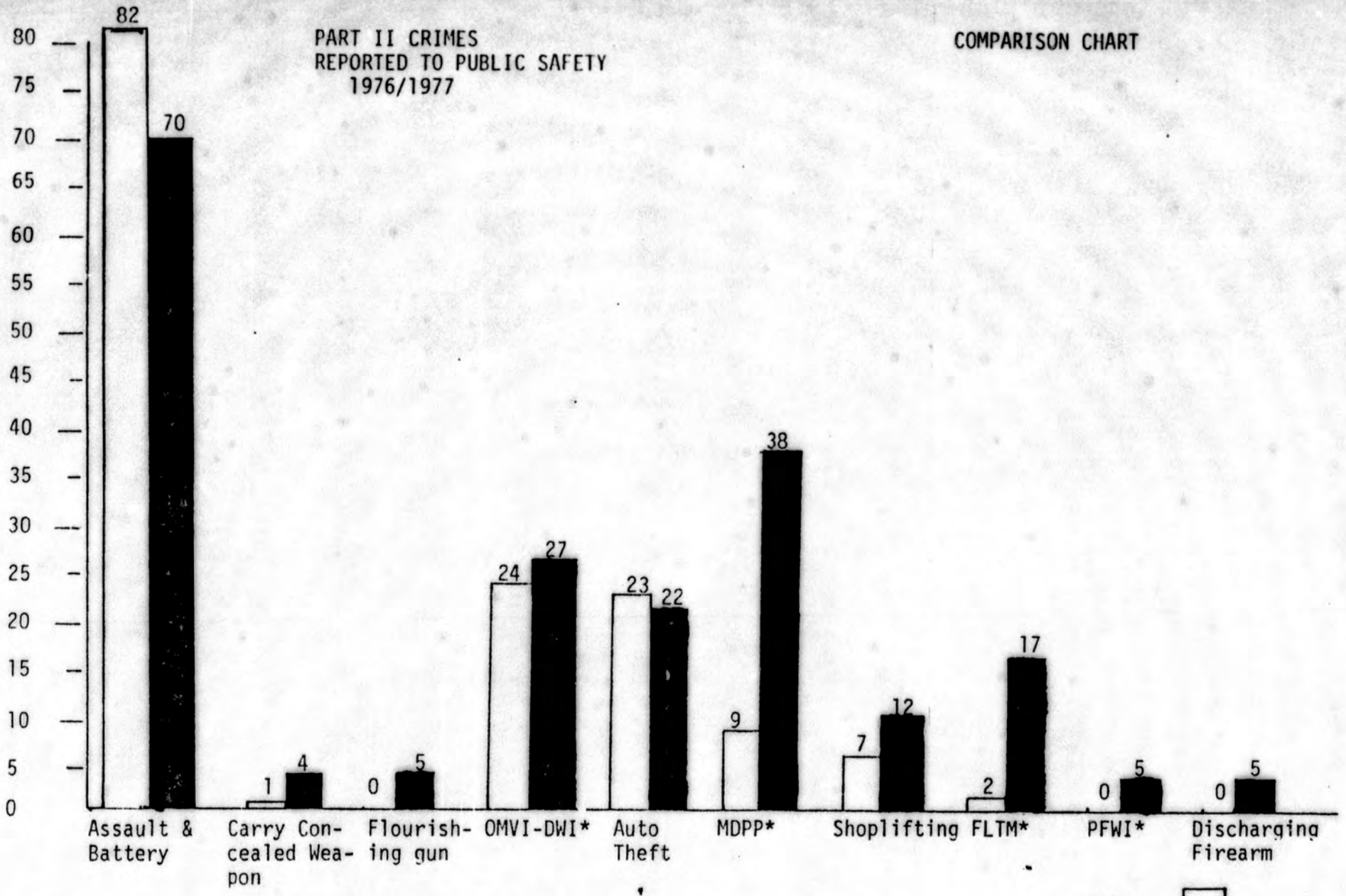
COMPARISON CHART



PART TWO CRIMES COMPARISON CHART

PART II CRIMES
REPORTED TO PUBLIC SAFETY
1976/1977

COMPARISON CHART



PART TWO CRIMES COMPARISON CHART

* Definitions

OMVI - Operating Motor Vehicle While Under Influence

MDPP - Malicious Destruction of Personal Property

FLTM - Furnishing Liquor to a Minor

PFWI - Possession of Firearm While Intoxicated

Appendix D

Deaths Reported to Public Safety - Barrow

1977 and 1978

Death Reports - 1977

1-11-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Officers responded to a call of someone down and bleeding badly in Barrow. Officers arrived at scene and observed a male holding the head of a female. Victim's age 19-21. Ascertained that a snowmachine accident had occurred, that the driver had fled the scene on a black snowmachine leaving victim injured. Victim transported to hospital and pronounced dead on arrival. Both victim and driver of snowmachine had been drinking earlier. 77-0127.

1-28-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Initial call was received from one of the doctors at the hospital stating that there was a death at the hospital under unusual circumstances. In doctor's opinion death was by aspiration. Patient admitted to hospital due to overdose of pills and alcohol. Female 30-35.

2-25-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

A fire was reported by duty officer. Fire Chief indicated that at least one person was in the building when it was fully involved in flame. The fire department removed the body of a male 25-30 years old. Investigation showed victim was highly intoxicated just prior to the fire. 77-0605

4-9-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Female victim approximately 45 years old died of pheumonia, overdose of medication, and alcohol. 77-1095

7-5-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Medical call revealed a female 25-30 years old had stopped breathing and mother had reported her condition. Cause of death was acute overdose of alcohol. 77-2263

8-11-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Male 22-26 years of age reported suicide by hanging. Investigation and autopsy revealed victim extremely intoxicated at time of death. 77-2766

- - -

Death Reports - 1977 (Con't)

8-28-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Approximately 1:30AM received information that a man was laying on the ground by the Old Post Office injured and bleeding. Officers responding found male 21 years old face up bleeding from visible chest wounds. Cousin arrested for homicide. Defendant extremely intoxicated and argued over a bottle of calverts whiskey. 77-3029

8-29-77

Alcohol Related: No

Two bodies, male and female, found at Shooting Station shot to death. Male defendant arrested, charged, and convicted of 1st degree murder. Homicide was not alcohol-related. 77-3051

8-28-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Motor vehicle accident in 3/4 ton military pick-up fuel truck. Rand off road and burst into flames. Driver died from result of fire and autopsy showed male victim was intoxicated at time of accident. 77-3031

9-21-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Report of mother leaving baby on beach to die of exposure. Homicide investigation showed baby died of hypothermia. Mother was intoxicated at time of abandonment. 77-3332

10-15-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

A house fire reported at small private dwelling. Informed that there was one or more individuals in burning building. One male victim age 19 was recovered after fire. Victim's autopsy indicated he was intoxicated prior to fire. 77-3619

12-20-77

Alcohol Related: Yes

Victim, 32-38 year old female, placed in detention for acute intoxication. Victim depressed and worried about children. Hung herself in cell #1 using her t-shirt. CPR attempted, however victim was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital.

- - -

Death Reports - 1978

1-24-78

Alcohol Related: Yes

At approximately 11:35 AM, 1/24/78, officer received information from his supervisor that he had received word that a male victim, 41 years of age, had died in Fairbanks, and that there may have been questionable circumstances surrounding his death. Victim died of hematoma, prior to death was previously admitted to the Public Health Service Hospital in Barrow appearing "beat up", and intoxicated. Subsequent investigation could reveal no foul play surrounding victim's death. 78-0074.

3-20-78

Alcohol Related: Yes

Received information of snowmachine accident at approximately 9:50 PM, 3-20-78. Two adult male victims, one fatally injured. Both had been drinking prior to accident, travelling at a faster rate of speed than was safe and hit a parked truck. 78-0967

6-4-78

Alcohol Related: Yes

Received request for ambulance 6-4-78 for a two month old infant. Infant was pronounced DOA at Public Health Service Hospital. Investigation revealed parents had been "partying" prior to infant's death. Father was convicted of manslaughter. 78-1907.

6-30-78

Alcohol Related: Yes

6-30-78 patrol observed objects lying in roadway towards Freshwater Lake. Found objects to be one adult male and a motorcycle. Victim pronounced dead 6-30-78. Hematoma was suspected cause of death. Blood alcohol content was .114%. 78-2286.

10-22-78

Alcohol Related: Yes

10-22-78 at 3:56 PM received call that there was a woman not breathing. Female, adult victim, age 47 years, was observed by responding officers lying face down on the living room floor. Victim pronounced dead at the Public Health Service Hospital at 4:20 PM. Blook alcohol content .465%. Cause of death determined to be alcohol poisoning. 78-3804.

Appendix E

Policy Guide - Drunk Release Program

MAYOR'S OFFICE
EXT. 211

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE
EXT. 210

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT
EXT. 249

PLANNING DEPARTMENT
EXT. 245

ACCOUNTING
EXT. 239

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH
P. O. BOX 69
BARROW, ALASKA 99723
(907) 852-2611
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

ASSESSING
EXT. 263

TREASURY
EXT. 237

HOUSING AGENCY
EXT. 243

HEALTH AGENCY
EXT. 255

GENERAL ORDER #2

POLICY GUIDE

Operating Procedures Manual Reference: Chap. 214 and 301

A. "Drunk Release Program"

A major part of our crime-prevention program is the detention of those persons so intoxicated as to represent a definate threat to themselves and a lesser threat to others. Of the following purposes behind this program one additional feature will be added:

1. Protection of the person intoxicated.
2. Protection of others from intoxicated persons.
3. Non-criminal detention, processing, and release.

The additional feature will be an attempt to reduce "returnees" to this system by making referrals to the Barrow Council on Alcoholism for interviews, counseling, and treatment. While it is assumed that no enforcement of this diversion method can be made, there is room for a very light push in the general direction - that push being in the form of "voluntary referrals" directly from their release. These referrals will be a consistant part of this program.

The method of "voluntary referrals" will be as follows:

A. At time of release by any officer, the person detained will receive a direct invitation (with officer assistance) to meet with personnel of the Barrow Council on Alcoholism presently located in the Youth Center. They are to be encouraged to go directly from release to BCA for initial intake.

B. Since there is no legal provision for enforcement of referrals, a strong recommendation by the officer releasing will be encouraged.

C. An alternative method is to call up the BCA and ask for a staff person to come to the station and make the request and invitation directly to the person released from detention.

BCA PHONE: 852-7470

B. "Diversion from Criminal Justice System"

It has been an operational policy in the past supported by a traditional approach to law enforcement, that misdemeanor cases be handled consistantly in the same manner as felony cases. It is also a matter of enforcement tradition to have a rigid and sole source method of handling minor misdemeanors. That tradition acts as a plug into the criminal justice system from which no one ever escapes from at least a permanent criminal record.

Even those who are arrested for a misdemeanor, booked, fingerprinted, arraigned, and tried may find that after the courts have found them Not Guilty, there still exists a permanent record of arrest. Should they be dismissed before trial by the District Attorney, or the case dismissed for other reasons, the record of arrest remains to taint and tarnish a persons past. While other states have questioned the FBI's policy of never removing a criminal record (even of arrest when person is found not guilty) there is nothing to prevent our Department of Public Safety from initiating a clear policy that will correct an obvious injustice to an individual.

1. INTENT OF DIVERSION

a. It is the intent of this policy to initiate a diversion from tradition.l procedures of arrest and criminal prosecution when and where possible.

b. It is the intent of this policy to eliminate the filing of fingerprint and arrest records on first offenders normally processed to State and Federal computerized files.

c. It is the intent of this policy to restrict the filing of criminal records on repeat offenders for minor misdemeanors primarily between the ages of 18 through 25. Local records only will be kept on most misdemeanors.

d. All first offense minor misdemeanors will be "carded" only - no fingerprints will be recorded. No photos will be taken.

2. METHOD OF DIVERSION ON CERTAIN MINOR CRIMES

a. Where crimes against property are charged, whether first offense or not, an effort by the officer investigating will be made to settle the dispute directly between the two parties involved, prior to arrest or the filing

2. a. of any criminal complaints. This is especially true of family matters.

b. If a person who does damage to property is drunk (they almost always are) that person may be held under the provisions of Chap. 214 and this order. Upon his release (hopefully to BCA) a settlement will be worked out between the complainant and the person who could normally be charged.

c. The alternative should be explained to the person detained - that alternative being the settlement between the parties OR, the complainant may file a citizens complaint at District Court.

d. Where crimes against the person may be charged certain considerations must be reviewed prior to filing criminal actions:

1. Are both parties related?

2. Are both parties intoxicated?

3. Are both parties friends normally?

4. Are the parties involved total strangers to one another?

Only the last item above should be restricted to the normal arrest and criminal complaint procedures. If a simple assault and battery occurs (as opposed to Agrevated Assault or other forms) between family members and/or friends particularly between the ages of 18 and 25, then detention is to be the primary consideration and criminal complaints the last resort.

3. REDUCTION AND DIVERSION

a. The purpose is specifically to reduce unnecessary involvement with the court system, reduce unnecessary paperwork and processing, reduce injustice to individuals having contact with Public Safety, and reduce dismissals of "petty" cases and complaints.

b. An additional benefit will be to serve individual justice much more fairly. It serves no ones idea of justice to attach a criminal record onto a first offender who gets drunk, makes a mistake (minor misdemeanor) and must suffer permanent tarnishment on his past, most especially those between the ages of 18 and 25.

3. c. Those whom, in the past, have had to face criminal records, the court system, and a certain type of "branding" usually results in a "set" against the standards of a community and public safety and responsibility in general. That must change with some good common sense used to discriminate between the young who test themselves against society and find themselves initiated into the adult world.

C. DIVERTING FROM ARREST AND JAIL

It does not serve the interests of the public nor Public Safety to insist that all persons who commit minor misdemeanors (those to which all of the above do not apply) must go to jail. Traditionally, those who violate traffic rules and regulations are not hauled out of vehicles, taken to jail, booked, and bailed out. Why should it be the case in most misdemeanor cases?. Henceforth, the same rule of traffic offenses will be applied to misdemeanors not included in A and B above. A SUMMONS will be used when and where practical, (in cases of continued threats to public peace or safety this does not apply). When and if practical, the officer having violator contact will fill out and give to the offender, a SUMMONS to District Court. This will include most misdemeanors.

Misdemeanor Offense ---------Officer Contact --------

Determination Made ----------Summons Given ----------

Officer types up criminal complaint or assists citizen in doing so.-------Citizen instructed to be present at arraignment and sign complaint.

D. REPORTS BY OFFICERS

Reports will continue to remain basically the same, except that when a "DIVERSION" is successfully used, the officer will indicate it at the end of his report and indicate the type of diversion.

E. COURT RECOMMENDATIONS ON PLEA OF GUILTY TO MISDEMEANORS

Since diversion will be a major part of "prevention" in all misdemeanor cases, it is officially recommend that officers at arraignments on misdemeanors who know that it is a alcohol related offense - suggest that sentences be directed towards immediate rehabilitation by court-ordered "involuntary referrals" to Barrow Council on Alcoholism. Such sentence referrals may include up to six months of weekly counseling session at BCA.

- - -

Alaska State Legislature

POUCH V
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811
TELEPHONE 465-4922

Senate

SENATOR
Bill Ray
CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION

March 29, 1977

Mr. Kim L. Moeller, Director
Department of Public Safety
North Slope Borough
P. O. Box 69
Barrow, Alaska 99723

Dear Mr. Moeller:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning Senate Bill 167, the excise tax on alcohol.

Thank you for sharing with me the horrible statistics you attribute to a "wet" period in Barrow. You may be assured I will take your remarks into consideration when we are working on the Governor's alcohol package.

Sincerely,

Bill Ray

Appendix F

Correspondance 1976/77
State of Alaska
Alaska State Legislature
Senate Special Committee on Alcoholism

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF ALCOHOLISM
AND DRUG ABUSE
SEP 06 1984

LAW ENFORCEMENT INCIDENTS, MID-KUSKOKWIM: 1979

David L. Marshall
Susan Soule

Kuskokwim Native Association
P.O. Box 106
Aniak, AK 99557

(907) 675-4384

July 1, 1980

This study was contracted by the Alaska Area Native Health Service, Contract No. 243-79-0254. The points of view and opinions expressed in this study are those of the Authors and do not necessarily represent the official positions or policies of the Alaska Area Native Health Service.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was written by David Marshall, an economic consultant resident in Aniak, who is familiar with demographic, economic and social statistics. I have written the Foreword and the Afterword.

Susan Soule
Director
Community Mental Health Program
KNA

July, 1980

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FOREWORD

The Kuskokwim Native Association is a non-profit organization formed by and serving 11 small villages in the mid-Kuskokwim River area. The largest of these villages, Aniak, has a population of 376 and is 72% Native. The other villages are smaller in size (only one has a population greater than 200) and, with the exception of Red Devil, are 85% or more Native. Most of the Native population is Yupik Eskimo, with some Athapascan or mixed Athapascan-Eskimo upriver. Lime Village is predominantly Athapascan.

With the exception of Aniak, where one half the adult population works for wages at least part-time, subsistence is the predominant lifestyle. In the smaller villages there are typically 5-10 year-round jobs, mostly in the public sector, and a larger number of seasonal (summer) jobs. Various forms of public assistance supply a great deal of the available cash.

Only two of the villages, Aniak and Lower Kalskag, have more than thirty houses, which are for the most part either wood frame or log one- or two-room structures, heated more with oil in the downriver villages and more with wood upriver. The upriver villages do not have electricity. The villages are linked by the river and by small plane service three days per week. Each village has a grade and high school. All but two have at least one small store. (In Stony River the store is run by the Traditional Council). With the exception of Upper Kalskag, which is Catholic, the predominant religion is Russian Orthodox.

Most of the data available for the KNA villages is available only for the KNA region as a whole or the AVCP/Calista region of which it is a part (1). For instance, the TAT study (2) estimates that in the KNA region 68% of the heads of households have less than an 8th grade education and that almost 72% of the heads of households describe their employment as subsistence hunting and fishing. The Tribal Specific Health Plan (3) offers the information that accidents are the leading cause of death, alcoholism the sixth leading cause of death, suicides and homicides eighth and ninth. While this kind of general data is helpful in comparing one broad area to another, it does not enable the comparison of one village to another within a given region.

People working in the KNA are aware of variations in patterns between villages, for example, that alcohol abuse and alcohol-related accidents are a bigger problem in one village than another. Further,

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(1) AVCP: Association of Village Council Presidents (for the 56 villages of Southwest Alaska)

(2) Multiple Resource Planning and Service Study conducted by the State of Alaska with a Technical Assistance and Training Grant from the Department of Labor; 1977

(3) Tribal Specific Health Plan Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta; 1979; p. 36

it is a premise of this study that such village specific information can be of value in helping local people plan and design programs to help deal with some of the serious local problems of the area, that by looking at variations in village patterns and then at the factors that contribute to the variations, villages can learn from each other and problem areas can be identified precisely.

This study examines village specific data for law enforcement incidents in the KNA villages. Law enforcement incidents were selected as a topic for several reasons. First, the kinds of incidents that come to the attention of law enforcement officials; violent crimes, family violence, child abuse, excessive alcohol abuse, are indicators of stress and of poor mental health. Second, law enforcement officials, chiefly the Constable and to some extent the village police, have been keeping records of such incidents in each village of the KNA area for some months.

In terms of mental health program planning, this study represents a first step. It enables us to examine in detail such things as village incident rates; the relationship between alcohol and law enforcement incidents by village and by race of instigator; and the period of the year and week when such incidents are likely to occur. The statistics indicate patterns and variations in patterns. The last section of the study examines the possible implications of the patterns, discusses some of the underlying "why" questions, and some of the areas in which further research would be helpful. It also indicates in more detail possible ways in which this study can be used to help the people of the KNA area plan effective, well focussed programs designed to address the kinds of problems documented in this study.

The Appendix Table A.1 is the basis for this study. It is compiled from the reports of the Constable (Pete Brown) in Aniak. (1) Conversations with the Constable supplemented his written reports. A blank data collection form, as used in the study, is included in the Appendix. The reports are of law enforcement incidents in the mid-Kuskokwim area (southwest Alaska), which consists of eleven villages, of which Aniak is the regional node. A map is included (p.2).

The study is of incidents in eight villages, because no incidents were reported in three: Lime Village (1); and two having two families (Georgetown; Napaimiut). The incidents are for the six-month period May-November, 1979. Reporting at this level of detail began in May (including one late-April incident). There were no incidents in November, so that in practice this study covers a five-month period.

Of the 63 incidents listed in Table A.1 this study analyzes 55, i.e. excludes eight. These consist of four of which the instigators are unknown (burglary; larceny of money or property), and four deaths from natural causes (see Table A.1).

"Instigator" in this study means the person whose actions led to a complaint requiring the Trooper's investigation, and/or whose actions required his investigation in the absence of a complaint. If charges were brought as a result of the actions, it applies to the person charged (irrespective of whether or not the person was found guilty). In the (few) cases where more than one individual was involved, i.e. in a joint action, one person was denoted by the Trooper as the principal actor. That person is the instigator: the others are ignored. That is, the word is not intended to impute blame: it may be that the instigator (as defined) was acting in response to a series of events initiated by someone else, as in retaliating or in a child fleeing stress. This distinction is useful to the Trooper and to the court system, but is not adopted in this study.

Alcohol-related includes cases where the instigator was intoxicated, was sober but sought alcohol (burglary), or sold alcohol (bootlegging), or otherwise furnished it illegally (minor), or consumed it illegally (minor).

In a few cases one incident was the occasion for several charges. In them the incident is reported as belonging to the most serious type of incident, as determined by the Trooper (based on severity of potential sentence).

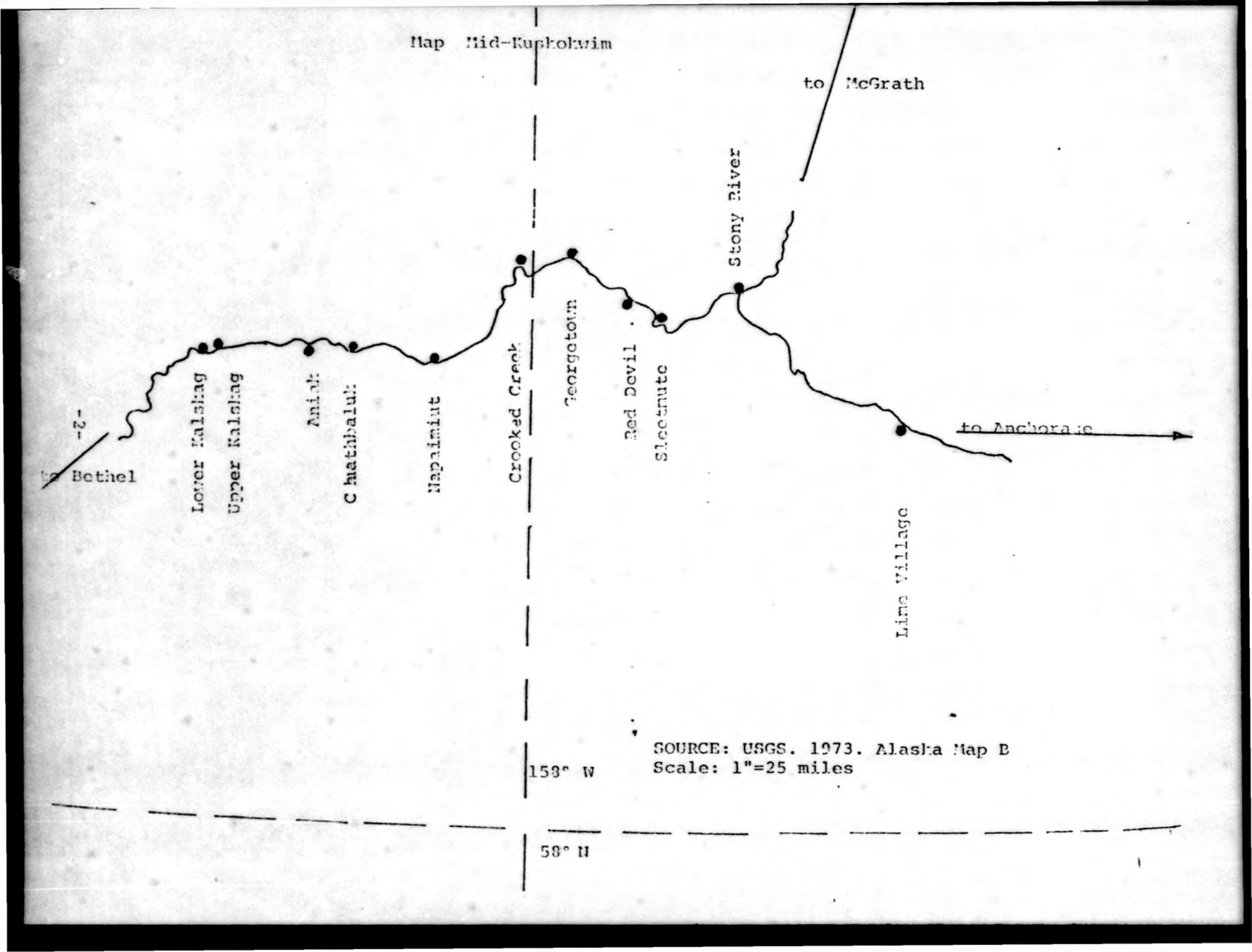
Natives means Eskimos or (Athabascan) Indians --both groups are represented in the study area-- including those that are shareholders in a native (regional) corporation because they are one-fourth degree or more of Eskimo or (Alaskan) Indian blood.(3) Non-natives means all others.

---

(1) A Constable differs from a Trooper in that he is locally recruited, remains a resident of the area in which he serves and cannot be transferred against his will. In local usage, the Constable is commonly referred to as "the Trooper". In this study the terms are also used interchangeably. On Pete Brown's retirement he was replaced by a regular State Trooper from outside the area. The difference in the new Trooper's definition of his job and relationship with local people has been immediately apparent. All references to the Trooper or the Constable in this study are to Pete Brown.

(2) The Constable says "This is because Lime has a good (traditional) Council." That is, the Council deals with such incidents as arise. Viva voce, April 15, 1980.

(3) Alaska Claims Settlement Act. Dec. 18,1971. P.L.92-203 (section 3(b))



SOURCE: USGS. 1973. Alaska Map B
Scale: 1"=25 miles

In addition to the Constable, there is a police force in Aniak (2); Chuathbaluk (2); Crooked Creek (1); the Kalskags (2). There is a District Magistrate for the Aniak District, in Aniak. He is empowered to handle misdemeanors, including sentencing (where the plea is guilty or nolo) or conducting a trial (where the plea is not guilty but the defendent agrees in writing to a trial). He also conducts preliminary hearings on felonies (more than one year in jail). There is a Superior Court Judge in Bethel (150 miles downriver from Aniak) to whom felonies in the study area are referred. (The judge also acts as District Court Judge, for the Bethel District).

The boundaries of the study are set by the form in which the incidents were reported: type of incident; place; date; whether or not alcohol-related; age, sex, and ethnic group of instigator; existence (or otherwise) of prior related offenses (by that instigator); the legal disposition of the incidents.

A distinction may be made between these items of information, or parameters, on the one hand, and explanatory variables on the other. That is, the parameters tell us the: what (happened); who (did it); when and where (it happened); and --in some cases-- the how (it happened). Explanatory variables tell us the why. The distinction should not be pressed too far: the parameters can be combined (as they are in this study) with population and ethnic composition of the villages, to see if some pattern emerges that may (confirm or) disprove an hypothesis. To the extent that this is done, such work smacks of explanation. Still, the distinction is useful in drawing attention to the limited nature of the study. Examples of (potentially) explanatory variables are legion, but are not used here. The economist (in asking "why?") would enquire into such matters as the instigator's employment, work skills, income level, and so on. The anthropologist, psychologist, psychiatrist, sociologist, and representatives of other disciplines, would enquire into other aspects of the individual's life and his or her family and social settings.

Finally, the distinction is useful in suggesting ideas for further research: where to dig for the roots of the incidents reported here.

The study is limited in two other respects. First, more incidents occur than are reported (to the Trooper): how many more is unknown. Second, its focus is on instigators: complementary analysis of the population-at-risk, and of types of sentences and their effect (if any) on repeat offenders, would yield a more rounded study. For example, an analysis of who is assaulted and battered, at the same level of detail (age, sex, and ethnic group), and an analysis of the relationship between types of sentences and types of incidents, would further the purposes of this study.

Its immediate purpose is to provide baseline data in a coherent form. Beyond that, it is hoped that it will help the Trooper and the Director of the Mental Health Program of the Kuskokwim Native Association (Susan Soule, also of Aniak) in the performance of their duties: needs assessment; strategies; other aspects of their programming. Solicited by the Director, this study may also stimulate similar analyses (and incident

reporting) elsewhere in rural Alaska. As far as we know, a study of this kind has not been done there before.

1.1 REGIONAL SUMMARY. TOTAL AND ALCOHOL-RELATED INCIDENTS: ETHNIC COMPOSITION, SEX, AND AGE GROUP OF INSTIGATORS.

Table 1.1 shows that most of the law-enforcement incidents are alcohol-related, and are instigated by natives -- in particular by adult male natives. It also shows that three villages -- Aniak, Crooked Creek, and Sleetmute -- accounted for most of the incidents.

Table 1.2 presents these conclusions in terms of percentages: of the 55 incidents, 84 percent were alcohol-related, 82 percent were instigated by natives, and 58 percent by adult male natives. The three villages accounted for almost three quarters (73 percent) of the total incidents, and for slightly more than three quarters (78 percent) of the alcohol-related incidents.

It is common knowledge that crimes (or, in this case, incidents) in rural Alaska are often alcohol-related (1). Thus, the mid-Kuskokwim is no exception. Further, this is so in rural Alaska despite the fact that most villages are dry (2). Again, the mid-Kuskokwim is no exception: all the villages are dry, except Red Devil, which has a retail liquor outlet.

Although the incidents are apt to be alcohol-related and to be instigated by natives, this alone does not tell us to what extent alcohol-related incidents and race are related. Table 1.3 does. It shows that most of the alcohol-related incidents were instigated by natives. Table 1.4 presents this conclusion in terms of percentages: of the 46 alcohol-related incidents, 87 percent were instigated by natives.

Natives account for most of the incidents (total, and alcohol-related) because they predominate in the population. Tables 1.5 and 1.6 give the total population and its ethnic composition. Table 1.7 combines the results of the previous tables. It shows (percent column) that natives constitute 84 percent of the population, and account for 82 percent of total incidents and 87 percent of alcohol-related incidents. Intuitively, this suggests that non-natives account for a higher proportion of total incidents than their numbers would indicate. And, it suggests that natives account for a higher proportion of alcohol-related incidents than their numbers would indicate. Table 1.7 (incidence column) shows this: the incidence (rate per 100 population) of total incidents is 5.0 for non-natives, and 4.2 for natives. The incidence of alcohol-related incidents is 3.7 for natives, and 3.0 for non-natives. That is, for the study area and time period, non-natives are more prone to instigate (non-alcohol-related plus alcohol-related) incidents than are natives, while natives are more prone to instigate alcohol-related incidents than are non-natives. This conclusion is

(1) Kelso, Dennis. April, 1979. Alcohol Problems in the Norton Sound Health Corporation. Altam Associates. Anchorage, AK

(2) Viva voce, Robert Buttcane, Director, Phillips Alcoholism Treatment Center, Bethel, Alaska. June 9, 1980

Table 1.1 Total incidents (number; instigator); alcohol-related incidents

	total incidents			alcohol-related incidents
	number	instigated by		
		natives	adult male natives	number
Total	55	45	32	46
Aniak	19	14	9	15
Chuathbaluk	2	2	2	2
Crooked Creek	15	15	11	15
Kalskag, Lr.	4	4	3	2
Kalskag, Upr.	1	1	1	1
Red Devil	1	1	0	1
Sleetmute	6	2	0	6
Stony River	4	3	3	3
between villages	3	3	3	1

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.2 Total incidents; alcohol-related incidents (percent)

	total incidents			alcohol-related incidents
	number	instigated by		
		natives	adult male natives	number
Total(1)	100.0	81.8	58.2	83.6
Aniak	34.5	25.4	16.3	27.3
Chuathbaluk	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6
Crooked Creek	27.3	27.3	20.0	27.3
Kalskag, Lr.	7.3	7.3	5.5	3.6
Kalskag, Upr.	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Red Devil	1.8	1.8	0.0	1.8
Sleetmute	10.9	3.6	0.0	10.9
Stony River	7.3	5.5	5.5	5.5
between villages	5.5	5.5	5.5	1.8

(1) percentages may not add because of rounding

SOURCE: Table 1.1

Table 1.3 Alcohol-related incidents (number; instigator)

	total incidents		
	number	instigated by	
		natives	non-natives
Total	46	40	6
Aniak	15	13	2
Chuathbaluk	2	2	0
Crooked Creek	15	15	0
Kalskag, Lr.	2	2	0
Kalskag, Upr.	1	1	0
Red Devil	1	1	0
Sleetmute	6	2	4
Stony River	3	3	0
between villages	1	1	0

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.4 Alcohol-related incidents (percent)

	total incidents		
	number	instigated by	
		natives	non-natives
Total (1)	100.0	87.0	13.0
Aniak	32.6	28.1	4.4
Chuathbaluk	4.4	4.4	0.0
Crooked Creek	32.6	32.6	0.0
Kalskag, Lr.	4.4	4.4	0.0
Kalskag, Upr.	2.2	2.2	0.0
Red Devil	2.2	2.2	0.0
Sleetmute	13.0	4.4	8.6
Stony River	6.5	6.5	0.0
between villages	2.2	2.2	0.0

(1) percentages may not add because of rounding

SOURCE: Table 1.3

Table 1.5 Population (total; ethnic composition)

	population		
	total	native	non-native
Total	1,278	1,077	201
Aniak	376	270	106
Chuathbaluk	129	122	7
Crooked Creek	115	98	17
Kalskag, Lr.	243	234	9
Kalskag, Upr.	176	166	10
Red Devil	53	16	37
Sleetmute	111	103	8
Stony River	75	68	7
between villages(1)	1,278	1,077	201

(1) not additive

SOURCE: Cheryl Jerabek, KNA, viva voce May 8, 1980

Table 1.6 Population (percent)

	population		
	total	native	non-native
Total (1)	100.0	84.3	15.7
Aniak	29.4	21.1	8.3
Chauthbaluk	10.1	9.6	0.5
Crooked Creek	9.0	7.7	1.3
Kalskag, Lr.	18.9	18.2	0.7
Kalskag, Upr.	13.8	13.0	0.8
Red Devil	4.1	1.2	2.9
Sleetmute	8.7	8.1	0.6
Stony River	5.9	5.4	0.5
between villages(2)	100.0	84.3	15.7

(1) percentages may not add because of rounding
(2) not additive

SOURCE: Table 1.5

Table 1.7 Total incidents, alcohol-related incidents, and population; native and non-native (number; percent and incidence)

	number	percent	incidence (1)
Total incidents	55	100.0	4.3
instigated by:			
native	45	81.8	4.2
non-native	10	18.2	5.0
Alcohol-related incidents	46	100.0	3.6
instigated by:			
native	40	87.0	3.7
non-native	6	13.0	3.0
Population	1,278	100.0	
native	1,077	84.3	
non-native	201	15.7	

(1) # of incidents per 100 people: calculated from column 1

SOURCE: Tables 1.1-1.6

Table 1.8 Total incidents and alcohol-related incidents; males and females (number and percent)

	number	percent
Total incidents	55	100.0
instigated by:		
males	49	89.1
females	6	10.9
Alcohol-related incidents	46	100.0
instigated by:		
males	40	87.0
females	6	13.0

SOURCE: Table A.1

subject to two important qualifications: small population size; different proportions of adults.

As regards the small population size, four of the incidents (all alcohol-related) were instigated by one individual non-native. If these are deducted from the total incidents and from the alcohol-related incidents (and the individual is deducted from the population), the result is that, while natives still account for 84 percent of the population, they account for 88 percent (45/51) of total incidents (rather than 82 percent), and for 95 percent of alcohol-related incidents (rather than 87 percent). As regards the proportions of adults, observation suggests that adult natives form a smaller proportion of total natives than adult non-natives do of total non-natives (3). If this is true, then if the population were confined to adults and juveniles only (i.e. excluding infants) it is likely that the percentage of total and alcohol-related incidents accounted for by natives would further exceed the percentage of natives in the total population.

Aniak, Crooked Creek, and Sleetmute combined account for more of the incidents than their population size would suggest. They account for only 47 percent of the population (Table 1.6), but for 73 percent of total incidents (Table 1.2), and for 78 percent of alcohol-related incidents (calculated from table 1.3: 36/46). The Trooper believes that the relatively low incidence in Chuathbaluk and Lower Kalskag is explained in part by their having good Councils, and that the incidence in Crooked Creek would be greater if the village were less spread out than it is (4).

Table 1.8 shows hat males account for almost 90 percent of both total and alcohol-related incidents. It shows also that all six incidents instigated by females were alcohol-related. Table 1.9 shows that adults account for three-quarters of total incidents, and for 80 percent of alcohol-related incidents. That is, as expected, juvenile (ages 8-17) incidents are less likely to be alcohol-related. However, of the 14 incidents instigated by juveniles, nine (or 64 percent) were alcohol-related. These tables do not show (although Table A.1 does) that, of the nine juvenile alcohol-related incidents, five were instigated by males, and four by females, and all were instigated by native juveniles.

(3) the 1980 Census data, expected next year, will confirm (or refute) this

(4) Viva voce, April 15, 1980

Table 1.9 Total incidents and alcohol-related incidents; adults and juveniles (number and percent)

	number	percent
Total incidents	55	100.0
instigated by:		
adults	41	74.5
juveniles (1)	14	25.5
Alcohol-related incidents	46	100.0
instigated by:		
adults	37	80.4
juveniles (1)	9	19.6

(1) ages 8-17

SOURCE: Table A.1

1.2 VILLAGE SUMMARY. TOTAL AND ALCOHOL-RELATED INCIDENTS: VILLAGE SIZE, ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF INSTIGATORS, TIMING, AND TYPE OF INCIDENT

1.2.1 Village size

1.2.1.1 Total incidents

Total incidents and village size in terms of total population appear to be positively related. That is, the more people, the more incidents there are. Figure 1.1 (based on Table 1.10) shows this: an imaginary line joining the tops of the solid columns has a general tendency to slope upwards from left to right. Three villages -- Sleetmute, Stony River and Crooked Creek -- are apparent anomalies. In Sleetmute, as noted, one individual accounts for four of the six incidents; in Stony River, three of the four incidents are part of an ongoing feud between two individuals. If these are deducted as idiosyncratic, Sleetmute and Stony River fit the overall picture. Crooked Creek is an anomaly that cannot be explained away at present. Again, it is important to recognize that small numbers are involved: a quadrupling of the incidents in one or two small villages would not be untoward, but could result in an inverse relationship between village size and total incidents. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Aniak accounts for more total incidents than any other village because it is far and away the largest village, with 30 percent of the region's population. (This is the same sort of statement as that made in the preceding section: most of the incidents are instigated by natives, because most of the population is native).

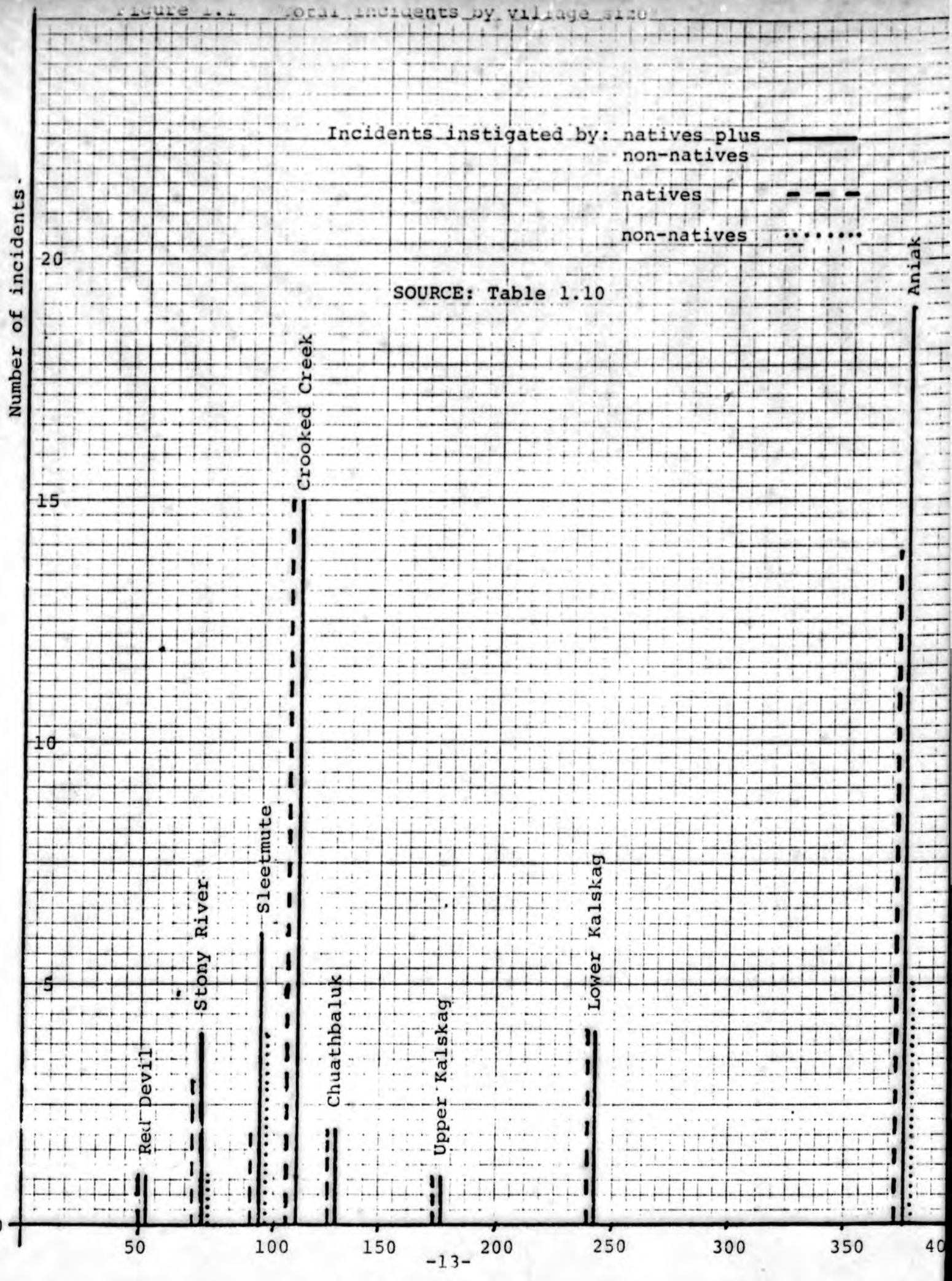
The effect of village size on total incidents is removed by calculating the rate, or incidence: the number of incidents per 100 people. Figure 1.2 (based on Table 1.10) shows this. If size is the only variable that significantly affects the number of incidents, and size is removed as a variable, the number of incidents per village would be the same for all villages. That is, an imaginary line joining the tops of the (incidence) columns would be horizontal. It is not. Therefore, size is not the only significant variable. However, if the incidence is recalculated for Sleetmute and Stony River (for the reasons given in the preceding paragraph), the incidence is about the same for all villages except two, Aniak and Crooked Creek. In them, something more than village size is at work.

Figure 1.1 shows also the relationship of total incidents and village size, expressed in terms of natives (dashed line) and non-natives(dotted line). For natives, total incidents appear to rise as the number of natives increases, (Crooked Creek again being an anomaly). For non-natives, no pattern is discernible. This is because non-natives instigated incidents in only three of the nine villages.

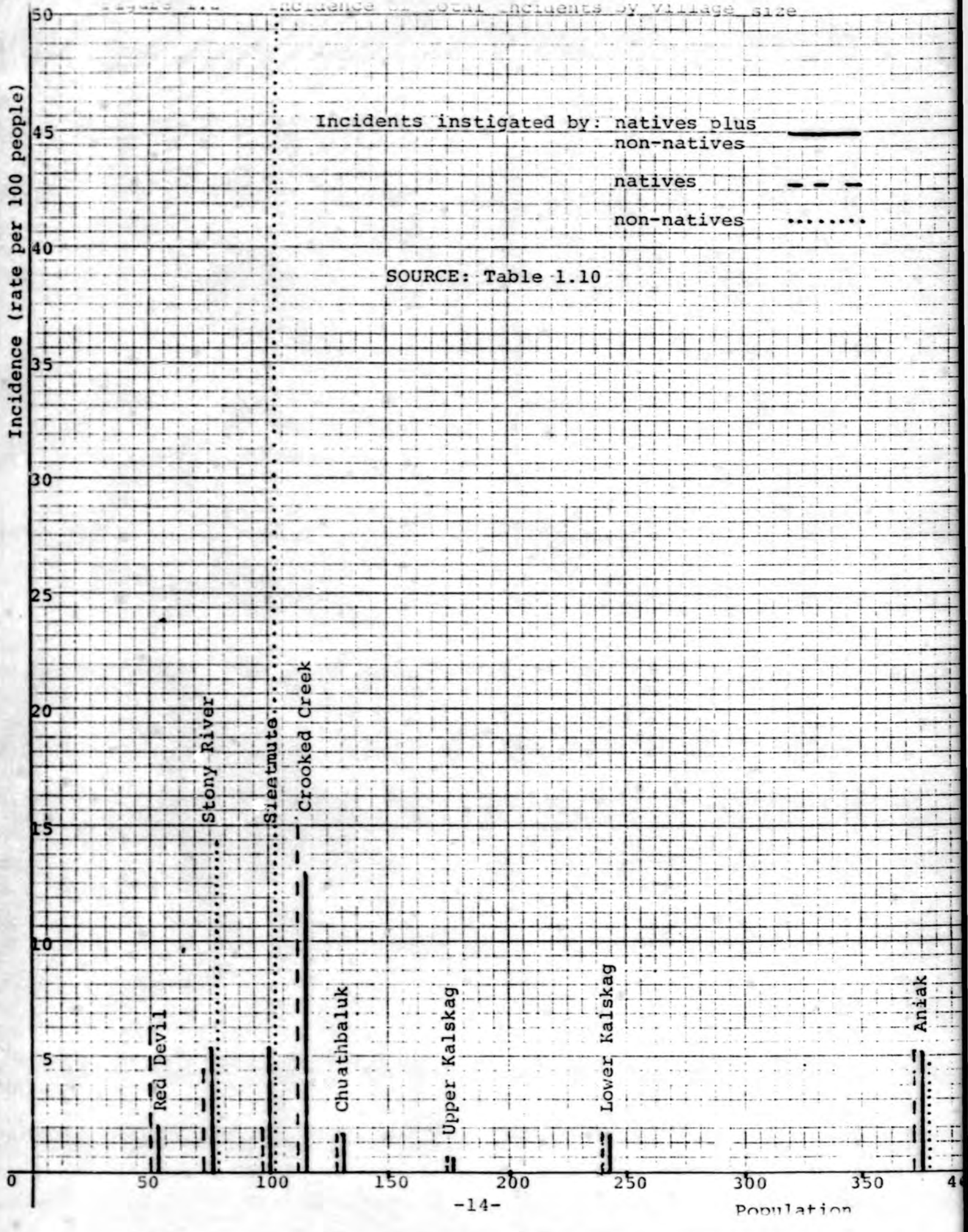
Figure 1.2 shows also the incidence for natives and non-natives. As expected, the removal of population size has a dampening effect compared to Figure 1.1.

For natives, the incidence is fairly uniform (note especially Sleetmute's average incidence). Exceptions are Red Devil, Crooked Creek and Aniak. Red Devil is explained on the grounds of

Figure 1.1 Total Incidents by Village Size



SOURCE: Table 1.10



SOURCE: Table 1.10

Table 1.10 Total incidents instigated by natives and non-natives (number; number of people; incidence)

	total incidents instigated by: natives and non-natives			total incidents instigated by: natives			
	number	population	incidence (rate/100)	number	natives	incidence (rate/100)	number
Total	55	1,278	4.3	45	1,077	4.2	10
Aniak	19	376	5.1	14	270	5.2	5
Chuathbaluk	2	129	1.6	2	122	1.6	0
Crooked Creek	15	115	13.0	15	98	15.3	0
Kalskag, Lr.	4	243	1.6	4	254	1.7	0
Kalskag, Upr.	1	176	0.6	1	166	0.6	0
Red Devil	1	53	1.9	1	16	6.3	0
Sleetmute	6	111	5.4	2	103	1.9	4
Stony River	4	75	5.3	3	68	4.4	1
between villages	3	1,278 (1)	n. ap.	3	1,077 (1)	n. ap.	0
$\bar{x}$	6.5		4.3	5.3		4.2	1.3
mean deviation (2)	5.3		2.9	4.6		3.2	1.6

n. ap. = not applicable
(1) not additive
(2) $\Sigma(x-\bar{x})/8$

SOURCE: Tables 1.1 and 1.5

only one incident (and a relatively small native population). Again, in Crooked Creek and Aniak something more than size of native population is at work.

For non-natives, no pattern of incidence is discernible, because only three of nine villages are involved. That is, the incidence of total incidents among non-natives is less than the incidence of total incidents among natives in every village but two: Sleetmute and Stony River. Alone, and because of their idiosyncratic nature, these two villages cause the incidence of total incidents among non-natives to exceed their incidence among natives, for all villages combined.

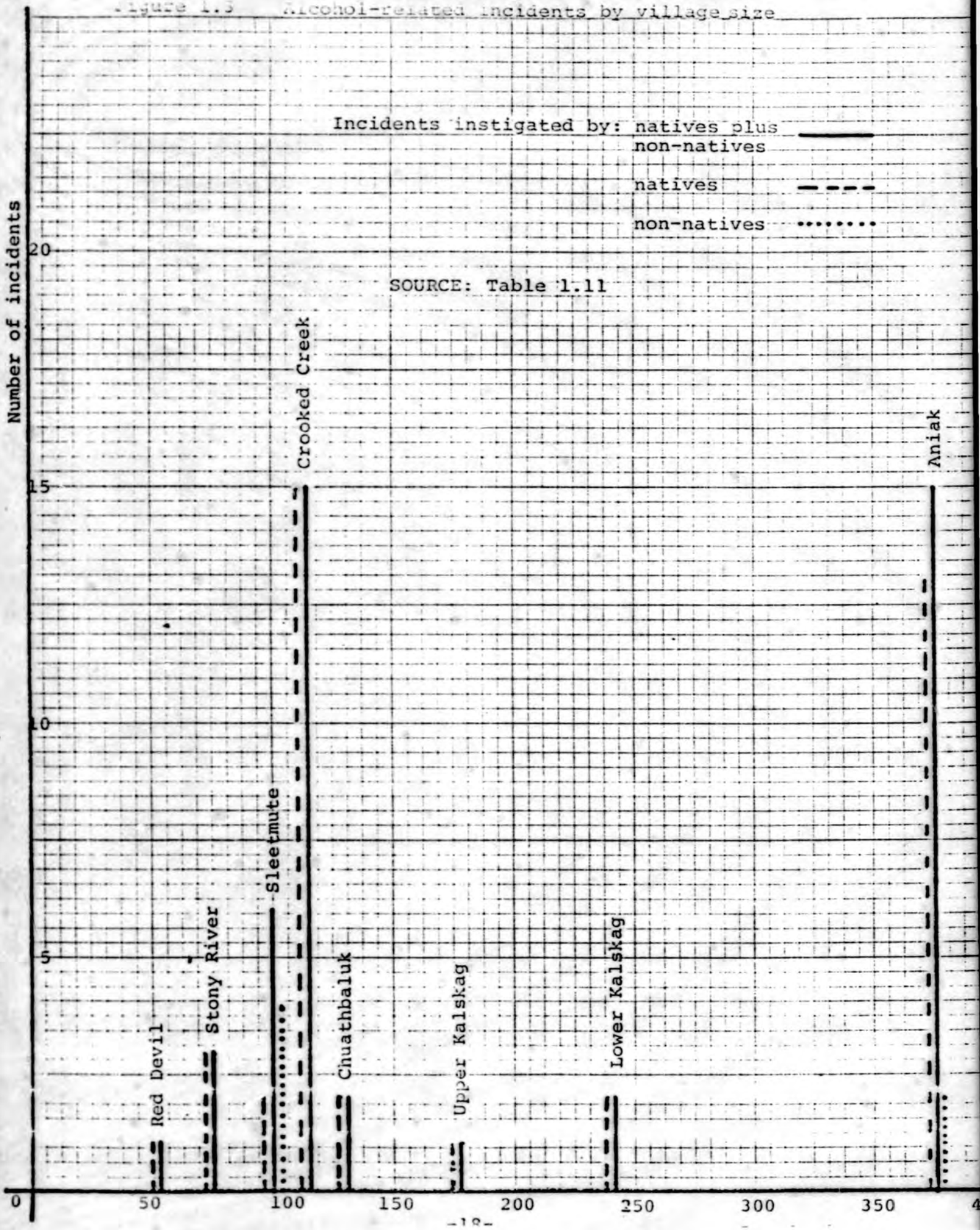
1.2.1.2 Alcohol-related incidents

Repeating the procedure now for alcohol-related (as distinct from total) incidents results in Figures 1.3 and 1.4 (both based on Table 1.11). They exhibit the same pattern as Figures 1.1 and 1.2, which were for total incidents: a roughly positive relationship exists between number of incidents and size of village, with Crooked Creek the only unexplained anomaly (when the idiosyncratic nature of Sleetmute and Stony River is discounted); the incidence does not vary greatly from village to village, except for Crooked Creek and Aniak, which again means that something other than village size is at work; the major difference between alcohol-related and total incidents is that the incidence among non-natives is much less for the former than for the latter (Sleetmute again being the only outstanding exception). This is mainly because alcohol-related incidents instigated by non-natives occurred in only two of the villages: Sleetmute and Aniak.

Ease of access to alcohol may help explain the fact that the incidence of alcohol-related incidents is least in the Kalskags (distant from Red Devil) and highest in Crooked Creek and Sleetmute (close to Red Devil). Boats travel from the latter but not from the former (1). Aniak's alcohol is for the most part received by private order from Anchorage (1). That Red Devil itself has a low incidence plausibly reflects the highest proportion of non-natives in the population of any village.

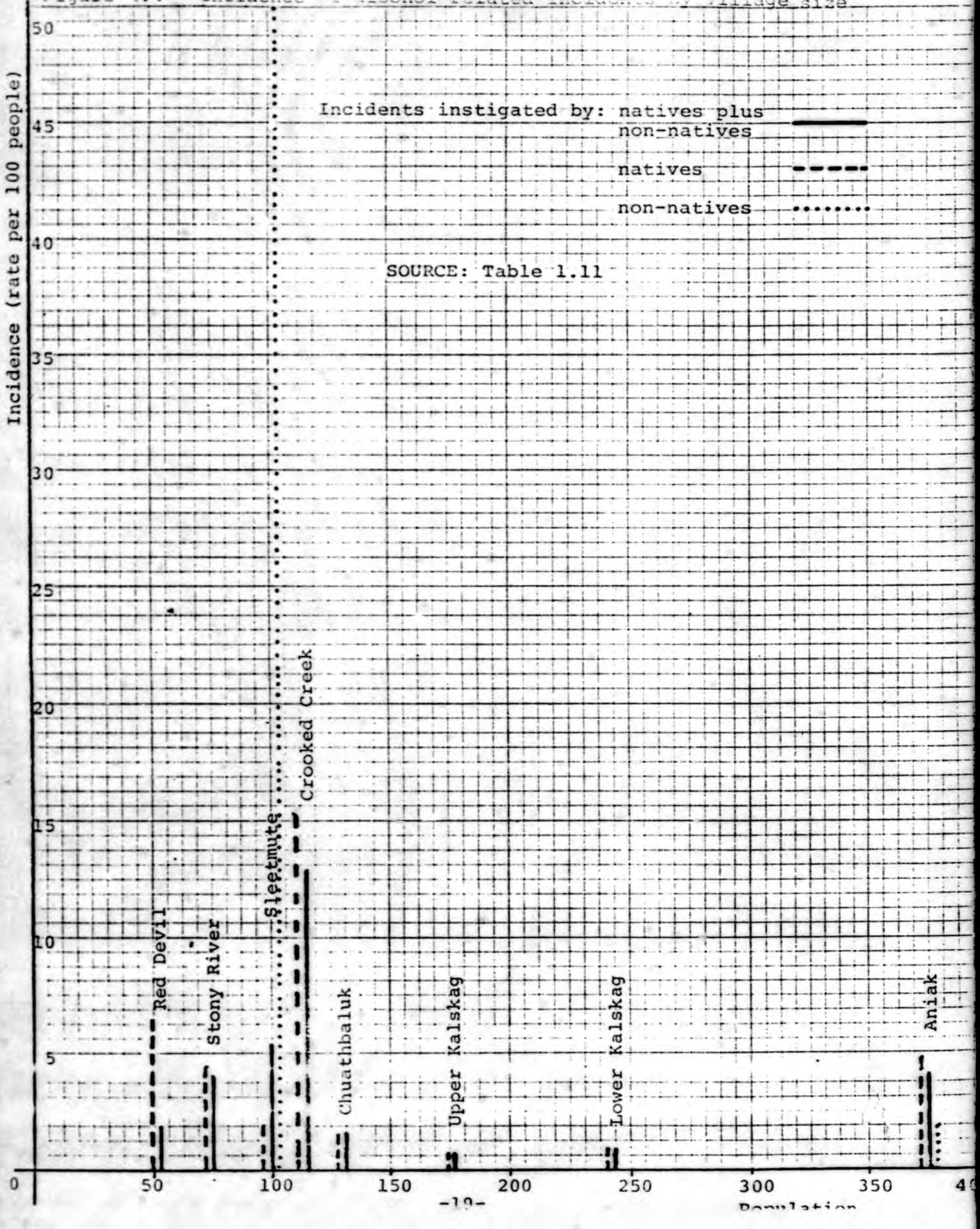
(1) this based on personal observation and discussions

Figure 1.3 Alcohol-related incidents by village size



SOURCE: Table 1.11

Figure 1.4 Incidence of Alcohol-related Incidents by Village Size



lated incidents instigated by natives and non-natives (number; number of people; incidence)

total incidents instigated by:									
natives and non-natives			natives			non-natives			
number	population	incidence (rate/100)	number	natives	incidence (rate/100)	number	non-natives	incidence (rate/10
46	1,278	3.6	40	1,077	3.7	6	201	3.0
15	376	4.0	13	270	4.8	2	106	1.9
2	129	1.6	2	122	1.6	0	7	0.0
15	115	13.0	15	98	15.3	0	17	0.0
2	243	0.8	2	234	0.9	0	9	0.0
1	176	0.6	1	166	0.6	0	10	0.0
1	53	1.9	1	16	6.3	0	37	0.0
6	111	5.4	2	103	1.9	4	8	50.0
3	75	4.0	3	68	4.4	0	7	0.0
1	1,278 (1)	n. ap.	1	1,077 (1)	n. ap.	0	201 (1)	n. ap.
5.6		3.6	4.9		3.7	0.8		3.0
4.8		2.7	4.6		3.2	1.2		8.3

e

d 1.5

Table 1.11 Alcohol-related incidents instigated by natives and non-natives (number; number of people;

	total incidents instigated by: natives and non-natives			total incidents instigated by: natives			
	number	population	incidence (rate/100)	number	natives	incidence (rate/100)	number
Total	46	1,278	3.6	40	1,077	3.7	6
Aniak	15	376	4.0	13	270	4.8	2
Chuathbaluk	2	129	1.6	2	122	1.6	0
Crooked Creek	15	115	13.0	15	98	15.3	0
Kalskag, Lr.	2	243	0.8	2	234	0.9	0
Kalskag, Upr.	1	176	0.6	1	166	0.6	0
Red Devil	1	53	1.9	1	16	6.3	0
Sleetmute	6	111	5.4	2	103	1.9	4
Stony River	3	75	4.0	3	68	4.4	0
between villages	1	1,278 (1)	n. ap.	1	1,077 (1)	n. ap.	0
$\bar{x}$	5.6		3.6	4.9		3.7	0.8
mean deviation (2)	4.8		2.7	4.6		3.2	1.2

n. ap.= not applicable
(1) not additive
(2) $\Sigma(x-\bar{x})/8$

SOURCE: Tables 1.3 and 1.5

1.2.2 Ethnic Composition

Figure 1.5 (based on Table 1.12) appears to indicate that both total and alcohol-related are related inversely to homogeneity of population. That is, the less homogenous (more mixed) ethnically a village is, the more likely it is to have incidents. With one exception (Red Devil), natives account for more than 70 percent of the total population in each village. The percentage ranges from 72 (Aniak) to 97 (Lower Kalskag). As it declines, the percentage of total and alcohol-related incidents accounted for by a village increases. That is, an imaginary line joining the points would slope generally upwards to the left. There is a cluster of villages more than 90 percent native. The positions of Aniak and Crooked Creek are conspicuous, and suggest that ethnic composition may be part of the explanation of their relatively high incidence, which their relative population size alone did not explain (see Section 1.2.1).

Figure 1.5 Percent of total & alcohol-related incidents by village ethnicity

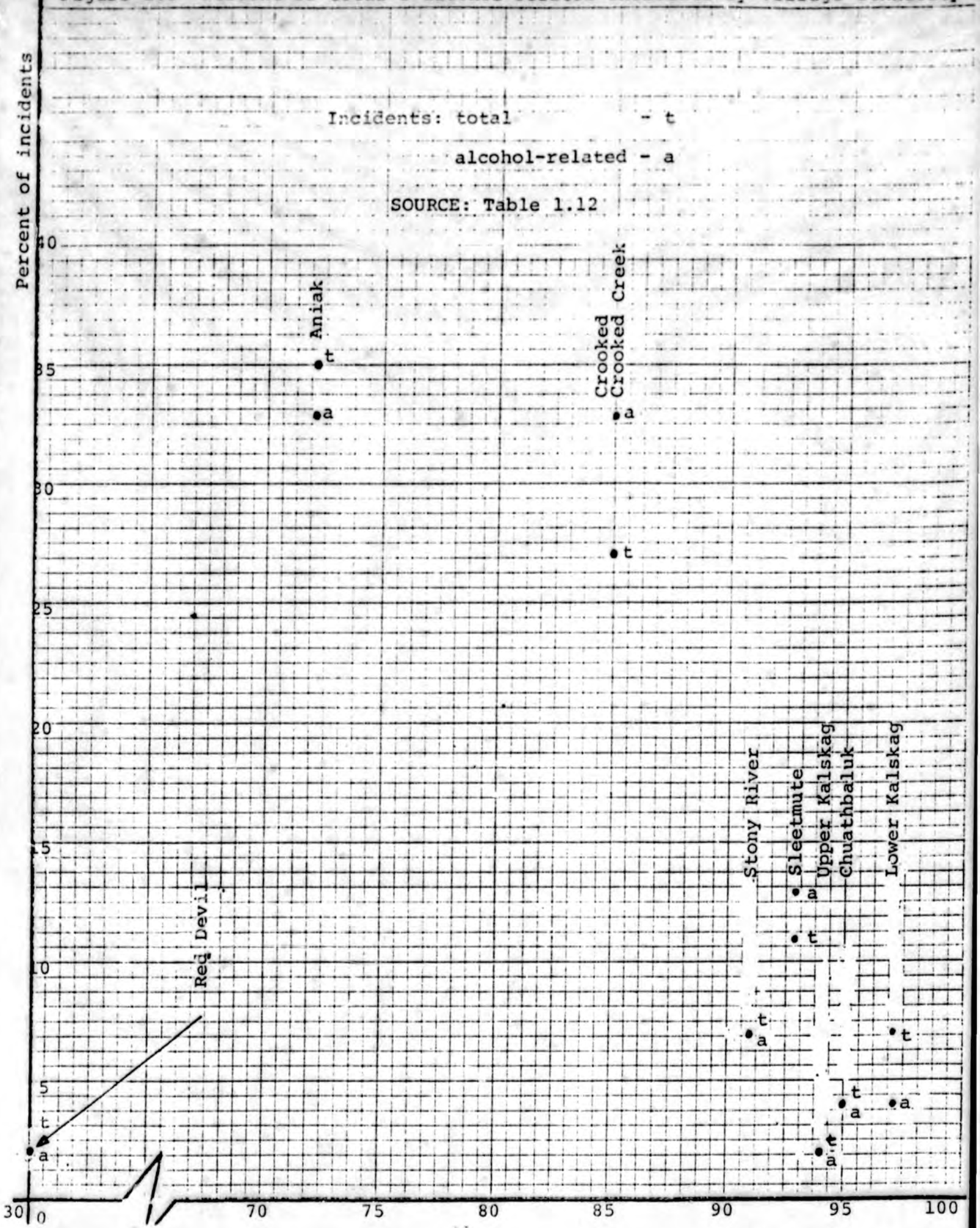


Table 1.12 Total and alcohol-related incidents by ethnicity (percent)

	% total incidents	% alcohol-related indicents	% population native
Total	100.0 (1)	100.0 (1)	84
Red Devil	2	2	30
Aniak	35	33	72
Crooked Creek	27	33	85
Stony River	7	7	91
Sleetmute	11	13	93
Kalskag, Upr.	2	2	94
Chuathbaluk	4	4	95
Kalskag, Lr.	7	4	97
between villages	6	2	87

(1) percentages may not add because of rounding

SOURCE: Tables 1.2, 1.4 and 1.5

1.2.3 Timing

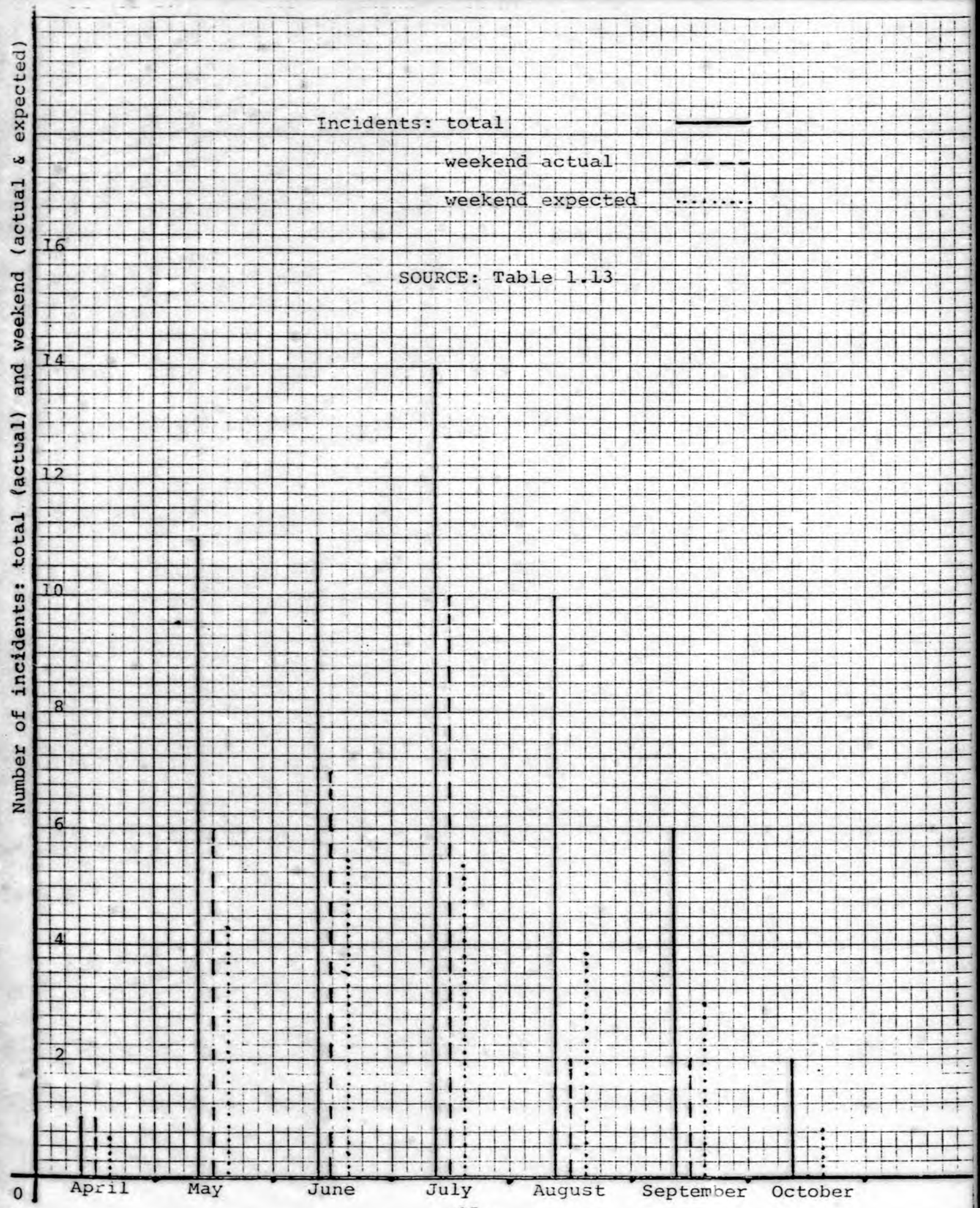
Figure 1.6 (based on Table 1.13) shows that total incidents are affected by the season of the year: a sharp jump from April to May is maintained at that level through June, with a further increase in July followed by steady monthly reductions through October (1). Possible explanations of incidents as a summer phenomenon are: public activity is at its peak during the long daylight hours; seasonal jobs and income --hence propensity backed by greater ability to buy alcohol-- increase; breakup is in early May; school ends for the summer during the third week in May (and begins again during the last week in August)(2). On the other hand, there is a considerable exodus by natives from the villages to fish camps in May and June (with a return in August). That is, one would expect that the resulting reduction in the number of people in the villages, and the hard (but congenial because traditional) work involved would tend to lower the number of incidents. To what extent these two sets of a priori plausible considerations explain the summer phenomenon is unknown. They are not mutually exclusive: fish camps may depress the number of incidents below what it would otherwise be. A control population (one alike in all major respects to the one under study, but having no fish camps) is not available. Alternatively, a cross-village comparison of the percentage of the population going to fish camp could add to our understanding. For example, if the incident rate (discounting for differences in population size and composition) were lower in the villages where the greatest percentage of the population goes to fish camp, this would suggest that the camps do have a damping effect.

Figure 1.6 (and Table 1.13) shows also that, for the villages as a whole, total incidents occur rather more on weekends than would be expected if the incidents occurred at random. Over the period, weekend days account for 42 percent of total days (90/214), whereas weekend incidents account for 50 percent of total incidents(28/55). Weekend incidents are especially noticeable in Aniak (58 percent, 11/19) and in Crooked Creek (87 percent, 13/15). Table 1.13 shows also that (discounting the one incident in April, which was a weekend incident),such incidents accounted for a higher percentage of total incidents in May (55), June (64), and July (71), than in August (20), September (33), and October (0).

---

(1) the jump from April to May may be spurious; reporting began in May, and happened to include one late-April incident

(2) of course, if they were high in winter and low in summer, one could no doubt list equally plausible reasons for that (tension from longer hours indoors, etc.). Thus, to be considered seriously, the reasons put forward should be couched in a way that is testable, and then tested. The scope of this study did not permit that


Incidents: total
weekend actual
weekend expected
SOURCE: Table 1.13
Number of incidents: total (actual) and weekend (actual & expected)
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
April
May
June
July
August
September
October

nd incidents (by month and village)

r	April 4		May 4		June 5		July 4		August 4		September 5		October 4	
ekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weeken
28	1	1	11	6	11	7	14	10	10	2	6	2	2	0
11	0	0	7	4	7	5	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	1	1	1	1	8	8	4	2	1	1	0	0
1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
23(2)		0.4(2)		4.3(2)		5.5(2)		5.4(2)		3.9(2)		3.0(2)		0.8

days/total days in period (0.42 = 90/214)
1 days/total days in month

Table 1.13 Total and weekend incidents (by month and village)

	number		April 4		May 4		June 5		July 4		August 4	
	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend	total	weekend
Total	55	28	1	1	11	6	11	7	14	10	10	2
Aniak	19	11	0	0	7	4	7	5	3	2	1	0
Chuathbaluk	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Crooked Creek	15	13	0	0	1	1	1	1	8	8	4	2
Kalskag, Lr.	4	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Kalskag, Upr.	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Red Devil	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Sleetmute	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0
Stony River	4	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
between villages	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
expected (1)		23(2)		0.4(2)		4.3(2)		5.5(2)		5.4(2)		3.9(2)

(1) period total x weekend days/total days in period (0.42 = 90/214)
(2) monthly total x weekend days/total days in month

SOURCE: Table A.1

1.2.4 Type of incident

Table 1.14 shows that, of 19 types of incidents, five account for 60 percent: assault and battery (#5); posession of a firearm while intoxicated (#12); furnishing liquor to a minor (#13); disorderly conduct (#11); burglary in a dwelling (#2). Alcohol-related incidents occur in each type except one: child stealing. They account for all incidents in 13 of the 19 types. Crimes of violence, or potential violence, manslaughter, assault with a deadly weapon, assault and battery, and posession of a firearm while intoxicated account for 37% of all incidents. These are 100% alcohol-related, as is disorderly conduct.

Comparing villages, there is no apparent pattern of incident by type (except that assaults form one-third of the incidents in Crooked Creek, and posession of a firearm while intoxicated accounts for one-half the incidents in Sleetmute). This is because of the large number of types, and the small number of incidents: excepting Aniak and Crooked Creek, the average number of total incidents per village is three. With them, i.e. for all villages combined excluding the three between-village incidents, the average is 6.5 total incidents per village.

Of the 55 total incidents, 23 (42%) led to charges. The difference has three reasons: charges were later dropped (usually by the complainant); the Constable judged that the evidence was insufficient to justify charges, or that the incident was too trivial to justify charges; charges are inappropriate (accidental death). However, of the 23 incidents that led to charges, 21 (91 percent) resulted in a sentence. The low proportion charged and the high proportion (of charged) sentenced are related: the Constable has eight years' experience in this work in Aniak, and four elsewhere in rural Alaska prior to that. His role is critical. In practice, he is more likely to press charges on a repeat offense than on a first offense. (Table 1.14 shows that only seven repeat offenses did not lead to charges: disorderly conduct (2); furnishing liquor to a minor (4); minor consuming alcohol (1)). He will press charges when a complainant wishes to have the incident acted on, but is reluctant to press charges because of the possible repercussions in the village. And, of course, he will press charges independently of a complainant's wishes, when in his view the incident justifies that step. Included in this justification is the probability (or otherwise) of a sentence: to charge on flimsy grounds hampers one's effectiveness both in the villages and with the judiciary.

The high proportion of repeat offenses to total (60 percent, 31/52 excluding the three accidental deaths) shows that there is a recurring pattern of behavior on the part of many instigators, and that corrective measures are, by and large, ineffective. These two phenomena --recurrence and ineffectiveness-- indicate the need for ad hoc enquiry. Who in particular repeats? What corrective measures (i.e. sentences) are meted out? Which (if any) work, and which do not?

Table 1.14 Type of incident by village (disposition; alcohol-related)

	Village								
	Aniak	Chuathbaluk	Crooked Creek	Kalskag Lower	Kalskag Upper	Red Devil	Sleetmute	Stony River	between villages
Total	19	2	15	4	1	1	6	4	3
1. manslaughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
2. burglary in a dwelling	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
3. burglary not in a dwelling	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. assault with a dangerous weapon	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. assault and battery	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	3	-
6. child stealing	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
7. operation of a motor vehicle while intoxicated	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. driving/taking watercraft without owners consent	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. unauthorized entry	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. bootlegging	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. disorderly conduct	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
12. posession of a firearm while intoxicated	1	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-
13. furnishing liquor to a minor	4	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
14. minor consuming alcohol	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
15. joyriding	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
16. runaway	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
17. accidental death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
18. minor mishap	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. public assistance	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

n. ap. = not applicable
(1) percentages may not add because of rounding

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.14 Type of incident by village (disposition; alcohol-related) - continued

	Incidents					
	total number	number with prior like offense	number charged	number sentenced	number alcohol-related	total (percent)
Total	55	31	23	21	46	100.0 (1)
1. manslaughter	1	1	1	0	1	2.0
2. burglary in a dwelling	4	3	1	1	2	7.0
3. burglary not in a dwelling	1	1	1	1	1	2.0
4. assault with a dangerous weapon	2	0	1	1	2	4.0
5. assault and battery	10	7	5	4	10	18.0
6. child stealing	1	1	0	0	0	2.0
7. operation of a motor vehicle while intoxicated	1	1	1	1	1	2.0
8. driving/taking watercraft without owners consent	2	0	1	1	1	4.0
9. unauthorized entry	2	0	0	0	1	4.0
10. bootlegging	1	1	1	1	1	2.0
11. disorderly conduct	5	3	1	1	5	9.0
12. possession of a firearm while intoxicated	7	3	5	5	7	13.0
13. furnishing liquor to a minor	7	7	3	3	7	13.0
14. minor consuming alcohol	1	1	0	0	1	2.0
15. joyriding	3	2	2	2	1	5.0
16. runaway	1	0	0	0	1	2.0
17. accidental death	3	n. ap.	n. ap.	n. ap.	1	5.0
18. minor mishap	2	0	0	0	2	4.0
19. public assistance	1	0	0	0	1	2.0

n. ap. = not applicable
(1) percentages may not add because of rounding

SOURCE: Table A.1

1.3 COMPARISON WITH OTHER AREAS

The study by Kelso (op. cit.) shows (Table III.C) that, of the 1,227 offenses handled by the Nome Police Department in 1978, 1,059 (86%) involved intoxicated persons. This is higher than the study area, where the 84% of total incidents that were alcohol-related includes cases where people were not intoxicated. Still, both percentages support the generally-held view that alcohol and law-enforcement incidents in rural Alaska are usually related.

Table 1.15 shows that the study area has an incidence of offenses higher than the United States for seven of the nine types of offenses where comparison appears to be possible. (The nine types of the table, as defined in the U.S. source, appear to correspond to 13 of the 19 types distinguished in this study). In one case, manslaughter, the incidence in the study area is almost 10 times that of the U.S. That is, if the incidence in the study area, (only one incident), were applied to the U.S., the number of murders and non-negligent manslaughters would have been 165,600 rather than the 19,000 reported.

The only type where the incidence in the study area is less than that of the U.S. is driving while intoxicated. This is because there are few vehicles in the study area.

The general conclusion -- that the number of offenses in the study area is high compared to the U.S. as a whole -- is subject to three qualifications. However, they do not change the conclusion. First, offenses in the study area include incidents that did not lead to charges, whereas the U.S. data is based on arrests only. Thus, the U.S. data is underreported. Second, and offsetting this to some extent, is the fact that the study area data is for a six-month period, whereas that for the U.S. is for twelve months. Third, two different time-periods are being compared: 1979 (study area); 1978 (U.S.).

Table 1.15 Incidence of offenses (rate per 1,000 people): study area and the U.S.

offense	study area six months 1979	U.S. 1978
murder & non-negligent manslaughter	0.8 (1)	0.09
burglary	3.9 (2,3)	2.4
motor vehicle theft	1.6 (8)	0.7
(non-aggravated) assault	9.4 (4,5)	2.2
weapons (carrying, etc.)	5.5 (12)	0.7
driving while intoxicated	0.8 (7)	5.8
liquor laws	7.0 (10,13,14)	1.7
disorderly conduct	3.9 (11)	3.3
runaways (juveniles)	0.8 (16)	0.8

numbers thus ( ): type of incident from Table 1.14

SOURCE: study area - tables 1.5 and 1.14 (calculated from)
U.S. - U.S.Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1979. Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, D.C. (calculated from Table No. 311, p.186)

APPENDIX

Table A.1 Incident and instigator

		type	village (1)	date (2)	alcohol-related (3)	ethnicity (4)	sex (5)	age group (6)	prior like offense (7)	charged (8)	sent-enced (9)
	1.	manslaughter	SR	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	ns
	2.	burglary in a dwelling	A	Ju	na	nn	m	j	p	c	s
	3.		A	Au	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	4.		C	Ju	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	5.		S	O	a	n	m	j	p	nc	ns
excluded	6.		b.v.	Jl-w	a	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
	7.	burglary not in a dwelling	A	M-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
excluded	8.		A	Au	a	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
excluded	9.	larceny of money or property	CC	Au	na	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
excluded	10.		S	Se	uk	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
	11.	assault with a dangerous weapon	CC	Au-w	a	n	m	j	np	c	s
	12.		CC	Au-w	a	n	m	j	np	nc	ns
	13.	assault & battery	A	M-w	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	14.		A	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	15.		C	Au	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	16.		CC	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	17.		CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	18.		CC	Se-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	19.		S	Jl	a	nn	m	ad	p	c	ns
	20.		SR	M	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	21.		SR	Se	na	nn	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	22.		SR	Se	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	23.	child stealing	KL	Ap-w	na	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
	24.	operation of motor vehicle while intoxicated	A	M	a	nn	m	ad	p	c	s

Table A.1 (continued)

25. driving/taking water-craft without owner's permission	A	Ju-w	na	nn	m	j	np	c	s
26.	CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
27. unauthorized entry	A	Jl-w	na	n	m	j	np	nc	ns
28.	CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
29. bootlegging	A	M	a	nn	m	ad	p	c	s
30. disorderly conduct	A	Ju-w	a	n	n	ad	p	c	s
31.	A	Ju	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
32.	A	Se	a	n	f	ad	p	nc	ns
33.	CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
34.	KU	M-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
35. possession of fire-arms while intoxicated	A	Jl	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
36.	KL	M	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
37.	KL	Au	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
38.	S	Jl	a	n	m	j	np	c	s
39.	S	Au	a	nn	m	ad	p	nc	ns
40.	S	Au	a	nn	m	ad	p	c	s
41.	CC	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
42. furnishing liquor to a minor	A	M-w	a	n	f	j	p	nc	ns
43.	A	M-w	a	n	f	j	p	nc	ns
44.	A	M	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
45.	A	Jl--	a	n	m	j	p	c	s
46.	CC	M-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
47.	CC	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
48.	S	Jl	a	nn	m	ad	p	nc	ns
49. minor consuming alcohol	CC	Au	a	n	f	j	p	nc	ns
50. joyriding	A	Ju-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
51.	A	Ju-w	na	nn	m	j	p	c	s
52.	KL	Ju	na	n	m	j	p	c	s
53. runaway	RD	Au	a	n	f	j	np	nc	ns

Table A.1 (end)

	54. accidental death	b.v.	Se-w	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	55.	b.v.	Se	na	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	56.	b.v.	O	na	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
excluded	57. death from natural causes	A	Se	na	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
excluded	58.	A	O	na	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
excluded	59.	S	M	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
excluded	60.	S	O	na	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	61. minor mishap	CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	62.	CC	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	63. public assistance	CC	Au	a	n	f	ad	np	nc	ns

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n.ap. = not applicable; uk = unknown

(1) A=Aniak; C=Chuathbaluk; CC=Crooked Creek; KL= Kalskag Lr.; KU=Kalskag Upr.
RD= Red Devil; S=Sleetmute; SR=Stony River; b.v.= between villages
(2)Ap=April; Au=August; M=May; Ju=June; Jl=July; Se=September;O=October; w=weekend
(3) a=alcohol-related; na=not alcohol-related
(4) n=native; nn=non native
(5) f=female; m=male
(6) ad=adult; j=juvenile
(7) np=no prior like offense; p=prior like offense
(8) c=charged; nc=not charged
(9) ns=not sentenced; s=sentenced

SOURCE: State Trooper's reports (see blank this Appendix)

DATE_____ PLACE_____

CASE TITLE

DETAILS (if needed to clarify)

ALCOHOL INVOLVED YES_____ NO_____

AGE OF PERSON COMMITTING OFFENSE_____ SEX M_____ F_____

IS THIS PERSON KNOWN TO HAVE COMMITTED PRIOR RELATED OFFENSES? YES___ NO___

DISPOSITION

Formally charged: yes___ no___

plea: guilty___ not guilty____ nolo____

conviction: yes___ (give details)

no____

sentence:

comments:

AFTERWORD

In working with such small numbers it is easy to make generalizations too broad to be justified by those numbers. Further, while numbers reveal patterns of what is, they do not give reasons. The jump from what is to why is a jump from fact to speculation. None the less, such speculation is important. The following pages represent such a jump. Each major statistical conclusion is discussed and a number of explanatory factors are explored. The basis for the explanations are personal observations and conversations with local residents.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the statistical findings, a few general statements are in order. First, in looking at the incident rates, it is important to keep in mind that these rates are computed based on the entire population. In this area, 59% of the population is under fifteen. (1) Thus, the incident rate for the adult population is more than double the figure reported here.

Second, most incidents probably go unreported and this is particularly true of incidents of domestic violence. The actual rate of incidents involving violence is probably much higher than here reported. Contributing to this under-reporting is the fact that many of the KNA villages are very remote. Transportation and communications are often slow and undependable. A village radio doesn't work. The weather is too bad for flying. The trooper arrives long after the incident is over, when, in the case of violence, everybody has calmed down. When such situations are common, notifying the trooper comes to seem less important. Conversely, with the trooper living in Aniak, a greater proportion of the incidents occuring there are likely to come to his attention. This may in part account for Aniak's relatively high incidence rate.

The incidents recorded are those in which the trooper (constable) based in Aniak was notified. Many incidents, particularly minor ones, are handled entirely by the village police or/and village councils. As noted earlier, in the case of Lime Village the trooper was not called at all during the study period. This does not necessarily mean that no law enforcement incidents occured in Lime Village during that period, but that any incidents that took place were handled within the village. In several villages strong councils seem to play a role in reducing the number of times the trooper is called, and perhaps, though we cannot know this, the actual numbers of incidents. Lower Kalskag and Chuathbaluk have relatively strong councils and are also relatively religious villages.

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(1) Multiple Resource Planning and Service Study. op.cit.

1. In the KNA area, 84% of all law enforcement incidents during the time period of this study were alcohol-related. 100% of the violent or potentially violent incidents were alcohol-related.

Alcohol seems to play a much bigger role in in contributing to crime, particularly violent crime, in the KNA area than in State of Alaska as a whole, however, because of the varying ways in which law enforcement data is collected, comparison is difficult. Categories differ and the involvement of alcohol is frequently not indicated except where the consumption of alcohol is the reason the act was a crime ie. operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated. One study indicated that 64% of the homicides; 34% of the rapes; 41% of the aggressive assaults in Alaska between 1973 and 1975 were related to alcohol. However, these crimes plus the crimes of robbery accounted for only 4% of all arrests. Alcohol-related misdemeanors accounted for 39% of all arrests in Alaska for that period. (1)

2. In general, there is a positive relationship between the size of the village and the number of incidents reported. As a result the incident rates are about the same across villages. Where this is not so, the explanation appears to be that there are individual non-Natives prone to instigate incidents (Sleetmute; Stony River); or that the village is less homogeneous - more mixed ethnically - (Aniak; Crooked Creek).

As regards the former, the presence in each of those villages of one non-Native seems to account for the exceptional incidence rate. In one of the villages, the person himself is a chronic offender with a serious alcohol problem and a history of violent acts. Though he has been arrested numerous times, the courts have failed to sentence him for any but very short periods of time. This is a situation that the villagers and the constable find extremely frustrating, feeling that the village would be a better place without this particular person. In the other village, much of the Native population strongly resents the presence of one non-Native person, partly because of his manner of relating to the people, partly because of an on-going dispute over land title. Though this man is rarely the instigator, in the sense the term is used in this report, his presence and manner does seem to play a part in most of the incidents in the village during the time period of this study.

It is common belief that Alaska, as the "last frontier" attracts some persons who do not fit comfortably in more "civilized" parts of the country. Some of these are persons who have difficulty getting along with other people and who settle in the more remote parts of Alaska because of difficulties elsewhere. In both of the cases just mentioned we seem to have examples of what happens when this kind of person settles in a small, predominantly Native village. The social problems created by this kind of situation, as the numbers indicate are a major factor in some villages.

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(1) Working Papers: Descriptive Analysis of the Impact of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse in Alaska; Volume IV. 1975

As regards the latter, In Aniak the ethnicity explanation is convincing In and of itself, this factor has little explanatory power but what it points to is the dual (and contrasting) economy most evident in a mixed village: cash and subsistence. Most of the non-Natives living in Aniak are fully employed, in many cases at substantial salaries. It is here that the contrast between the relatively affluent lifestyle of the non-Native and the relatively impoverished, (at least in terms of such things as housing possessions, freedom to travel), lifestyle of the Natives is most apparent. Higher paying jobs tend to go to non-Natives. During the summer construction boom non-Native labor is often imported while local persons go without work. Such situations create stress and resentment and may, though this is certainly beyond what the numbers can tell us, contribute to Aniak's incident rate.

On the other hand, affluence is a two-edged sword. There are numbers of Natives in Aniak who do work regularly and the presence of cash in the increased ability to purchase alcohol may also be a contributing factor. Whether the instigators in Aniak are among the employed, unemployed or seasonally employed is a factor worth investigating further. Seasonal or sporadic employment, where people receive relatively large sums of money on an irregular basis has been hypothesized as a factor contributing to alcohol abuse. The timing of alcohol related incidents in relationship to seasonal employment is also worth examining further.

The ethnicity explanation alone is not convincing for Crooked Creek. Based on observation and conversations with local persons, the non-Natives are either teachers and not integrated with the social life of the village to any extent, or actually live some miles outside the village and, again, are not a part of daily village life. That is, although statistically the village is more mixed ethnically than the others (except Aniak), in practice it is not. I believe that other variables, ease of access to alcohol and ease of communication with the law enforcement officer in Aniak, may also be part of the explanation. Thus the relatively high incident rate in Crooked Creek may be accounted for by the fact that it has a village policeman, a telephone which is usually in working order, and it is close (18 miles) to Red Devil which has the only retail liquor outlet in the area.

Given the link between alcohol abuse and incidents, the most obvious explanatory variable is ease of access to alcohol. As mentioned earlier, much of the alcohol available in Aniak comes directly from Anchorage via the regular four day a week jet service. The other villages purchase most of their alcohol from the package store in Red Devil, which itself is essentially a non-Native village. The village closest to Red Devil, 8 miles by the river, is Sleetmute and while apparently not having a particularly high rate of incidence among Natives, it is, based on observation and conversation, most severly plagued by problems of alcohol abuse. It is the only village where numbers of persons display symptoms of c' :onic alcoholism. The fact that this is not reflected in the incidence rates shown in this study may be accounted for by the fact that Sleetmute has not had a village policeman for some time and that telephone service has bee extremely erratic. Incidents that would

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result in a call to the trooper in other villages often go unreported, and, because so much of the village drinks at the same time, even unnoticed. Crooked Creek is the next closest village to Red Devil, and we have already noted its high incident rate, noting also that it has a village policeman and a working telephone. This suggests that Crooked Creek may not actually have a higher incident rate than Sleetmute, but rather that the incidents that occur are reported at a higher rate. Observation tends to bear this out.(This factor of reporting or not reporting incidents will be discussed further.) As the map on page 2 indicates, the other villages lie at greater distances from Red Devil and, again based chiefly on observation, there is less drinking in those villages. Less drinking here means that episodic drinking occurs less frequently and involves fewer people.

3. Adult male Natives have the highest rate of incidence (are instigators) of any group.

4. For the time period of this study, all incidents instigated by women were alcohol-related

5. 64% of the incidents involving juveniles were alcohol-related. All of these involved Native instigators.

From observation and discussion, young people start to drink at a particularly early age (9 - 10) in the villages where drinking is in general the heaviest (particularly Sleetmute). Adults in all villages see alcohol consumption by minors as a serious problem.

6. The incident rate is highest in the summer months.

This corresponds with many people's observation that alcohol consumption is greatest in the summer months and lowest during the winter. During a workshop discussion of alcohol abuse, Native participants all agreed that drinking peaks during the summer and attributed this in part to an awareness of the risks of freezing to death while drunk in the winter. A local teacher commented that the long hours of daylight seem to contribute to the summer drinking; that the days just run together and when people start drinking they seem to lose track of the passing time and stay drunk as long as the alcohol lasts, two days, three days, a week, as drunk at 8 in the morning at at midnight.

Another factor likely to contribute to the apparently greater alcohol consumption in the summer is that more people are employed then. More cash is available. In many of the villages firefighting is a major summer activity and the pattern of two weeks off fighting fires and then back in the village with lots of cash and little to do may also be a contributing factor.

7. 60% of the incidents were instigated by other than first-time offenders.

While the study concluded (Section 1.2.4) that this showed that corrective measures are ineffective, it may be explained by the fact that villagers tend not to notify the constable about an incident involving a first-time instigator: except for major offenses, first-time instigators are usually handled by the village council or police. Whatever the explanation, the number suggests the presence (in the reported incidents) of chronic instigators and, by implication, their disruptive role. From

reports of residents, the violent character of one of the villages changed dramatically when tow or three young men were removed from the village by the courts.

8. 42% of the incidents reported lead to charges. 91% of those charged received some sentence.

This has been discussed earlier (Section 1.2.4). The explanation offered for both numbers revolves around the role of the constable. Discretion and hard work on his part seems likely to account for the high proportion of those charged to those sentenced.

The issue of the relationship between incidents, filing of charges and sentences justifies extensive analysis not possible in this study: the attitudes of the village residents toward the way in which the system of justice works (or not); their own system; why most of the instigators charged are sentenced yet most of the incidents are repeat offenses. Generally, there seems to be dissatisfaction with the justice system among many of the people in the KNA area, a sense that offenders do not receive adequate punishment, ie. are returned to the village too soon.

In his 1979 study of village justice, Dr. John Angell (1) talks about this dissatisfaction as occurring widely in bush Alaska, and views its source as a misblending of the traditional Native and modern White justice systems. Traditionally,

> "initial acts of community-damaging misbehavior were reportedly handled by serious discussions between elders of the community and the wayward person. Several such discussions - or warnings - preceded any overt action against such a person. People were tolerated until their cummulative behavior became a basis for direct action. When the day of reckoning was reached, action was taken. In such cases the person might be banished from the community." (p. 29)

In the KNA villages this traditional approach is apparent in the village ordinances (developed by the councils) of many of the villages, ordinance which for minor offenses follow a pattern of warnings, then a fine, and lastly, calling the trooper. (For some serious offenses the trooper is called the first time.) Thus, in many cases, from the perspective of the village by the time the trooper is called he is being asked to deal with a chronic offender and it is the villagers expectation that the trooper will serve as the "agent of banishment", removing the problem person from the village for a substantial period of time. However, from the justice system's point of view, this is a first-time offender, likely to be treated leniently and quickly released either pending trial or if sentenced, on probation. As Angell explains,

> "Such a tradition of offender removal may account for the expressed desire for harsher punishment for offenders by many village officials interviewed during this survey. It may not be longer sentences they seek, but the elimination of the court practice of immediately releasing an accused

(1) Angell, John E. 1979. Alaska Village Justice: An Exploratory Study. Criminal Justice Center, University of Alaska; Anchorage, Ak.

> who stands convicted in his community, and allowing him to immediately return to the village. .....The offender's peers may have given him several opportunities to modify his behavior and therefore they expect the police to keep him out of their community." (p.31)

This attitude, which Angell describes as prevalent in the bush in general, is certainly present in the KNA villages. On discussing this with the local constable, he pointed out that the low reported incidence rate in at least one of the villages (Upper Kalskag) reflects their feeling that it just doesn't pay to call the trooper more than it does the actual incident rate in the village. Further, the constable, who has lived and worked in the KNA area for some years, has come to share this frustration with the justice system and said that this feeling played a part in his recent decision to resign. His resignation is a mojor loss to the community. Pete Brown did his job with rare sensitivity and caring.

9. The study area has an incident rate higher than that of the United States as a whole; for crimes of violence, than than for the State of Alaska.

In addition (as noted) most of the incidents and all of the violent incidents are alcohol-related in the study area. In comparing U.S., Alaskan and study area rates, we need note that for the first two we have only arrest rates, while for the study area we have incident rates. Incidents exceed arrests, and for the purposes of this study provide a more complete picture of law-breaking events. For the study area, crimes of violence (manslaughter; assault with a dangerous weapon; assault and battery) accounted for 22% of the incidents reported(1). For Alaska, crimes of violence (specifically homicide, rape and aggressive assault plus the crimes of robbery accounted for only 4% of arrests over the period 1973-1975.(2) the difference means that violent incidents must be a much higher proportion of total incidents in the study area than in Alaska (unless we adopt the unreasonable assumption that in Alaska violent incidents are much less likely to lead to arrests than are non-violent incidents).

Table 1.3 compares the study area and the U.S.

Residents of the area typically are surprised to learn that the incidence is higher here than in the U.S. They perceive the region as safer, but it is not. What seems to be the case is that alcohol-related fighting, within families, among friends, is so commonplace as to be taken for granted. Almost everyone is related to someone or has friends who have been involved in alcohol-related incidents. In their very pervasiveness and in the fact that victim and aggressor usually know each other, they seem to have lost their power to shock, in the sense that the random violence of New York City (as portrayed on television for instance) shocks.

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(1) Table 1.2.4 page 27

(2) op.cit. page A 2

A local non-Native discussing a Native woman who recently left her husband said, "I'm surprised she left him. I haven't seen her bruised up near so often as some of the other women in town."

Violent acts committed by people who are drunk seem in the minds of many to be categorically different from such acts committed soberly. It's as if in many ways, they don't count. Drunks are not responsible, and, further, judging from the way people talk about it, a person loses his individual identity when drunk. When John Doe is staggering around the village drunk, swearing, he's no longer John Doe, husband, father, he's simply "a drunk". (Possibly related here is the "reason" many give for getting drunk in the first place - "I'm so self-conscious and shy most of the time, I can't have a good time unless I get drunk.")

This points to two possible approaches that might be taken by persons attempting to reduce alcohol-related violence. The first is to create a greater awareness of the degree to which such violence exists, that the fact that it is violence among families and friends doesn't make it any less violent or destructive. The second is to encourage people to see that a person is responsible for what he does, drunk or sober; that getting drunk doesn't mean that anything that happens thereafter doesn't count.

Related to this second approach is the view that the willingness and ability of a local council to assume a greater role in handling local incidents seems related to a reduction in the numbers of incidents that occur. The statistics reported here do not tell us this alone, but only when coupled with the trooper's perception that a given village is a more peaceful place because it has a strong council. What seems indicated is that a village in which the council and local police take seriously offenses committed by inebriated people and hold such persons responsible for their behavior can reduce the incidence of alcohol-related violence.

From a mental health point of view, violence, particularly family violence, is both an indicator and a cause of stress. While the factors contributing to the stress that leads to violent outbursts may be complex and elusive, the relationship between violence and the stress it causes is clear and direct. The reduction of violence is an important goal of the community mental health program in the KNA area.

It is hoped that this report can be used towards that end. A first step will be sharing the findings with the village and traditional councils. The question of differences between village incident rates will be discussed and factors that contribute to these differences explored. It is hoped that one village can learn from another, that if, as the trooper has suggested, a strong council which is willing to handle minor local offenses reduces the incidence of more serious offenses, more of the councils will be willing to take a stronger role. It also seems important to discuss the discrepancy between villagers' expectations of the justice system and the way in which that system actually operates.

The study also indicates several areas in which additional research is needed. Is it true that a few people in each village, chronic offenders, are responsible for most of the incidents; and, if so, what

can the system do to better rehabilitate these people? Or, on the other hand, are the villages simply quicker to call the trooper if this person is involved than that? Who are the victims of violence and what is their relationship to the aggressors? To what extent can we demonstrate or fail to demonstrate the relationship between episodic drinking and episodic employment?

The study also points out some programmatic steps a community mental health program can take. It indicates, for instance, that drinking and incidents begin to rise in the spring, peak in the summer, decline in the fall. It's commonly observed that cabin fever is at its highest in the spring. Therefore that time, breakup and post breakup, might be a good time to increase the number of community activities and programs. Summer might be the most effective time to run a public awareness alcohol abuse campaign.

Finally, in doing this report we noted the scarcity of village specific data of this kind. Because villages often vary dramatically in character, and have developed different methods of handling village problems, it seems important that more data be collected at this level of specificity. This is additionally important because there is increasing evidence that the more specifically a mental health, drug or alcohol education program can identify attitudes and target behaviors, the more effective that program is likely to be in producing the desired behavior change.(1)

This study has attempted general conclusions based on detailed enquiry. Basic to it was the existence of data collected in a clear, coherent and consistent form. Such reporting for villages elsewhere in rural Alaska would enlarge our small enquiry and thereby improve it.

(1) Goodstadt, Dr. Michael S., Alcohol and Drug Education: Models and Outcomes. Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto, Canada, 1978

ALCOHOL IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

A Descriptive Analysis of NANA Region Conditions and Perceptions

Prepared for Mauneluk Association, Kotzebue, Alaska

Steven L. McNabb

Social Research and Evaluation Services
Social Research Institute

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Steven L. McNabb

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introduction

The Northwest Alaska Alcoholism Project was initiated in response to wide concerns in the NANA region about the scope of local alcohol abuse, factors associated with alcohol abuse, and treatment plans and other resources that might be adapted to the region's needs. No one in the region needed to be convinced that there was a problem; both commonsense and recent research (such as the Regional Strategies survey) indicate overwhelming agreement on this point. There was (and still is) little agreement, however, on the nature of the "problem" in terms of how it is promoted, why it persists, community and social reactions to it, and the feasibility of plans for addressing it. These latter concerns shaped the development of the Project more than anything else. As a result the Project has had a two-pronged focus: basic, primary research was used (along with extensive secondary resources) to achieve service-oriented results. In short, applied research on fresh topics was performed with the aim of developing concrete recommendations, plans and information resources. When I use the term "fresh" I mean only that many of the topics we investigated had never been addressed in the region (and for the most part the State) prior to this study.

Planning for the Project began in October 1979 and preliminary research was formally initiated in January 1980 under Mauneluk Manpower support. Although the Project was geared toward research, it was a training program designed to provide tangible training and educational opportunities for CETA Trainees from the NANA region. Two trainees were recruited to assist with all phases of the research as a practical on-the-job exercise that would both provide development opportunities for the trainees and promote local level participation in the work. The trainees took part in a basic orientation to alcoholism, models of alcoholism treatment, cross-cultural aspects of chemical dependency, and research methods; they received six units of college credit through the University of Alaska for their participation in this orientation and the research exercises that followed. One trainee was stationed in Anchorage, and one in Kotzebue in order for the trainees to follow all elements of the overall Project.

As noted in the first paragraph, the initial concerns of the Project staff and sponsors were fairly general. All of the parties involved were agreed that alcohol abuse had a tremendous impact on individuals, families, and whole communities in the region, and that new solutions were imperative. The form of possible solutions and their implementation, however, was unclear. Presumably current or traditional program designs should be modified, but it was impossible to judge the feasibility of models for replacement or change. Local epidemiologic conditions were unknown. There were indications that treatment methods derived from other societies could shed light on regional or Inupiaq treatment needs in general, but these indications were little more than vague hopes. All shared the opinion based on local observation that Inupiaq perceptions and attitudes relating to alcohol were profoundly different from typical Anglo attitudes, but the ways in which they were different and what these differences meant for treatment were unknowns. As such, it seemed that what was called for was a broad, first hand look at these issues in a manner that would draw out the cultural and social factors that would have a bearing on solutions.

At the time the research began Mauneluk Association administered a small alcoholism treatment program. Although program expansion was anticipated in the future, no one had any clear ideas about when or how this would occur. Midway through the term of the research, however, State funds were made available for a considerably larger program that would eventually provide services of a comprehensive nature ranging from information and referral to residential treatment. In September 1980 the Northwest Alaska Alcoholism Project was transferred to Mauneluk Association and support through the State contract. The focus of the research remained the same, but the need for pragmatic, real program-oriented results became if anything more pressing. Since this time the research staff have maintained a close liaison with Mauneluk program staff in order to discover emerging treatment and service needs and provide appropriate information for these needs.

Because so many of the issues that must be faced in this kind of research are so elusive and nebulous, and because such a project must inevitably deal with a wide range of complex social and cultural variables in an already complex

cross-cultural setting, the Project goals were limited to these three:

GOAL 1: Document the condition of the region and the scope of alcohol-related morbidity.

GOAL 2: Isolate program models, strategies and other factors responsible for successful Native rehabilitation that could feasibly be adapted to the region's needs.

GOAL 3: Document regional perceptions and understandings of alcoholics and alcoholism.

These goals are forthright and perhaps even self-explanatory, and are probably quite similar to goals of alcoholism research projects just about anywhere. The approach we have taken, however, is not traditional. The approach is cross-cultural and anthropological in design. Such an approach suggests that the problem of alcohol abuse and drinking practices as a whole is best investigated in terms of the social groupings, rather than individuals, who demonstrate the drinking behavior. Furthermore, it suggests that the basis itself for "problems", perceptions of them, and reactions to them is not located in individuals with deviant adjustments to society, but in societies with a body of cultural values that shape and interpret such problems. As such, and especially when we are looking at a unique culture removed from the Western mainstream, the really important lessons we need to learn will be found around the world, using techniques responsive to cultural differences and that are sensitive to the integrity of living cultures.

Drinking and drug practices in other cultures are incredibly varied. If the list of different habits and different sorts of problems is so long, is it possible that the list of <u>solutions</u> is long as well? When researchers dealing with problems like alcoholism are doing so in other cultures, it is imperative that a broader cross-cultural perspective be taken in order that all possible options and factors come under scrutiny. It is far too easy to think in terms of the tried-and-true, and dismiss the possibility that the tried-and-true works best only for this group and not that. The rich variety of cross-cultural examples serves to provide us with new examples, new questions, new caution, and new hopes. When investigating a problem as complex and ethnically varied as alcohol abuse, this approach is both

productive and wise.

Alcohol is certainly the world's most popular drug. It is very fast acting, and although it is fairly simple chemically, its effects on the body are widespread and by no means simple. It is found throughout nearly all of the inhabited world, and is a natural substance that can occur through fermentation in hundreds of common products. It has been used as a ritual element, frequently has mystical or magical associations, has been used as a narcotic, an anesthetic, a food, a fixture in social gatherings, a medicine, an aphrodisiac...the list goes on and on. When used in moderate amounts it seldom if ever leads to lasting harm. It is simple to prepare and cheap. Yet, even though alcohol is used in an almost indefinite number of ways, in many kinds of gatherings, in nearly every society on the globe, and for many different purposes, almost universally we find rules in these societies attached to the use of alcohol that do not attach (or at least not to the same extent) to any other beverage or drug. These rules are hardly the sort that refer to traffic offenses or taxation regulations, because people feel strongly about alcohol rules: they are emotional. As we look from culture to culture we find that some rules are lax, some strong, some positive and permissive, others negative and prohibitive. Nearly never, though, are the rules or the emotions associated with them vague or apathetic. Worldwide, people have very definite feelings about drinking (cf. Heath in Everett et al 1973:43).

Even though it is a consistent fact that social rules are associated with drinking, there is little consistency to be found in terms of what the rules say, what kind of drinking is appropriate, who should or should not drink, and what constitutes abuse. These rules and the behavior that goes with them are not individual affairs, they are social conventions. Our attitudes and rules about drinking are only indirectly related to our individual reactions to alcohol; for the most part, our attitudes and habits are learned and shared. This is why a medical or psychological perspective of alcohol use in a society provides only part of the picture. Of course, all these perspectives have a contribution to make in problem-solving research. The cross-cultural and anthropological perspective shares a concern for personality and motivation with psychology; it is more concerned, though, with variations and broader effects within a social

group and less concerned with the individual. Like the sociologist, the anthropologist is interested in larger populations, stereotypes, norms and social attitudes (to name a few topics). However, the anthropologist is typically more interested in what can be learned from a wide range of cultural examples and long term adaptations to physical and social environments and culture contact situations. Because of the nature of alcohol abuse, touching as it does on aspects of our lives ranging from health and physical well-being through family and social interaction, and employment and the economic system, a comprehensive framework designed to reveal these many connections should be used. Considering too that the group of importance here is the Inupiat of Northwest Alaska, the cross-cultural anthropological approach is appropriate.

The following section will discuss the Project methodology and the rationale for the particular activities and exercises employed to do our research. Section three will provide an overview of major theories of alcoholism and the types of evidence that support each. The fourth section will provide a broad cross-cultural summary of drinking practices, alcohol problems, and associated attitudes and other factors representing a sample of global societies. Section five details data on Alaskan alcohol-related conditions, Alaska Native conditions, and in particular conditions in the NANA region. Following this section will be the presentation of research results with discussion. Section seven will cover treatment practices and programs in Alaska, and from selected sites representing other societies. The final section of the report lists and discusses program recommendations. A bibliography and recommended reading list follows the section on recommendations.

2

A variety of methods were used to collect and assemble the data we required in this research. Before discussing these methods, I should explain our basic objectives for data selection. Because the target population of concern, the residents of the NANA region, is for the most part "undocumented" or "unstudied" with respect to alcohol-related conditions, perceptions and attitudes, there was no way to be sure in advance what information or what kinds of data would be irrelevant and what information would be of likely value. We used an informal screening technique based on levels of generality to collect our information from the literature and official documentation. Of greatest generality and least direct impact was information relating to drinking practices and alcohol problems throughout the world at large. Of less generality and somewhat greater impact or possible importance was the information available on drinking and alcoholism among Native peoples or aboriginal populations around the world. Of still greater importance and more specificity was information about Alaska; following that, information about Alaska Natives; and finally, of most importance and least generality was information about the NANA region. As a rule, there was far more available documentation at the more general levels and far less as we moved down to the very specific information regarding the NANA region. This meant that in practical terms we spent proportionally more time with the less general literature and less time with the global-level information. We were more "picky", in short, with the local level data at the expense of a more comprehensive coverage of world-wide problems among many societies. This is in standing, though, with the goals of the Project and seemed the most promising approach in the long run.

These comments refer particularly to the literature and documentation review that comprised the first data collection method. The data review began in January 1980 and absorbed most of our time for the first two months, although the review continued sporadically throughout the term of the Project. A total of 1266 books, articles, hand-outs, official documents and unpublished reports were examined that had a bearing either direct or indirect on drinking habits and chemical abuse.

As most professionals and practitioners could tell you, the available literature on alcoholism and drinking is extremely redundant, unclear on basic definitions (such as "alcoholism"), uneven in quality, and in many cases so highly focused and specialized that it defies application and generalization. Nonetheless there is a good body of information that can be pulled from the literature at large, and a selection of solid resources is provided in the bibliography of this report.

The bibliographies of standard "classics" on alcoholism provided a jumping off point for literature review, and we received considerable assistance from treatment program staff, the University of Alaska Center for Alcohol and Addictions Studies, the Alaska Health Sciences Library, the Public Health Service and many other individuals and agencies in the identification of resources. The document review included an examination of in-house reports from agencies and programs, the professional literature aimed specifically at alcoholism, general works on mental health and social problems, and the literature from the fields of psychology, sociology and anthropology that touched on chemical usage and related issues.

The purpose of this review was three-fold. First, one objective was the preparation of a resource inventory that Maniilaq Association staff could use in program related areas. Much of the culling and selection, therefore, related to the need for a good but limited collection of documents that have already been screened for relevance. Second, the review assisted in the identification of information gaps and areas of adequate coverage that would streamline our research efforts, helping us to avoid issues or questions that have already been addressed and concentrate on problems with a weak pre-existing data base. Third, the review helped us formulate specific questions and operationalize the research through benefit of past mistakes or precedents in the field.

A second method employed in the research focused solely on past alcoholism treatment clients from the NANA region. The literature review, especially the examination of data concerning Alaska, made it clear that there was substantial regional variation in alcohol-related referrals for treatment, consumption, patterns of associated problems, and so on. As such, there was no reason to

expect that the NANA region was a duplicate of other regions in terms of these problems and conditions, or that it would represent a match compared to "Native" or "rural" patterns. The examination of client histories was a first step in assembling a picture of the NANA region at-risk population and is intended, of course, to be generalizable only to that particular group (that is, clients in treatment). Arrangements were made with selected treatment programs for the collection of client histories, assuring the complete anonymity of the clients. A data form was developed that provided biographical information (such as birthplace, age, marital history, residence information, and income) and a brief treatment history detailing referrals, other drug use, types of treatment (i.e. residential, outpatient), admission conditions and treatment plans (see Appendix 1).

Client sampling was not random, and was based on pragmatic considerations that limited our selection of a population. First, no one was sure in the first place where NANA region clients had been in treatment through the years. Certain programs in the State were, by professional observation and recollection, highly utilized by Northern Natives, and so naturally we tried to collect information from these as a first priority. We had little or no knowledge of programs out of the State that traditionally or even sporadically received clients from the region. Furthermore, since the Project had at most three staff and limited resources, a comprehensive search for NANA clients was impossible. The sampling was basically fortuitous and concentrated on collecting complete and exhaustive data from only two programs. Other programs assisted us, but we found that in these other cases they had never had clients from the region. A total of 63 previous NANA region clients were identified, but due to incomplete or confusing records, full information is available on only 29 of these. These data are summarized in Section 5.

Project staff had the opportunity to review the results of the recent evaluation of the "Here's Looking At You" alcoholism prevention curriculum offered in the NANA region, which was sponsored by the Northwest Arctic School District. The evaluation was conducted in Kotzebue and two other NANA region

villages in eight classrooms, representing sixth, ninth and tenth graders. The aim of the evaluation was to appraise the development of performance skills in the areas of coping, decision-making and alcohol information (knowledge retention) that relate to the curriculum objectives. For the purposes of this Project we examined the student responses in three ways. A number of the questions on the evaluation form addressed (1) perceived reasons for drinking or drunkeness, (2) what individuals should do if drinking within the family or immediate group becomes a problem (i.e. how should one react), and (3)perceived or recalled options that one might turn to for help with drinking problems; we examined these responses in order to see if any patterns of response emerged that might distinguish age groups or residence patterns (Kotzebue vs. villages). I should point out that our examination was not a curriculum evaluation; we simply used evaluation data as raw data for another kind of provisional analysis. This provisional analysis suggests that there are some intriguing differences among NANA region youth regarding ideas about whether one should be (1) passive or assertive in reacting to alcohol-related problems, (2) inclined to turn to personal (family, friends) resources versus organizational resources (programs, professionals) for help, and (3) if one typically drinks for the advantages or benefits it provides (ease in social situations, self-medication, etc.), or for sheer recreation. The results are reported in Section 6.

The research plan also provided for a review and documentation of alcoholism and drug abuse treatment programs. The emphasis here was on treatment programs that served Alaska Natives, although at least in terms of the literature review we attempted to document and outline programs around the world that served Native minorities. The aim was strictly programmatic and geared toward Mauneluk Association alcohol treatment needs; given that a program in the region of considerable scale was immanent, the time was ripe to see where the strengths and weaknesses of other programs were in order to benefit from their successes and avoid predictable problems. In addition to this examination of chemical dependency programs, the effort was made to collect information about traditional healing practices and mental health technique in other cultures that have been applied to, or show promise with alcohol abuse problems.

In the documentation of existing treatment programs, our effort was to illustrate a representative range of treatment approaches embodied in a limited number of programs, rather than summarizing the efforts of a large sample of programs irrespective of the specific perspectives they employed. Five programs were examined, four in Alaska and one in Washington. The proportion of Native clientele in these programs ranged from an average of 10% to over 95%. Two of the programs could be characterized as traditional comprehensive treatment programs with services ranging from detoxification and residential treatment to outpatient and information and referral components; the treatment approaches employed in these programs were varied and reflected psychoanalytic, personality, learning, and broader sociological orientations (cf. Section 3, Theories) which are products of individual staff backgrounds and an emphasis on individual client treatment needs. One program was "comprehensive" but lacked detoxification services in-house, and had an approach that relied heavily on the self-help, communal support AA model. Another program employed a very distinct cultural approach that emphasized the spiritual and urban adaptation needs of Native Americans. This program is, however, traditional in many respects and in outward form is a close match to other comprehensive programs with residential and outpatient services, information and referral, criminal justice liaisons, and a distinct AA emphasis; the cultural orientation on the Pan-Indian spiritual needs, however, make this program unique in many ways. The fifth program is a therapeutic community with a "milieu therapy" approach (cf. Section 3, Theories) that is involved chiefly in drug abuse therapy other than alcoholism.

We collected information on (1) program planning and administration patterns, (2) staff development, (3) in-house monitoring, (4) criteria for treatment success, (5) indicators of local community acceptance, (6) client population demographics, (7) treatment plan development strategies, (8) methods and counseling techniques, and (9) program philosophy. Details are reported in Section 7. Information was collected through interviews with administrative and treatment staff on numerous occasions; in no case did we rely on a "one shot" visit and tried in all cases to meet with staff in a variety of private and group settings and in a variety of contexts in order to achieve a sense of what

the day to day operation of the program consisted of. In addition, large blocks of time were spent in basic ethnographic observation of program activities without any emphasis whatsoever on interviews and obtrusive "fact gathering". The number of visits to programs ranged from a low of three to a high of thirty-nine; the numbers of actual hours spent in observation ranged from a total of eleven to a maximum of seventy-eight. The trainees who assisted with the research spent far more time on-site at programs, time that was devoted not exclusively to observation for program documentation purposes. The trainees were interns who, in return for basic training and orientation to the "nuts and bolts" of program work, offered their services to the programs ranging from clerical duties to record preparation and intake assistance. The trainees spent up to 450 hours on-site in this capacity. As such we think we have gained much more than a merely "subjective feel" for program operations.

Five techniques were used in our effort to document and analyze NANA residents' perceptions and attitudes about drinking and alcohol abuse and the factors that may contribute to or shape these perceptions and attitudes. Because some of the techniques we used are not traditionally employed in alcoholism research, it is important to spend some time explaining the reasons we used the methods and general design that is outlined here. First I will summarize the actual methods and survey tools we used. Following this will be a discussion of the rationale and background for our approach.

Because we were concerned not only with the NANA residents in the region but also with NANA residents who were living, permanantly or temporarily, in urban centers, one component of the research involved the identification of NANA residents in Anchorage and the collection of information on their histories, background, and perceptions about drinking. Anchorage was selected because it was the base for the research effort (two of the three staff were located there) and a substantial number of Inupiat from the NANA region were present. We were also concerned about the "at risk" population in Anchorage who were transient and may have had personal experience in alcoholism treatment programs. In order to collect the information we needed our efforts centered on identifying and making

contact with residents of the region in the downtown Anchorage area who in stereotypic terms made up the "4th Avenue crowd". One trainee, and on occasion both the trainee and the principal investigator, worked out of a downtown transients' drop-in center that provided hot meals, some recreation activities, and limited referral services. Because this site quickly proved to be the most productive single location for meeting transients from the NANA region, our efforts concentrated almost exclusively on developing contacts and networks of acquaintances from this base. Both research staff donated time on a volunteer basis, cooking and cleaning up, in the effort to become conspicuously visible. Informal techniques were used to make contact with residents and learn of the presence of other NANA residents; the research trainee, himself from the NANA region, was an obvious and valuable resource for identifying these persons. Our research objectives and information needs were explained to these persons once we were acquainted and some rapport was developed, and volunteers were asked to take part in a short survey.

This survey, developed especially for this population, consisted of a standard statement of confidentiality, background and drinking history questions adapted from the NIAAA intake form, a number of new questions developed on the basis of known predisposing and alcoholism risk factors, and a variety of insight and judgement questions designed to probe basic attitudes about drinking and drunkeness. This latter group of questions tapped opinions and perceptions; examples are:

When a person is drunk, what they say and do is really more honest, and more like they really feel. (What is your opinion on that?)

I hate to admit it, but when people are drunk they really do have more fun with their friends. (How do you feel about this?)

What is the number one way to tell if a person is an alcoholic?

Many of the questions were obviously leading, but that fact was explicitly recognized and in fact built into the design.

These questionnaires were extremely difficult to administer, given the

fact that the respondents were in a vulnerable position, information was requested on drinking histories of both themselves and their families, and many were intoxicated at the time of the interview. Obviously these factors weigh heavily on the interpretation of results. Nonetheless, after incomplete interviews were culled and the remaining interviews were examined, there is no doubt in my mind that there was little deception or exaggeration. The interviews in which such problems arose, or where cooperation flagged after troublesome questions were voiced, were simply never completed.

Only twelve interviews were completed, and so any generalizations from the data must be extremely cautious. A copy of the interview is provided in Appendix 2. The aim of this research component was primarily descriptive, and a limited number of z-tests of significant differences were performed comparing sub-groups distinguished by self-reported drinking problems, self-reported attempts to stop drinking, and age of first intoxication. The data and results are summarized in Section 6.

The remaining methods were used only in the NANA region. In addition to a background questionnaire (essentially the same as the one described above but lacking questions referring to risk factors and current family drinking habits), three types of instruments were used. First, a life change index or stress scale was administered. This index, adapted from both the Rahe and Dohrenwend lists and including a number of new categories that we suspected might prove productive in rural Alaskan settings, is designed to provide a self-report of recent or anticipated life changes that, in theory, give us a rough cumulative indicator of personal stress. Total numbers of life change events were tallied for each individual responding to the interviews, and these measures were in turn compared to other interview data relating to background factors and survey response categories that distinguished definite sub-groups of the overall population (such as treatment clients vs. volunteers, reported drinking problems vs. no reported problems, and so on). No effort was made to scale or weigh the types of events that people indicated, but rather a simple total was used; as Rahe (1979:4) points out, there is no convincing evidence that indicates that differential weighting of events is relevant to inferences about overall stress.

In addition to the life change index and the background questionnaire adapted from the NIAAA intake form, one or both of the following questionnaires were administered. First, there is what we have termed an "interpersonal inventory" that was designed to tap perceptions about the kinds of interpersonal relations drunks typically engage in. Second, we developed and administered a "conditions and consequences" inventory that documented perceptions about how a drinking problem is recognized, why people drink to excess, the personal qualities that drunks normally have, and factors that encourage sobriety.

For the interpersonal inventory three categories or dimensions of relationships were selected: equivalence, subordination, and superordination. Nine terms were selected that correspond to these kinds of relations, and the survey questions used these terms in simple verbal constructions in a multiple-choice format. The multiple-choice responses were categories of people, ten in all, that were either based on kinship, ethnicity, or non-kin formal or informal relationships. In simple terms, this means that we developed verbal terms that correspond to the dimensions noted above; examples would be "help" or "understand" (equivalence), "judge" or "order" (superordination), "obey" or "depend on" (subordination). These terms referred to drunks and their relations to other people; the object of the interview question is to link up the proposition (i.e. "...drunks usually help...") with the types of persons with which that relationship is appropriate or typical. The respondent lists the persons or groups (for instance, "friends", "bosses", as non-kin persons, "families", "fathers and mothers", as kin categories, "Inupiat", "whites" as ethnic groups) that appear sensible given the key predicate or term that corresponds to one of the three dimensions of relationships. This may appear a bit confusing because it is a bit unorthodox on the surface, but all it amounts to is an exercise in which a person lists the types of people that are normally in a particular kind of relation with drunks. A total of 18 questions were employed; nine using each of the terms referring to what drunks do, and nine more that turn the tables and refer to what people do with respect to drunks (i.e. "Who do drunks usually help? Who usually helps drunks?").

Three different sequences of questions were tested to see if the order

of the questions predisposed particular patterns of response. One sequence ordered all the same terms together (that is, "help" in both senses, drunks to others and others to drunks, were sequential); another placed all terms corresponding to single dimensions (like equivalence) together; the final sequence was a random ordering. No differences in response were identified on the basis of sequencing.

Instead of following the traditional questionnaire format of including the multiple-choice options alongside the questions, we placed the questions on one sheet and printed small paper slips with the responses that, upon a reading of the question, would be handed to the respondent. Previous experience in rural Alaska suggested that cooperation and boredom were crucial factors that needed to be addressed during the design of the interview format. The method we developed kept a constant flow of paper moving during the interview that we hoped would combat boredom. This method was successful, and we had very few operational problems with the questionnaires.

The conditions and consequences inventory consisted of sentence-completion questions that allowed respondents to select "appropriate" or typical reasons for drinking, factors that promoted sobriety, qualities of drunks, and ways of recognizing drinking problems. Seven questions were employed of the form:

Usually, a person will have a drink or two if they ...

A person may really have a drinking problem if they ...

A variety of answers was developed on the basis of many discussions with regional residents and local professional staff. The attempt was made to make provision for responses that reflected as many divergent possibilities as was feasible. Answers corresponding to socialization (i.e. as a reason for drinking), depression, anxiety, interpersonal factors, custom, self-medication and so on were included. Two sets of responses were developed, corresponding to two types of questions; one set of questions stressed <u>reasons</u> for behavior (as is evident in the two examples above), and the other set stressed <u>qualities</u>

of persons. Questions of the second type would be, for instance:

Normally a drunk is...

To kick the habit, drinkers have to see that they are...

Answers for the second set include "happy", "helpless", "scary", "selfish", "worried", "pretty normal", and "powerful". Answers for the first set which emphasize reasons include "are angry", "want respect from others", "are trying to have fun", "want to relax", and "are lonely". Four of the seven questions represent the first set, and three the second.

The paper slip format was used for the conditions and consequences inventory as well. Two sequences of questions were evaluated in order to see if order affected response patterns. One sequence grouped type one questions and type two questions separately; the second sequence placed them in random order. No differences in response patterns were evident.

Respondents could list as many appropriate responses as they wished for each of the inventories, but the individual's inventory was discarded and not used for analysis if more than 25% of the questions had all possible responses listed or if more than 25% of them had none. This was an arbitrary choice but one that seemed wise under the circumstances. Once the responses had been culled we had a total of 28 completed inventories of each type. All of these inventories were administered by the research trainee in the NANA region, based in Kotzebue. Sampling was fortuitous for volunteers and exhaustive and complete for newly admitted Mauneluk Association alcoholism program clients; 17 of the respondents were clients, and 11 were volunteers for each inventory.

A wide variety of cross-tabulations and comparisons were developed using these interview data, using sub-groups distinguished by age, sex, residence pattern, employment, subsistence use, education, involvement in the criminal justice system, marital status, family drinking history, recent

life changes, and a variety of other factors. Chi-square tests of association were performed in order to identify differences between these sub-groups in terms of attitudes and perspectives revealed in the inventories. Additional details concerning methods of analysis and a full discussion of results and analysis are reported in Section 6. Appendices 3 and 4 include the inventories and a copy of the life change index.

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Earlier I indicated that I would discuss the methods first and later outline the rationale for going about the research as we did (see page 11). I suspect that some people may find the methods somewhat unusual. If we wanted to find out what people thought about drinking, why didn't we just ask them "What do you think about drinking?"? Or, if we needed to learn about people's attitudes about drunks, why not simply ask "What are your attitudes about drunks?"? As a matter of fact, such questions may seem straightforward, but they are far more problematic and less likely to reveal solid information than any of the questions we asked.

Given the observations made earlier about the immense variety of drinking practices around the world, about the intricate and culturally specific ideas and assumptions about drunken responsibility, "right" and "wrong" drinking, and correct and incorrect behavior, it should be apparent that we must step into this sort of research with as few presuppositions as we can manage and still get the work done. There is nothing "self-evident" about habits in a different culture; the only reason any habits at all seem self-evident to us is because they are habits we are familiar with. The point is, straightforward questions like the ones noted above are not self-evident. It is important in research in different cultures to chose methods that assume little about the people but instead leave a lot of latitude for discovery and the unexpected. We must always guard against the possibility of allowing one belief system (like Western science) to predetermine what we see in another belief system; this other belief system is the system of perceptions and attitudes unique to the Inupiat that makes up

their picture of society and the role of drinking in it.

The main question, or at least one of the main questions in this research is one of belief systems. Cultural belief systems are models of ideal relationships between people or ideas that form and maintain a credible "world view" for a people. They are essentially "game plans" with built-in principles and objectives that allow people to manage their behavior and interpret other behavior in a way that is coherent and appropriate to their culture and the people they interact and identify with. As children grow up, what they learn, among other things, is a belief system. I am not talking about beliefs in the sense of religious beliefs or moral beliefs; I am talking about the system that tells us that the earth orbits the sun, that germs cause disease, that people should strive for achievement, and that you shouldn't burp at the table. Those are cultural beliefs, and it doesn't take much imagination to expect that they vary widely from here to there.

Belief systems are the comprehensive cultural "theories" that predispose each of us to look at our own social world in a particular way; this "way" amounts to that unique view of the world that each culture has. In short, belief systems are the "ground rules" that few of us are consciously aware of that make our world sensible and reliable in our own minds, and define "correct" and consistent behavior and ideas. To the extent that these ideas differ from person to person, we are talking about individual psychology and personality. When we are looking at wide shared beliefs that typify a society, we are talking about "world view" and culture. In still simpler terms, I am referring to that unique "character" of each culture that all of us at least in terms of stereotypes have noticed at one time or another; this system consists of the basic notions about proper relations between people, what behavior is good or bad, and what the "good life" amounts to.

So, the best way to approach social problems with a culturally sensitive perspective, and surely the best way to develop practical results relevant to a particular cultural group, is to start with some of the concepts I have noted.

The reason we must think in terms of comprehensive belief systems really has two parts. First, this approach will help us develop some basic, fundamental definitions of the beliefs, values, attitudes and assumptions that people have about drinking, drunks, and problems associated with them. Second, such an approach emphasizes that we must look at the entire system of interconnections that binds drinking attitudes and ideas about drunks to those many other notions, values, and expectations people have that are affected by them. This helps us portray the problem in the widest context; it helps us see alcoholism in the community, not just the individual.

We know already that alcoholism has a dire impact on family and personal relationships in the region; the reader doesn't have to be convinced of that fact. We also know that people in the region probably have some very different ideas about the causes of alcohol abuse, as well as different ideas about the ways people can be helped. The reader doesn't have to be convinced of those facts either. The important questions are, what kinds of relationships are affected? In what ways? Relationships with who? What different ideas do people have? It seems that the Inupiat look at drunks differently compared to what is typically the case among Anglos, who most of the "classic" books and studies are about. Again, the question is, in what ways differently? This research was formulated in a manner that deals with those questions explicitly. The who and what, how and why questions are built into the interpersonal and conditions and consequences inventories in such a way as to tap perceptions about these situations on the regional people's own terms, with as few of our outside presuppositions as possible.

The questionnaire format we used is similar in many respects to the "insight tests" or "problem situation tests" that have been used worldwide in cross-cultural psychological research. This type of research presents a member of the different culture with a scene with a dilemma or problem built in, and then tries to explicate how the person sees normal people of that culture, his neighbors and friends, reacting. Typically it is geared toward providing answers about how people guage "problems", normal reactions to them, people's obligations to others, individual, family and community goals, and

responsibilities (cf. Devos in Spindler 1978). Our approach was not to present a problem and then look for explication of that problem in terms of who (what kinds of people), what (reactions, behavior that is expectable) and so on that the person reported. Instead, we developed lists of simple statements or propositions about people and conditions. Then, with many of the key terms left out, we asked people simply to plug in the appropriate terms that, once plugged in, would make the statement correct or sensible to the best of their knowledge. In this way, we were really asking people in a round about way to map out their belief system for us, to provide us with a very brief cultural encyclopedia of cultural principles. The principles concerned drinking; they are cultural because they represent shared values that they stated indirectly without our outside interference; it is a system because it corresponds to the network of interrelations, perceived causes and results, and typical behaviors that, taken as a whole, support one another and cannot be isolated one from the other without distorting or collapsing the whole.

The reasoning for the research design flows something like this: we know from experience and worldwide documentation that, normally, what people do affects their identity and people's definition of them. Thus, if a person is a drunk, that fact is likely to have an impact on how people perceive them in terms of their relationships, behavior, and personal qualities. Second, we know that in all societies, their are prescribed ways of behaving to different kinds of people; your parents, your children, friends, boss, kings, and so on. One's identity, furthermore, and the typical roles that go with it, have an effect on these prescribed relationships, too. Third, in all societies, and to one degree or another, some people are subordinate to others, and equivalent or on an equal footing to still others. Again, one's identity, roles and whatnot have an effect on this as well. Given all these observations, it is reasonable to assume that we might find differences in these situations if a person is a drunk, and it is reasonable, too, to develop a research design that looks specifically at those situations. So, we set about looking at the kinds of relationships and kinds or categories of people that drunks are perceived as interacting with and in. The design is rather simple then, as you can see. The reasoning for the conditions

and consequences component is similarly simple and basic, although it did not follow from observations about interaction as did the above.

One last comment is in order. In the majority of instances in which we had to make reference to a person who drinks too much, and alcohol abuser, an alcoholic, or whatever, we avoided the problem of definition entirely and simply used the term "drunk". In our estimation the term is the least ambiguous one that could be chosen, and we believe everyone knew exactly what we were talking about. One could argue then that we did not really collect information about alcoholics per se since we didn't use the term; perhaps, for instance, "drunk" is such a loaded term that we received information about only a very small number of people who enjoy the worst of all possible social stigmas in the region. That may be, but I think it is highly unlikely, and the value of using a simple unambiguous term far outweighs the problems inherent in using "alcoholic" vs. "alcohol abuser" and so on, especially in a cultural setting where we are apt to find more confusion about those terms than in the professional literature where the confusion is already profound. Furthermore, "drunk" is probably the most widely used term for a "problem drinker" in the region anyway. The semantics of this terminology remains to be addressed; until then it seems best to use the blunt but clear word.

This section will report on the elements of the research that were largely concerned with attitudes and perceptions regarding alcohol and alcohol abuse in the NANA region. There were five parts to this research:

1. perceptions regarding the conditions or situations that lead to drinking, and the consequences of drinking

2. perceptions regarding the kinds of relationships drunks have with others, and that other people have with drunks

3. relationships between life stress and alcohol abuse

4. attitudes of NANA region transients in Anchorage concerning alcoholism and drinking

5. NANA region student perceptions about alcohol abuse revealed in a brief examination of the evaluation of the "Here's Looking At You" alcohol curriculum

The section on "Methods" discusses the rationale and techniques for conducting these research elements.

To examine perceptions about alcohol-related conditions and consequences we asked a number of sentence-completion questions, after which the research participants were free to respond with any number of answers that they thought were correct and made sense. These answers represent not factual information, but perceptions from "common-sense". Our aim was to divide the participants into a number of subgroups, and then see what differences in perceptions were typical of those groups. This would allow us to describe the kinds of perceptions about alcohol that these groups were apt to have. The groups were divided on the basis

of background characteristics like marital status, use of subsistence resources, education level, presence of legal difficulties related to alcohol, and so on. The questions that lay behind the research were, for instance, "Do married persons have perceptions different from unmarried ones?", or "Do the more traditionally oriented persons (relying heavily on subsistence) look at alcohol differently from others?" These results are designed not only to provide basic information about perceptions that we don't have now, but also to assist in alcohol program efforts: if these different background factors are associated with real differences in attitudes and perceptions, treatment planning and counseling approaches should be sensitive to them and take them into account.

The basic questionnaire is as follows:

1. Usually, a person will have a drink or two if they...
2. A person may turn into a drinker if they...
3. People have the best chance to get help if they drink because they...
4. People often get drunk if they...
5. Normally a drunk is...
6. In order to kick the habit drinkers have to see that they are...
7. A person may really have a drinking problem if they are...

Possible answers for the first four include:

a. are angry
b. are depressed
c. want to relax
d. are lonely

and for the last three:

a. happy
b. sick
c. selfish
d. worried

The full questionnaire is included in the Appendices.

Chi-square tests were used to measure the differences that were evident between

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the subgroups which were compared. These tests determine how likely it is that the differences in answers are due to chance. If the differences that the research identified are due to chance, all that means is that the variations between the groups are random, or are likely to be random. If, however, the test shows you that there is a very high probability that the differences you see (for instance, between those with more education as opposed to less education) are not due to chance, then you can feel pretty comfortable about the conclusion that the differences are real and distinctive.

Extensive chi-square testing of differences was conducted. Subgroups were divided on the basis of as many background characteristics as could feasibly be used. Sometimes a subgroup that we developed was simply too small, and when a subgroup is very small it simply cannot be tested validly. For instance, we wanted to divide subgroups on the basis of residence (those who live with their families versus those who live alone) but found that one of the subgroups (those who live alone) was just too small. That comparison could not be made. The background questionnaire (see Appendices) provided the basis for identifying characteristics for separate subgroups. Only the comparisons that provided evidence of non-random differences will be discussed here. For our purposes, non-random differences are those that have no more than five chances out of one hundred of being due to chance; in other words, the results we will discuss have a.95% chance of being real, distinctive differences in perceptions. Such a probability is expressed statistically by "p less than 0.05" (that is, the probability -p- is less than 5 out of a hundred).

We were especially interested in seeing if the people exposed to the criminal justice system because of alcohol-related problems perceived conditions differently than others. One frequent response to the question "Normally a drunk is..." for non-court participants was "sick". A comparison of the court versus non-court participants revealed these results.

Response	Court	Non-court	Chi-square
"sick"	.12	.372	
other	.88	.628	3.88 p less than .05

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That is, 12% of the court subgroup responded "sick" to the question, while over 37% of the non-court subgroup responded "sick". This difference in response pattern, based on these two subgroups, has more than a 95% chance of repeating itself again and again when these subgroups are compared, and less than a 5% chance of being due to random effects. Of course it is not clear if the difference is due to court subgroup perceptions before their exposure to the criminal justice system, or if the difference is a result of it. Perhaps the very exposure to the system for a drinking-related crime would predispose that group to deny "sickness" as a typical condition of drunks. These are questions that need further inquiry; nonetheless, this difference is clearly evident.

Analysis of responses to the question "People have the best chance to get help with their drinking if they drink because they..." with the same subgroups showed that the answer "want respect from others" was frequent for the non-court subgroup.

Response	Court	Non-court	Chi-square
"respect"	.0	.2	
other	1.0	.8	3.84 p = .05

None of the court subgroup participants responded with the "respect" answer, while 20% of the non-court group did. The chance is precisely 5 out of 100 that the results are not distinctive. Questions are raised by these results, too; do the court clients with alcohol problems deny the "respect" motive? Or, do the non-court participants just have a special way of seeing the problem not shared by others?

The same question ("People have the best chance...") was examined for the heavier subsistence users (half or more reliance) versus the marginal users (less than half). This was considered a crude but clear enough indicator of traditional orientation. A common response for the traditional subgroup was "are always trying to seem friendly". This is one of the answers, you can see, that avoids any kind of psychological or pathological motivation (like loneliness, depression, nervousness) and refers exclusively to gregariousness and friendship.

The results:

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"friendly"	.31	.05	
other	.69	.95	4.26 p less than .05

Only 5% of the non-traditional subgroup responses indicated the "friendly" motive, while over 30% of the traditional responses did. Here again the chances are less than 5 out of 100 that the resulting differences are due to random effects.

For these subgroups, another response pattern to the question "People often get drunk if they..." seemed to distinguish the groups. A typical combination of answers for the non-traditional subgroup was "are depressed" and "want to feel better". The comparison shows these results:

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"depressed" "feel better"	.08	.34	5.75 p less than .025
other	.92	.66	

These results, when compared to those above, seem to summarize a basic difference in perceptions for the traditional and non-traditional subgroups. Gregariousness and friendly interaction seem to play a perceived role in drinking or recovery for the more traditional persons, while individual psychodynamics and pathology (in a sense, "self-treatment" for a problem) are emphasized in the perceptions of the non-traditional group. The results for the last comparison also show very strong differences: there is a 97.5% chance that the differences are typical, and only 5 chances out of 200 that they are simply random.

The traditional/non-traditional breakdown shows some similarity to the court/non-court groups in terms of responses to "Normally a drunk is...".

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"sick"	.07	.44	
other	.93	.56	5.18 p less than .025

Only 7% of the traditional subgroup responses indicated a perception of "sickness" while 44% of the non-traditional responses did. The perception of drunks as being "sick" is thus rare for the traditional group but common for the others. The difference is quite strong.

The same question reveals differences in male versus female perceptions. Responding to the question "Normally a drunk is...", responses fell into these patterns for men and women:

Response	Female	Male	Chi-square
"sick"	.42	.125	
other	.58	.875	4.85 p less than .05

Women's responses were different from those of men with 42% of the responses indicating "sick" while only 12.5% of the men's responses did.

Looking only at the question "Normally a drunk is..." the response patterns of men, traditional persons, and court clients are similar, while those of women, non-court persons, and the less traditionally oriented seem more alike. Other comparisons show a similar pattern, although the results of these comparisons do not meet the probability standards that we set. For instance a comparison of less employed (less than full-time and less than 6 mos. employment) and more employed (more than the above) for the question "Normally a drunk is..." showed these results:

Response	Less emp.	More emp.	Chi-square
"sick"	.08	.33	
other	.92	.67	2.96 p less than .1

That is, the probability of this response pattern being due to chance is 10 out of 100. Although that may sound convincing, such results are normally unacceptable.

Some of the questions on the background survey dealt with whether the

person reported a personal drinking problem, whether they considered their own drinking to be a problem, and questions concerning family structure. One "predisposing" condition that many studies have identified that often accompanies drinking problems is early parental loss; that is, those who lost a parent while growing up seem to suffer disproportionately from alcohol problems. We compared self-reported drinking habits, problems, parental loss and court status (i.e. if the person has been in the criminal justice system for alcohol-related problems) and arrived at these results:

Parental loss group		No parental loss group	
court	non-court	court	non-court
50%	50%	50%	50%
drink	no drinking	drink	no drinking
66%	33%	87.5%	12.5%
problem	no problem	problem	no problem
50%	50%	25%	75%

Although the group that suffered an early loss report more drinking problems and less overall drinking, their incidence of exposure to the courts for alcohol-related crime is identical to the group without an early loss. The non-loss group reports more drinking and fewer problems, even though their exposure to the courts is no different.

Without reference to parental loss, the comparison shows:

No reported drinking	Reported drinking
21%	79%
No problem	Problem
64%	36%
Non-court	Court
50%	50%

Thus 21% of the entire study group reported no drinking at all, and 64% reported no problems connected with alcohol use, yet 50% have been in the court system at least once for alcohol-related crime. It seems that self-reports from persons in the region do not reveal an accurate picture of real conditions; or, the perceptions people have about problems and their own drinking are not congruent with objective conditions; or, the criminal justice system is processing persons without drinking problems even when it so defines them. It is most probable that both perceptions and self-reports (in terms of objective accuracy) are the crucial factors here.

Another set of questions were examined in this research. So far the research has just compared different groups; it is also possible to compare different answers for a single group. This is important if you need to determine how interconnected some perceptions are. For instance, both the question "A person may have a drinking problem if..." and the question "In order to kick the habit drinkers have to see that they are..." are logically associated. That is, if a person thinks that a person has a problem if they are worried by their drinking, then it is logical for them to think that the person must see that they are worried in order to kick the habit. We might wonder then, if somebody defines a problem in a certain way, then perhaps they define recovery from that problem in a way that relates to the original perception; if worry defines the problem, then you must be aware of your worry in order to recover. This is the logic behind the questions that follow. It should be emphasized, though, that people's perceptions need not be logical.

A great many comparisons were made, but few yielded substantial, valid statistical results. Only the significant differences in the comparisons will be discussed here. One of the logical comparisons looked at the questions "Normally a drunk is..." and "A person may have a drinking problem if..." for males; the most frequent answer for the "problem" question was "if they are worried". The results are:

Response	Drunk is	Problem if	Chi-square
"worried"	.0	.23	
other	1.0	.77	6.33 p less than .025

For the interpersonal inventory (see Appendices) the same analysis plan was followed. The interpersonal inventory was concerned with the personal relationships drunks were perceived to have with other people. A sample set of questions from the inventory are as follows:

1. Who do drunks usually help?
2. Who understands drunks most of the time?
3. Who do drunks depend on?
4. Who will drunks act mean to?
5. Who will order drunks around?

Details on the research methods and rationale for this approach are in the section on "Methods".

The responses that could be chosen for these questions are:

1. friends
2. their bosses
3. drinking partners
4. brothers/sisters
5. fathers/mothers
6. their families
7. whites
8. other drunks
9. Inupiat
10. their children

The object, as in the analysis of conditions and consequences, was to compare typical responses from different subgroups in order to identify significant differences in perceptions that characterize these subgroups. Many analyses of responses were performed but the majority of the comparisons revealed slight if any differences. Only the significant and strong results will be described here.

A comparison of responses for the less versus more traditional subgroups provided these results:

"Who understands drunks most of the time?"

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"friends"	.04	.33	6.09 p less than .025
other	.96	.67	

"Who will often obey drunks?"

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"children"	.0	.26	
other	1.0	.74	4.38 p less than .05

"Who usually respects the drunk?"

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"drinking partners"	.0	.28	
other	1.0	.72	4.6 p less than .05

"Who will drunks order around?"

Response	Traditional	Non-traditional	Chi-square
"children"	.04	.24	
other	.96	.76	3.9 p less than .05

It is clear that there are real differences in the perceptions of traditional as opposed to non-traditional subgroups. The non-traditional group typically sees friends understanding drunks, while the traditional subgroup does not; they see children obeying drunks, while the traditional group does not; the non-traditional subgroup frequently perceives their drinking partners respecting the drunk, while the traditional group does not; and the non-traditional group feels that drunks order children around, while the traditional group seldom does.

A comparison of court clients (alcohol-related) and non-court persons revealed interesting results but only one difference that was very strong. The results of the comparison are:

"Drunks usually respect..."

Response	Court	Non-court	Chi-square
"friends"	.40	.08	
other	.60	.92	6.75 p less than .01

That is, this difference in responses would show up by chance less

time out of 100.

A number of differences appeared when the married subgroup was compared to the not married (never married, divorced, etc.) one. The results are:

"Who will act mean to drunks?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"brothers/ sisters"	.27	.04	
other	.73	.96	4.23 p less than .05

"Who are drunks often angry at?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"families"	.47	.15	
other	.53	.85	5.86 p less than .025

"Who is often angry at drunks?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"bosses"	.0	.18	
other	1.0	.82	3.84 p = .05

"Who will drunks order around?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"families"	.42	.10	
other	.58	.90	5.75 p less than .025

"Who will order drunks around?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"friends"	.33	.06	
other	.67	.94	7.18 p less than .01

"Who do drunks usually respect?"

Response	Married	Not married	Chi-square
"families"	.0	.23	
other	1.0	.77	3.92 p less than .05

It seems that most people are perceiving some very strongly negative relations between drunks and kin. Certainly in the comparison of the married and unmarried groups it is clear that solid statistical results are most common with relationships of subordination and anger: the married group sees brothers and sisters acting mean to drunks, drunks angry at families, drunks ordering their families, friends of drunks ordering them around, and so on. Interestingly, it is the unmarried group that most often perceives anger toward drunks by their bosses; the married group never chose this response. In summary, it is apparent that there are substantial differences in perceptions about personal relationships, depending on whether the group in question is married, a court-referred client, or more traditional in subsistence style; these strong differences seem to cluster around relations concerning anger, obedience, understanding and respect; and, the relations most strongly indicated here are first and foremost kinship connections, and to a lesser degree, friendships.

There are other ways to summarize this information. Without breaking down the responses by subgroups, we can look only at the most typical answers overall. Taking an arbitrary figure of 30% to show dominant or primary answers, the kinds of reported or perceived relations typically given are as follows, dividing the responses into three kinds of groups:

30%+ responses

KINSHIP:

drunks are... mean to
angry at
order ... their families, brothers/sisters,
depend on fathers/mothers, and children
respect
obey

These people: are angry at
judge
order around
help ... drunks

ETHNIC:

drunks are... mean to
angry at ... whites
Inupiat

whites: judge ... drunks

OTHER FAMILIAR RELATIONS:

drunks ...	are mean to are angry at order depend on respect help understand	...	friends their bosses drinking partners other drunks	
		And these people...	are mean to are angry at judge depend on respect obey help understand	... drunks

Although there are some relations of equivalence and cooperative, supportive types (respect, understand, help) most describe relationships of anger, powerlessness and superiority.

Another way to display the results is to summarize the responses that are of highest rank for each of the relations. The relationships are listed below with the personal categories that received the most responses.

DRUNKS...	are mean to:	friends, families
	are angry at:	families
	judge:	friends
	order:	friends, their brothers/sisters
	depend on:	drinking partners
	respect:	friends
	obey:	their fathers/mothers
	help:	other drunks
	understand:	drinking partners

We can turn this around to examine the top ranked responses for relations toward drunks:

other drunks:	are mean to	... DRUNKS
fathers/mothers:	are angry at	
fathers/mothers:	judge	
fathers/mothers:	order	
other drunks:	depend on	
other drunks:	respect	
friends:	obey	
friends:	help	
other drunks:	understand	

The "drunk" as revealed in these top ranked responses seems to be caught up in a top-heavy or lopsided social network. Drunks are mean to their friends, judge them, yet respect them; friends obey and help drunks. Drunks obey their fathers and mothers, and their fathers and mothers are angry at them, judge them, and order them around. Drunks help other drunks, yet other drunks are mean to them. Drunks respect their friends, but other drunks are the ones who respect them.

The percentages for the most common responses are listed below, broken down by the personal category.

FRIENDS

drunks depend on...(39%)	...help drunks (50%)
drunks are mean to...(36%)	...are angry at drunks (36%)
drunks order...(36%)	...judge drunks (36%)
drunks respect...(36%)	...obey drunks (36%)
drunks understand...(32%)	

FAMILIES

drunks are angry at...(46%)	...are angry at drunks (43%)
drunks are mean to ...(36%)	...help drunks (39%)
drunks order...(32%)	

BOSSES

	...are angry at drunks (39%)
	...judge drunks (36%)

WHITES

drunks are angry at...(36%)
drunks are mean to...(32%)

...judge drunks (32%)

DRINKING PARTNERS

drunks depend on...(46%)
drunks help...(36%)
drunks understand...(32%)
drunks are angry at...(32%)

...understand drunks (36%)

OTHER DRUNKS

drunks help...(54%)
drunks depend on...(39%)
drunks are angry at...(36%)

...depend on drunks (61%)
...respect drunks (46%)
...are mean to drunks (43%)
...understand drunks (39%)

BROTHERS/SISTERS

drunks order...(36%)

...are angry at drunks (32%)

INUPIAT

(none of the responses were 30% or more)

FATHERS/MOTHERS

drunks obey...(46%)
drunks depend on...(36%)
drunks respect...(32%)

...are angry at drunks (50%)
...judge drunks (39%)
...order drunks around (39%)

CHILDREN

...are angry at drunks (39%)

These percentages are read in this manner: under FRIENDS, for instance, 39% of the participants said that "drunks depend on their friends", 50% of them said that "friends help drunks", and so on. The highest frequency responses are summarized here:

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Other drunks depend on drunks (61%)
Drunks help other drunks (54%)
Friends help drunks (50%)
Their fathers and mothers are angry at drunks (50%)
Drunks are angry at their families (46%)
Drunks depend on their drinking partners (46%)
Other drunks respect drunks (46%)
Drunks obey their fathers and mothers (46%)

It doesn't take much imagination or sifting of the data to see that, in terms of local perceptions, there are two fairly distinct sets of social relationships that drunks engage in. There is a set of relations with peers and unrelated Inupiat (friends, other drunks, drinking partners) that contains many of the more supportive, nurturant, positive relations, but also shows a great deal of ambivalence and paradox; understanding, helping and respect are common, but in combination with anger and mean sentiments. On the other hand the remaining relations with families and kin (families, brothers/sisters, fathers/mothers, children) seem to indicate some strong obligations on the part of the drunk (they obey, depend on and respect their parents) but the perceived sentiments toward the drunks are nearly uniformly negative; their kin are angry at them, judge them, order them and so on. In only one case is this not so ("families help drunks"). The relations of drunks to their kin other than their parents are also marked by perceived superiority and anger. The remaining relations (with whites and bosses) are also negative.

In short, it seems that local perceptions provide this picture: relations between drunks and their kin are polarized, showing a blend of traditional kin responsibilities and alienation and rejection; relations between drunks and peers, however, are ambivalent and unbalanced (drunks depend on friends, and friends help them; drunks order friends, and friends obey them; but drunks respect their friends, and the friends are angry at them and judge them; drunks depend on drunks, but drunks are mean to drunks). The perceived drunk also emerges as a pretty selfish person with few social responsibilities who nonetheless has many demands on the people around him or her. There is little reciprocity revealed in these perceptions: it is always other people who help or obey the

drunk, while the drunk depends on or orders them. The most consistent and ordered relations show up with the parents. Here, the drunks are clearly subordinate, and obey, respect and depend on their fathers and mothers; in turn, though, the parents are seen to be angry at the drunks, order them and judge them.

In an earlier section (Methods) it was explained that these relations and how they fit together can provide a rough approximation of a social network. In any society, and depending on one's identity and "social category" (like parent, child, brother, boss and so on), a person fits into fairly well defined positions of either equivalence (that is, on the same level) or subordination one way or the other (either above or below) compared to the other people in the social group. Any one person never, say, "obeys" or "judges" a random group of people; you obey or judge or order a certain selective subgroup. This subgroup and the kinds of relations that fit into it varies from society to society, and also varies within a society depending on what a person does and how they are defined by the people around him. Heavy drinking naturally has consequences for a person in terms of how they are placed, up or down, in a social system; it is commonly one of those things you can do that influence your place and status. In some societies it has little influence; in others it has great effects and might move a person down or up. The discussion of cross-cultural examples makes this clear. The problem facing us here is the description of these factors for the situation in Northwest Alaska, and this is the reason for asking these questions about personal relations.

Now that the main perceptions have been sketched out, it is possible to "map" the social networks in order to see them as a whole. If we think of a social map as one that charts out the paths or connections (which are relations) that link up the various social categories (like parents, friends and so forth), then we can portray where drunks stand and how they stand in relation to others in a graphic manner. Taken together, the personal relations discussed here are summarized in Figure 2. Drunks are placed at the center, and the categories of people who are seen to be at the same level, below or above are mapped out accordingly. The sorts of relations that are perceived are the paths that connect them, and the direction of the relationship (who does what to whom) is indicated

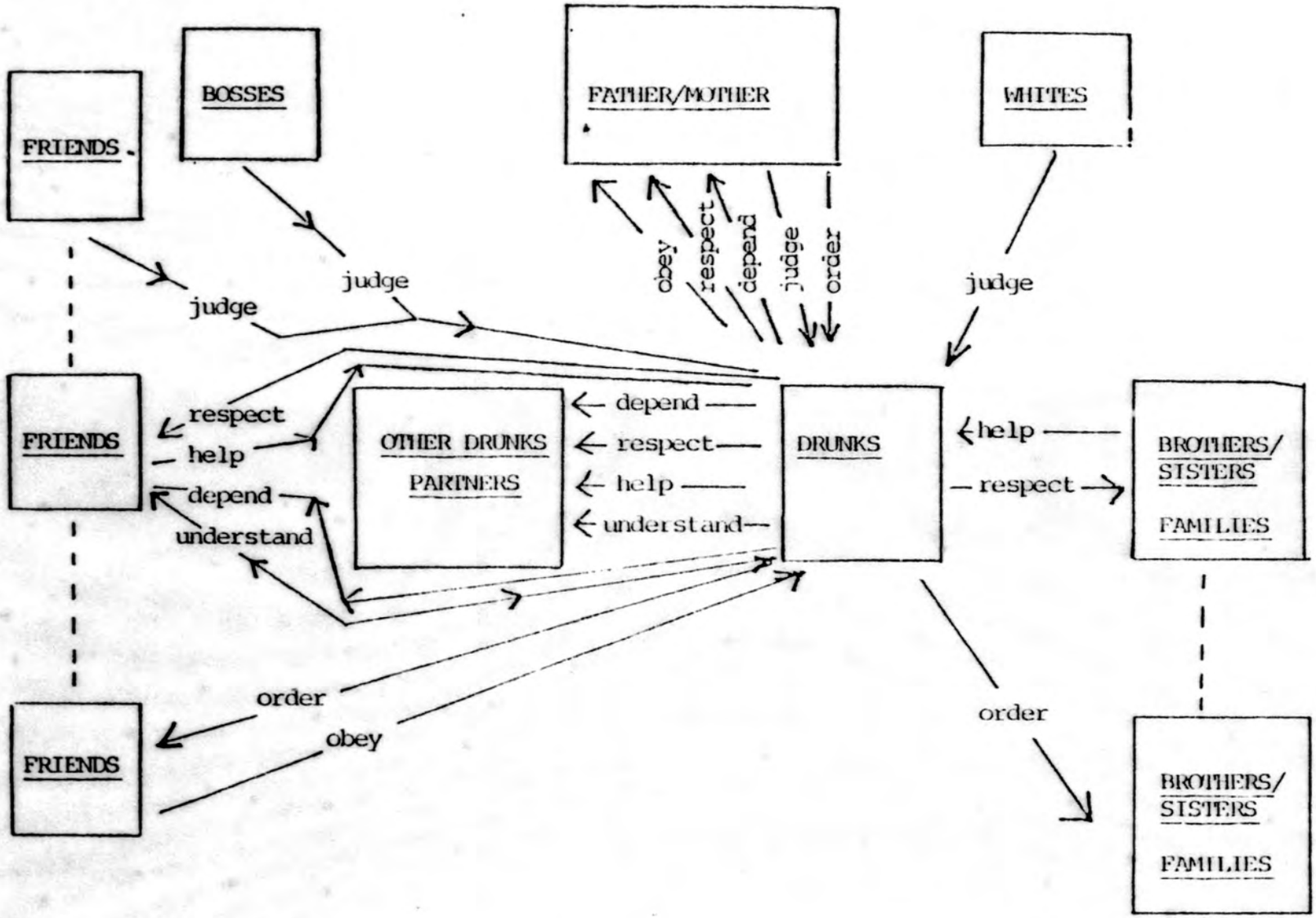

FRIENDS
BOSSES
FATHER/MOTHER
WHITES
obey
respect
depend
judge
order
judge
judge
judge
FRIENDS
respect
help
depend
understand
OTHER DRUNKS
PARTNERS
depend
respect
help
understand
DRUNKS
help
respect
BROTHERS/
SISTERS
FAMILIES
order
obey
order
FRIENDS
BROTHERS/
SISTERS
FAMILIES

Figure 2

by arrows.

This map provides a concise profile of the impressions local people have about drunks and drunks are thought to have about them. The dotted lines connecting the two levels of brothers/sisters and families, and connecting the three levels of friends are provided to indicate how fluid and unbalanced the relations with these categories of people are. At one moment, brothers and si ·s seem to fit at one level, but then another perspective sets them at a lower le Friends is an ambiguous category, since it is juggled back and forth; it see..s that there is little consistency in the relationships between friends and drunks at least in terms of perceptions and attitudes. Friends are at the same moment respected, understanding companions, and obedient subordinates. In brief the system looks to be "out of sync" and unable to provide a coherent set of relations upon which to determine obligations or judge the behavior of people around you. That is, for the drunk, a friend could obey him, help him or judge him, and all of these relations are perceived as being typical and appropriate.

We see a slightly different picture if we map out the sentiments of a hostile or negative quality that people perceive. Figure 3 shows these, following the same format used to summarize the personal relations. The dotted lines and empty boxes are used to illustrate how the connections have changed when compared to the relations map. Some of the categories of people have moved up, and others have moved down. Here nearly everyone is seen to express their anger at the drunk, while others have been shifted down to the receiving end of anger on the part of the drunks.

It is clear that the perceived social system places the drunk in the midst of confusing relationships. Nearly every relation that has a positive connotation, that has the capability of cementing solid, productive relations, is matched by a sentiment of anger. The system is shot through with resentment and conflict. Even the relations with peers which are the most varied and complex (combining respect, dependence, helping and understanding) boomerang on the drunk. This sort of situation, though, is not that unusual; in fact, these contradictions and ambiguities in interaction sum up the classic alcoholic syndrome. Drunks

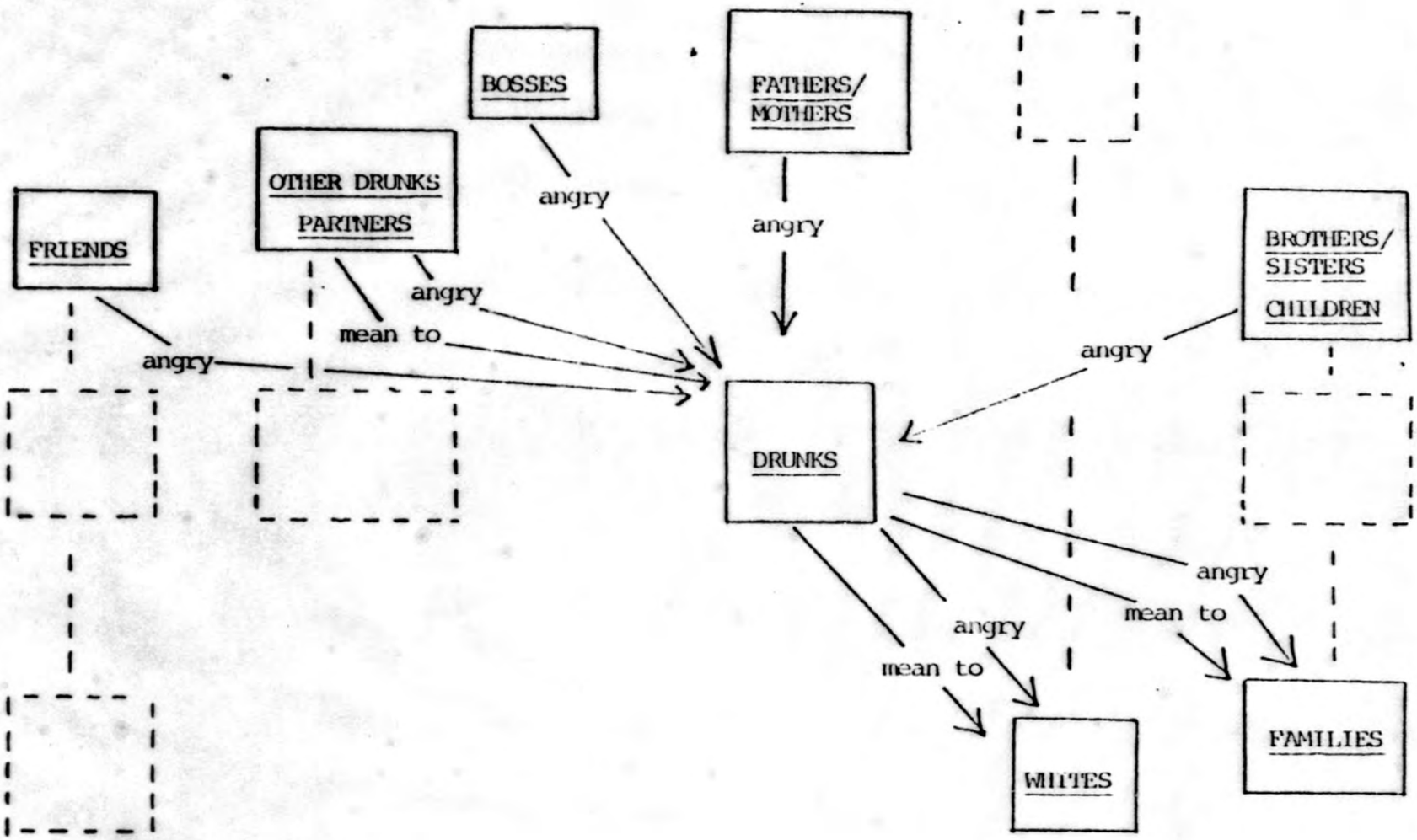

BOSSES
FATHERS/
MOTHERS
OTHER DRUNKS
PARTNERS
FRIENDS
angry
angry
angry
mean to
angry
BROTHERS/
SISTERS
CHILDREN
angry
DRUNKS
angry
mean to
angry
mean to
WIVES
FAMILIES

Figure 3

often are selfish in interpersonal terms, and therein lies most of the grief and guilt feelings for not only the alcoholic but the family and the circle of friends and acquaintances. The drunks want to have their cake and eat it too; they often make broad demands on the people around them but give nothing in return except broken promises. Then, when their expectations are not met they are "justifiably" angry at the people around them who have failed to measure up in terms of obligatory kindness and understanding, and in a similar fashion may interpret the lack of these relations "due" them as anger on the part of everyone around them. This is what Jellinek (see the section on Theories) meant by "unreasonable resentments".

The differences evident between the roles of peers and family (all kin connections) in this system are crucial not only to an understanding of the status of the drunk in the NANA region, but also to effective treatment planning. The conflicts and contradictions in the system are precisely where therapeutic efforts should be focused if a community-based approach to treatment is to be developed. In a sense, these are maps of problems and resources, not just networks. A description of where angers, fears and resentments fit in and connect the people in the community is a necessary first step toward resolving the problems in the first place, and identifying the specific subgroups who are affected. This will be elaborated more in Section 8 (Recommendations).

An examination of the life change or life stress index also provided some clues about what stresses are typical and the effect they have on personal adjustment in the region. All of the research participants (29 after incomplete results were discarded) completed this index, and Table 28 lists the ranked responses to it. Number 1 (a minor violation of the law) was thus the single most frequent response to the index (an example in included in the Appendices), and the others are listed in descreasing order of frequency. Because the number of recent life changes is often associated with level of overall stress and other indicators of stress (like hypertension, anxiety, depression and so on), one element of the research involved an analysis of recent life changes and the

Table 28

RANKS OF REPORTED LIFE CHANGES BY CUMULATIVE REPORTS PER CATEGORY

RANK:	LIFE CHANGE:
1	minor violation of the law.
2	jail term.
3	death of a family member.
4	change in job responsibilities.
5	change in financial condition; death of a friend.
6	begin or end school; have a vacation.
7	outstanding personal achievement; change in residence; looking for new friends.
8	have just borrowed money; or plan to.
9	change in personal habits, change in church attendance; planning on going outside.
10	personal unjury/illness; change in health of family member; new family member; change in number of arguments with spouse/partner; change in # family get togethers.
11	marriage; spouse/partner stops or begins working; christmas is approaching; trouble with friends; change in dating habits; fight with friends; unlucky fishing or hunting.
12	trouble with in-laws.
13	divorce; separation; fired from job; pregnancy; son or daughter leaves home; trouble with boss.

incidence of alcohol-related arrest. Because we had only a limited background history for each of the participants, and because self-reports of drinking problems had already been seen to be inaccurate, alcohol-related arrest seemed to be a single indicator most feasible for our purposes.

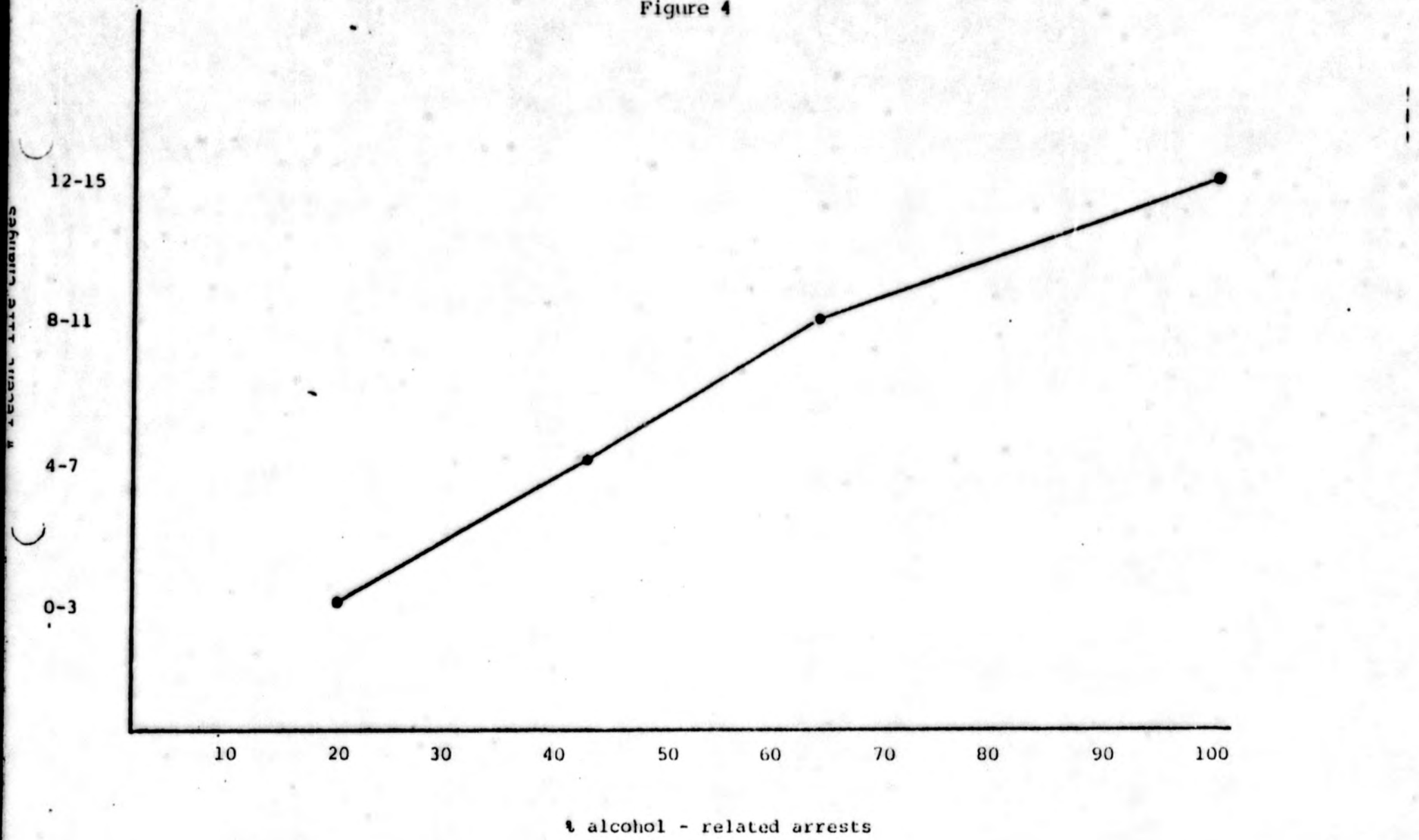
The reported life changes were grouped into categories, 0-3 changes, 4-7 changes, 8-11 changes, and 12-15 changes. These are arbitrary groups that were tallied in order to develop a general and provisional idea of possible association between recent changes and arrest incidence. The numbers of reported changes were compared with the incidence of alcohol-related arrest for each group; that is, the people who reported between zero and three changes had a certain incidence of arrest, and that arrest percentage was charted against the life changes. The result of this comparison is displayed in Figure 4. The correlation coefficient (Spearman's rank r), a measure of how consistently the two variables interact, is 1.0, or a perfect correlation. The group that reported up to three changes had an alcohol-related arrest rate of 20%; the group that reported 4-7 had a rate of 42%; the group with 8-11 recent changes had an arrest rate of 63%; and, the group with more than 11 recent changes had a 100% alcohol-related arrest record. The arrest rate, I should add, reflects only a recent period (last six months).

Because these results were so striking, a similar comparison was made without lumping the reported changes into arbitrary groups. The bar graph in Figure 5 summarizes these results. These results are certainly more inconsistent than the first correlation would lead one to believe, but the overall trend toward more stress in association with a greater alcohol-related arrest incidence is still clear. The graph is read in this fashion: the bottom line represents the number of <u>people</u> who responded with the number of life changes listed immediately above. That means that there were two persons who reported two changes, and since there is no bar above that position, none of them had been arrested. There were three persons with three life changes, and 33% (or one of them) had been arrested. At the far end of the graph you see that only one person reported 15 changes, and that person (100%) <u>had</u> been arrested. This comparison shows that everyone with 9 or more recent life changes also had been arrested for

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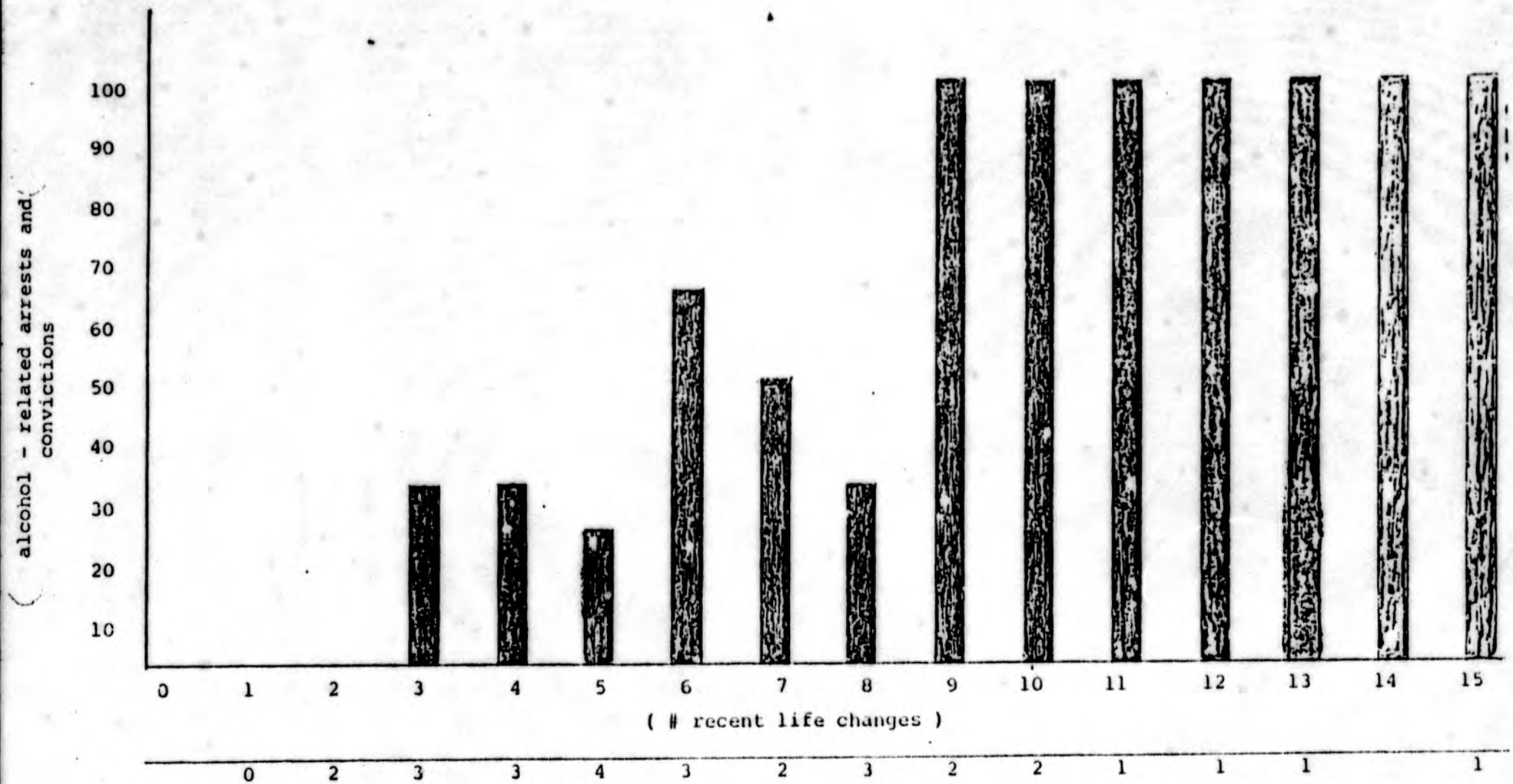
CORRELATION OF RECENT STRESS CONDITIONS AND INCIDENCE OF ALCOHOL-RELATED ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS : N.A.N.A. REGION

Figure 4



COMPARISON OF UNGROUPED LIFE STRESS CONDITIONS AND THE INCIDENCE OF ALCOHOL-RELATED ARREST AND CONVICTION

Figure 5



(# responses to life change index by cumulative total)

N = 29

an alcohol-related offense and convicted for it.

We must be cautious about trying to identify cause and effect in these comparisons, however. A substantial correlation only means that the two variables behave in a similar fashion, not that one causes or leads to the other. We might be tempted to ask, does stress or life change cause drinking problems? This has in fact been suggested in many circles; the whole "anxiety theory" of drinking discussed in previous sections hinges on this kind of explanation. Stress management is also a key component in treatment for alcoholism. In strict terms, though, all we can be sure of is that stress and problem drinking are associated with one another, or that the one coincides frequently with the other. But we shouldn't forget that problem drinking itself leads to stress and a number of life changes (such as lost jobs, divorce, loss of friends, arrest and so forth). It may not even be as simple as the "chicken and the egg" problem; that is, which comes first? Perhaps both stress and abusive drinking are consequences of another set of variables that are not identified at present. Nonetheless it is abundantly clear that stress and problem drinking go together for people in the NANA region, especially with regard to exposure to the criminal justice system.

A small number of NANA region residents who were "on the street" in Anchorage were also participants in the research. Twelve persons (after many responses were culled and discarded) made up this small survey of attitudes and opinions about drinking. These persons completed both a background questionnaire (developed following the NIAAA intake format) and a number of questions dealing with qualities of drunks, reactions to intoxication, and alcoholism treatment (see Appendices for an example of the full questionnaire). A summary of the background characteristics of this group are as follows:

SEX	Male 100%
AGE	Average age = 27 range = 16-46
EDUCATION	Average number of years = 9.08 range = 6-13 17% attended vocational school
RESIDENCE	Average time of residence in Anchorage = 3.99 years range = 3 weeks-18 years

MARITAL STATUS

75% never married 17% divorced
8% separated 0% married

LIVING ARRANGEMENT

33% w/families 25% w/other relatives
25% alone 17% w/friends

ECONOMIC STATUS:

Average number of days employed/working in the last 30 days = 3 range = 0-27

Average number of months employed/working last year = 4 range = 0-12

50% rely on subsistence more than 50% of food needs
17% rely on subsistence somewhat less than 50%
8% rely on subsistence to a very limited degree
33% do not rely on subsistence to any degree

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Average number of older brothers/sisters = 2.75
Average number of younger brothers/sisters = 2.83
58% lost a parent (by divorce, separation, death) before adulthood

DRINKING BACKGROUND

Self-reported drinking

25% no drinking 8% occasional drinking
17% frequent drinking 25% problem drinking on sprees
25% steady drinking

Self-reported problems

25% no problem 25% slight problem
8% moderate problem 42% serious problem

Average age of first intoxication = 15.64

Other questions on the survey dealt with the drinking habits and drinking problems within the person's family (family drinking patterns are often seen as factors influencing a person's individual habits and problems). The responses were somewhat erratic, but it is clear that reported family drinking habits and problems are not associated with self-reported personal drinking habits and problems. We should, however, always be a bit sceptical about the accuracy of

responses concerning "problems" and sensitive issues, and so more research on these factors is advised. On the other hand it seems that these responses from Anchorage concerning personal drinking problems are probably far more valid than the responses from Kotzebue on the same subjects, although this conclusion is little more than impressionistic at the moment.

Another question looked at the number of times people reported they had tried to stop drinking. A comparative analysis of two groups from our sample was performed. One group (6 persons) reported no problem or a slight problem with drinking; another group (6 persons) reported a moderate or serious problem. These two groups were compared in terms of (1) the age of first intoxication, and (2) the number of times attempts were made to stop drinking. Z-tests were conducted on the two groups and the responses they gave; z-tests are measures of significant difference not unlike the chi-square tests described earlier in the report. The statistical result shows how likely it is that the differences between the groups are due to chance.

The "no/slight" problem group had an average age of first intoxication of 18.2 years, and had tried to stop drinking an average of 2.2 times. The average age for this group was 24.5, with a range of 24-25. The "moderate/serious" problem group had an average age of first intoxication of 13.5 years, and had tried to stop drinking an average of 10 times. The average age for this group was 29.6, with a range of 16-46. The z-test comparison of the groups with respect to age of first intoxication yielded a figure of 4.39, where p is far less than .0002; the z-test for the comparison based on number of attempts to stop drinking yielded a figure of 2.04 where p is less than .05. This means that the difference we see in age of first intoxication, comparing the "no/slight" and "moderate/serious" groups, has a statistical chance of being random and insignificant only two times out of 10,000. The difference between the groups in terms of stop-attempts could be insignificant or random 5 times out of 100. The conclusion we have to come to is that (1) age of first intoxication, and (2) attempts to stop drinking are strongly associated with reported problems. Since the differences based on age of first intoxication are so clear, it would seem wise to consider "early drinkers" in the NANA region an important "at risk" target group for early intervention.

It may be, though, that since the age characteristics of the two groups are different (the "less problem" group shows an age spread of only 24-25 years of age) perhaps the differences are due to age; the "more problem" group, since they are older, may have simply had more time to accumulate problems. This might have something to do with the number of stop-attempts, but it is hard to see how this would influence age of first intoxication. Other differences that show up in opinions and attitudes between these two groups seem to indicate that they are in fact two distinct groups.

One question used to probe for opinions was:
"When a person is drunk, what they say and do is really more honest and more like they really feel" (what is your opinion on that?)

Without regard to the groupings by problems, the overall responses were:
Yes (it is true) 33% No 33% Unclear response 33%
Broken down by problem groups, we find:

No reported problem (none/slight)		Reported problem (moderate/serious)	
Yes	50%	Yes	17%
No	17%	No	50%
?	34%	?	34%

In other words there is a complete turn-around on the basis of which group is responding: one group thinks drunks are more candid and honest, and the other does not. It is interesting that the group with least reported drinking problems give the most naive answer (yes) while the problem group responds with the answer that is more accurate in the long run (no). Other results are summarized below.

"I hate to admit it, but when people are drunk they really do have more fun with their friends" (How do you feel about this?)

Overall		No problem		Problem	
True	50%	True	67%	True	33%
False	42%	False	17%	False	67%
?	8%	?	17%	?	0%

"If a drunk is trying to recover, the hardest thing they must learn is that their old friends must go and that they must find new friends"

Overall	No problem	Problem
True 83%	True 83%	True 83%
False 0%	False 0%	False 0%
? 17%	? 17%	? 17%

The following questions could be answered in many different ways, and a single person might give answers that could be looked at in more than one manner. The responses listed refer to the sheer number of responses rather than the number of persons who responded in that way.

"Why is it that some drunks get rowdy and out of hand when they drink?"

	Problem	No problem
emotional difference	2	1
chemical effects of alcohol	1	2
different drinking habits	1	0
interaction (i.e. someone else causes the problem, etc.)	1	3
unknown	2	0
superficial response (i.e. some people are good, some bad, etc.)	0	1

"What is the number one way to tell if a person is an alcoholic?"

	Problem	No problem
gross appearance	1	1
behavior	2	0
sheer consumption (drink a lot)	2	5
by admission (a person admits it)	1	0

The next question implies conditions that are not necessarily true nor false;

it was a probe to just see how people would respond.

"Why are there more drunks around now than there used to be, say five or ten years ago?"

	Problem	No problem
lower drinking age	3	0
more people around	1	0
more available money	1	0
more personal problems	3	3
more social problems	2	0
more consumption	0	1

"What kind of treatment program can help alcoholics the most?"

	Problem	No problem
general/everything	0	1
AA	5	3
education	1	2
group counseling	3	1
individual counseling	4	1
residential	2	0

Regardless of how objectively accurate or correct the answers are, it looks as if the group with more reported problems give the most varied and complex answers, the least superficial or naive answers, and if anything seem to reflect more on problems of drinking. The group with fewer reported problems (which is also the group that started drinking later and tried to stop fewer times) also seems to respond with more alcoholic stereotypes. It would be interesting to know who <u>really</u> has more alcohol-related problems; we were unable to document this. But if the answers alone are any indicator, the group with more problems seems to have a broader understanding of alcohol. This goes against the grain of common stereotypes which suggest that people with problems are precisely those who are more ignorant of the range of biological, emotional and social variables associated with abusive drinking.

"Here's Looking At You" is an alcohol education curriculum that is currently in use in many regions in Alaska. The Northwest Arctic School District is using it now in a number of classrooms. The District recently completed an evaluation of this curriculum designed to assess how effectively the curriculum objectives were being achieved. The objectives fall into three main categories regardless of grade level: decision-making, coping skills, and alcohol information. The research staff had the opportunity to assist in a re-examination of the evaluation results. Our efforts were not directed toward measurement of achievement, but rather toward a description of the typical reactions to abusive drinking and reasons for drinking that students seemed to perceive. In particular we were interested in determining if there was any reason to believe that students of different age levels had different perceptions, or if students from different villages did. We looked only at the answers to the following questions:

1. What are some reasons why people around here drink alcohol?
2. If someone had a personal problem and wanted to talk about it, who could they go to around here?
3. What could a person do if their friends wanted them to drink alcohol and they didn't want to?
4. Imagine it is late at night and someone's parents are drinking and fighting. This person has to get up early the next day to do something important. What could this person do in this situation?
5. If someone drank a lot and wanted to quit, who could they go to for help around here?

Eight classes were represented in the sample: two from Kiana (6th grade and junior high), one from Selawik (junior high), and five from Kotzebue (two 6th grade, one 9th grade, one junior high, one 10th grade).

There are three types of questions here. One type deals with <u>reasons</u> for drinking; another type looks at <u>reactions</u> to drinking situations; the last type inquires about how to seek <u>help</u>. We quickly found that there were two basic sorts of answers to the <u>reason</u> question (#1): there was drinking for

advantages (like to make you feel better, to be at ease in a group, etc.), and drinking for recreation (because you are bored, it is exciting and fun, and so on). For the reaction questions (#3 and #4), it seemed that people reacted by being assertive (by taking a stand and doing something), or by being passive (by doing nothing, or simply avoiding the situation). Finally, for the help questions (#2 and #5) people responded by suggesting personal resources for help (friends, family), or by suggesting organizational resources (such as doctors, pastors, counselors). Our description is based on these types of responses for the various classes in the three communities. The breakdown of answers is as follows: (total numbers are reported)

"What are some of the reasons why people drink...?"

	Advantages	Recreation	?
KLANA:			
6th	2	4	
jr.high	10	13	3
SELAWIK:			
jr. high	8	17	1
KOTZEBUE:			
6th	16	1	
6th	13	7	
9th	4	5	4
jr.high	47	38	12
10th	14	8	

The Kotzebue pattern favors "advantages" over "recreation", whereas the pattern in the "village" schools is just the opposite. It also seems that the younger students are more uniform in whatever response they give, while the older students tend to give a less uniform answer. It is perhaps predictable that Kotzebue, as a more urbanized center, shows a response more in keeping with

the more Westernized notion of alcohol consumption as a form of "self-medication" that eases troubles and smooths social interaction (that is, people drink for advantages that alcohol confers).

"What could a person do if their friends wanted them to drink...?"

	Assertive	Passive	?
KIANA:			
6th	2	4	
jr.high	5	10	
SELAWIK:			
jr.high	17	7	
KOTZEBUE:			
6th	12	6	
6th	8	8	
9th	6	2	
jr.high	44	33	
10th	7	12	

The pattern here is a bit murky; Kiana clearly prefers the "passive" response, while Selawik is "assertive" and Kotzebue mixed but overall "aasertive".

"Imagine it is late at night...What could a person do...?"

	Assertive	Passive
KIANA:		
6th	4	2
jr.high	?	?
SELAWIK:		
jr.high	5	16
KOTZEBUE:		
6th	6	8
6th	?	?

- - -

	Assertive	Passive
KOTZEBUE:		
9th	3	6
jr.high	35	41
10th	9	12

Here Kiana reverses its pattern and is the most assertive, although the numbers are very small and may reveal little. The general trend for this question is toward a passive response. Note that the answers overall were far more assertive for the previous question; that one, however, dealt with friends and not family, as does this one.

"If someone had a personal problem...who could they go to...?"

	Personal resource	Organization
KIANA:		
6th	4	2
jr.high	17	13
SELAWIK:		
jr.high	28	25
KOTZEBUE:		
6th	4	18
6th	4	14
9th	3	4
jr.high	28	47
10th	8	9

This pattern is very clear. The village response is chiefly personal, while the most prominent response from Kotzebue is organizational. This is clearest of all the younger the group: the 6th graders show the most uniform preferences of all, regardless of which way the preference goes.

- - -

"If someone drank a lot and wanted to quit...?"

	Personal resource	Organization
KIANA:		
6th	6	1
jr.high	7	13
SELAWIK:		
jr.high	14	25
KOTZEBUE:		
6th	4	15
6th	1	16
9th	3	7
jr.high	22	59
10th	1	10

The help-seeking pattern that appeared in the previous question responses is gone except in one class (Kiana, 6th grade). For drinking problems (as opposed to general personal problems) the dominant response is organizational; friends, family and relatives are not typically seen as persons to approach for help. These responses, however, were drawn from a student evaluation involving an alcohol curriculum, and as such organized treatment of alcohol abuse by professionals was focused on. It may be, then, that these answers reflect specifically course content, and may not be comparable with the information about general personal problems. On the other hand, we have already discussed the perceptions people have in the region about alcohol and interpersonal relations, relations that seem to be marked by strong hostility and conflict. Perhaps these answers reflect a broad common awareness that there is a profound resentment and alienation between abusive drinkers and their friends and families, an awareness that is clear in other data.

Although the patterns discussed here are fluid and somewhat inconsistent, there is good reason to believe that there are basic differences between drinking attitudes of young and old, and villagers versus the more urbanized

Kotzebue residents. This idea isn't new, of course. Many people in the region feel that Kotzebue is significantly different from the other villages, and it wouldn't be the first time someone has suggested that the young people seem to have different ideas. What has been lacking so far, though, is some understanding of how these ideas are different. These results allow us to pinpoint some of these specific differences. The more traditional villagers, and the younger people as a whole appear to:

(1) see drinking as something done for recreation, rather than for advantages derived from drinking

(2) react passively to drinking problems that directly affect them, rather than assertively

(3) prefer personal resources when in need of help (for villagers primarily) of a general nature

But

(4) all prefer organizational types of help when the problem relates to alcohol

8

This section is not intended to take the place of the findings reported earlier in the report, but only to call attention to some of the most important conclusions and data with critical consequences for alcoholism services.

RECOMMENDATION: The Mauneluk program should take active steps to educate the public and provide crisis intervention relating to violent death associated with alcohol (accidents, suicide, homicide). The rate of increase in the incidence of these deaths is alarming, and the connection with alcohol abuse cannot be denied; the Inupiat are especially at risk compared with other Alaskan Natives (see Tables 6-12, pp. 70-77). Records of the Kotzebue Volunteer Fire Department from 1976 through 1978 show that alcohol-related accidents or injuries are the second most frequent reason for an ambulance run (after invalid pick-ups). Coordination with other local social services is strongly advised.

RECOMMENDATION: The Mauneluk program should provide these services (above) in a targeted manner based on the documented risk populations and situations. These violent deaths vary by season, place, and age group; services should be streamlined and targeted appropriately. Rates for men are higher; suicides predominate in the summer, while homicides seem to predominate in the winter; accidents are most common in the summer; Kotzebue is probably more at risk for homicides while the villages are more at risk for suicides and barely more at risk for accidents; the young adult (20-29) group is at risk, while the next younger age bracket is now becoming a major risk group (see Tables 7-15, pp. 1-81).

RECOMMENDATION: Treatment planning, program development and funding proposals should all be geared to the facts of NANA's position in the state in terms of alcohol-related mortality and morbidity. NANA ranks second or third compared to all other Native corporation areas in numerous measures of alcohol and mental health problems (see Tables 16-27). Realistic measures

including both appropriate services and appropriate funding levels and overall policies and priorities in the region should match up with the real conditions.

RECOMMENDATION: Alcohol and mental health services should likewise be developed on a targeting basis, depending on the distribution of risk factors in the NANA population. Certainly services should be available to all, but it is a simple fact that some subgroups suffer more than others. If targeted services appropriate for variable needs are not provided, then these subgroups are essentially discriminated against. Women in the region show more discharges for mental problems than do men (Table 20); men have more accidents, many of which are alcohol-related, than women (Table 21); age group differences have already been noted. It may be, of course, that these patterns are not due exclusively to real problems but rather help-seeking behavior differences and the like; it is up to the program, however, to determine if this is so.

RECOMMENDATION: Alcohol and mental health aftercare and follow-up efforts must become more aggressive, especially for alcohol services. The trend in the NANA region is for a revisit rate to be high for mental health services, but low for alcoholism services (see Tables 22-25, pp. 90-93). This means that for these persistent problems that cannot be adequately dealt with in one visit, the rate of second and subsequent visits for alcoholism services is lower than the rate for initial visits; people just don't come back as often for on-going treatment. This is not the case as much for mental health services, where the return rate is somewhat higher than the first visit rate.

RECOMMENDATION: A strong element of any public education effort in the region should strive to legitimize alcohol abuse, in the sense that residents should be relieved of the stigma associated with admitting a problem; it must become OK, and not a disaster, to admit to the problem. Looking only at the available records of previous NANA region clients, the single most frequent intake and progress notation reflects a failure or resistance to admitting a problem even when the symptoms are overwhelming. This is no easy task, for indeed stigma is the first and foremost hurdle to overcome in treatment. It is, though, apparently

a serious problem for regional clients.

RECOMMENDATION: Targeting of services should also take differences in client perceptions into account, and provide appropriate counseling approaches, lessons, assignments and topics for individual counseling based on these typical differences. Court-referred clients and non-court persons are apt to be different in terms of how they conceive of drunks, how people can be helped, reasons for drinking, and so on (see pp. 105-107). These are basic attitudes that will have a profound bearing on the nature of individualized treatment planning and methods. These attitudes are background characteristics every bit as important as drinking history and personal guilt or stereotypes about alcohol consumption, all of which are factors requiring assessment at intake and during the term of treatment. Other subgroups to be aware of are the less versus more traditionally oriented (i.e. more or less subsistence reliance), males versus females, and possibly the more versus less employed people (see pp. 107-108). Care should be taken to monitor these differences in attitudes as time goes on, in order to develop more support for the validity of these conclusions or reject them if they are too weak.

RECOMMENDATION: These attitudes should also be seen independently of the groups that report them, too, in order to identify "problem concepts". That is, regardless of who feels that drunks are normally "sick", the very fact that "sick" is associated with drunkenness is important for treatment planning. This finding is evidence of a pattern of perceptions about drinking conditions. Some of these "problem concepts" that should be addressed in groups and exercises are sickness, respect, friendliness or gregariousness, depression, and worry.

RECOMMENDATION: Targeting of services should take differences between subgroups based on their perceptions of personal relations into account when identifying appropriate services and problem areas for clients. In terms of personal relations and their perceptions, these groups clearly show significant differences: traditional vs. non-traditional persons, court-referred vs. non-court persons, married vs. unmarried. The problem concepts are: understanding,

obedience, respect, ordering around, meanness and anger. The problem relations here are friends, children, drinking partners, brothers and sisters, families and bosses (see pp. 112-115).

RECOMMENDATION: Two key groups are obviously embroiled in the perceptions of drinking and personal relations, and these groups should comprise a major portion of the content and approach of treatment for regional clients. These groups are (1) peers and friends, and (2) family/kin relations. The drunk is perceived as being in the midst of confusing, hostile and unbalanced relationships and sentiments involving these groups, both of which are quite distinct. The keys to the apparent alienation and rejection experienced by the drunk, as well as the polarization of responsibilities and social obligations, will be found here. These groups and the relations perceived between them are not only problems; they are resources for program development and treatment planning. The drunk is perceived as having strong obligations and sentiments for the parents; yet the parents are seen to respond with nothing more than superior gestures and anger. This is a problem, but there is a strength here too. Those kin obligations, especially to the parents, are intact. That is a strength to act upon. These perceptions alone are but part of the answer. These groups themselves should be involved in the treatment. There are few findings in the research that should be stated more emphatically than this: the families should be actively involved in client treatment, and peer groups should too. There are many differences apparent between them, of course, and those differences can be the distinction between the joint sessions or activities. The research reveals particular characteristics for the family perceptions (and still others for say, parents versus brothers and sisters) as compared with peer/friend relations (further distinguishable as friends versus drinking partners, and so forth). These differences can provide the format for separate therapeutic activities or lesson areas. Examples would include: being a friend; keeping friends; sibling relations; parent-child responsibilities; temper and anger management; obedience and respect; and so on. Numerous clues for topic areas and problem relations are revealed in pp. 112-124.

RECOMMENDATION: The program should also develop targeted services and methods for identifying possible "risk" clients through the use of life stress

or life change evidence. A life change index like the one used in the research could be administered to clients, but this is not absolutely necessary since this type of information might be readily revealed through the intake interview and a background survey. It should not be assumed that life changes cause a greater alcohol abuse risk; all we know is that alcohol problems and life changes are associated with one another.

RECOMMENDATION: Alcohol information and education efforts should not necessarily target most services and the greatest emphasis toward an identified "heavy drinker" or "drinking problem" group. Efforts should be directed toward the general public. If the results of the research on transients in Anchorage can be generalized beyond that group, for instance, it seems that the group with fewer reported problems has a more naive, superficial awareness of drinking and alcoholism (see pp. 132-134). Targeting of educational and informational services will have a more valid foundation if it is based on residence and age. The examination of the "Here's Looking At You" curriculum indicates that there are real differences in alcohol awareness and attitudes depending on whether one lives in Kotzebue or the villages, or depending on age category (see pp. 135-140).

RECOMMENDATION: Efforts aimed at increasing the acceptance of mental health and alcoholism services in the NANA communities must recognize differences between communities. Efforts of this sort are apt to be more successful if they recognize these differences from the outset and if they are developed in harmony with already existing attitudes and already acceptable help resources. For personal problems in general, the village attitudes favor personal/family resources (friends, family, relatives) while Kotzebue, with a more urbanized climate of opinion, seems to favor organizational resources (counselors, social service staff). It seems that the program must work at making organizational services legitimate and desirable in the villages while recognizing the strength and preference for family-level help. In Kotzebue, on the other hand, the program should not over-shadow family-level resources and instead work at actively recruiting them and making them legitimate.

RECOMMENDATION: An open, welcome atmosphere should be promoted within the program, not only for potential clients but for the public at large. The Mauneluk Board and other leaders should be invited to tour the program, participate in program events, and so on. This type of atmosphere is one of the more important common denominators of successful Native programs. It does more than generate community support and acceptance. If, for instance, the public is aware that (since they are welcome to drop in to tour the facility and chat with staff regardless of their need for services) you can step into the program facility for reasons other than a need for counseling, potential clients or potential informal referral sources (mothers, brothers, friends of problem drinkers) may at least come into contact with the program in a neutral way. That is, by coming to the program, you are not necessarily broadcasting to the world that "I HAVE A PROBLEM". Perhaps weekly open houses with coffee and other refreshments can be combined with an informal introduction and overview of the program that will not be threatening to potential clients that might want to check the program out, "test the water" so to speak, before committing themselves to a course of action.

RECOMMENDATION: The program should explore the possibility of developing a participatory style of management emphasizing team-work and joint responsibility and decision-making. This normally does more than relieve some of the administrative burden, since this is a way of incorporating traditional culture in a program, too. Unity, team-work and mutual decision-making are strengths of the Inupiaq culture that have a real place even today in bureaucracies and large organizations. This is not an unorthodox or nostalgic idea at all; the Japanese corporate structure follows this format exactly, and Japanese management consultants are busy world-wide showing corporations how to do this. The NANA people don't need Japanese consultants to show them how, since they already know how. It works, it is cost-effective, and it insures harmony and committment in an organization. One way this can work is as follows. If a decision or plan must be developed, a junior staff member is given the task of writing up a brief draft plan; the plan is circulated to all staff, who include their recommendations; the plan goes back to the junior staff person who incorporates the recommendations; the plan goes back to the others who approve it if the recommendations now fit and the plan looks good; at this

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point staff consensus has been reached and the administrator approves the plan unless clear regulations or policies have been side-stepped. If the decision or plan fails, then nobody is at fault since everyone was in unanimous agreement; if it succeeds, everyone shares in the success since everyone participated in the decision.

RECOMMENDATION: Special effort should be made to perform exhaustive intake and case management assessments throughout the term of treatment that will address not only specific treatment or alcohol-related needs, but legal, emotional, family, social, economic and medical needs in the broadest sense. Intake assessment and on-going evaluation should naturally take all client risk areas into account. It is too easy to adopt the "blinders" that typical and normal record keeping and case management systems give you; these "blinders" reflect needs and problems that are typical for a state or nation as a whole, but not a specific subgroup. Staff can do everything strictly required of them by funding agencies and still fail to serve their clients. It has been shown throughout this report that NANA clients have profound needs in all of the areas listed above that make them separate and distinct from other populations. They have a tremendous number of accidents (ranking first in the state), many of which are alcohol-related; local Magistrate Court records show that 93% of the criminal cases in 1979 were alcohol-related, and so far for 1980 the figure is 96%; 100% of the NANA referrals to the Alaska Psychiatric Institute for alcohol-related diagnoses fail in treatment and are returned to jail; the Kotzebue IRA reports that over 46% of the families receiving IRA social services have definite alcohol problems. The need to carefully monitor and identify all these associated factors for program clients cannot be over-emphasized. Standardized intake and monitoring tools should be developed that are sensitive to NANA region needs.

RECOMMENDATION: Because these associated needs are so great, the need for coordination of services and information sharing with others is great. The need to involve families and other community residents has already been noted. In a technical capacity the other local services should be drawn into a network of referral and information exchange that will maximize service delivery in all risk areas. The Wellness Program, Tribal Doctor, Manpower and other programs are but a few of those that have a place in this network; the HESS Task Force also

provides a resource.

RECOMMENDATION: The community and local leaders should be involved with program staff in efforts to create an Inupiaq focus in the program. Native strengths and resources should become program strengths and resources. This effort should not rest with the addition of Inupiaq "components", like periodic cultural activities, that are simply add-ons to other program elements (although cultural activities like feasts, participation in holiday events and so on are suggested too). The participatory management approach is an example of how cultural strengths can be integrated into the total fabric of the program. Other ideas include:

1. closed Native AA (or other) meetings with no whites.
2. Inupiat-facilitated sessions on Native culture and identity
3. subsistence hunting and fishing by clients in order to provide food for the residential facility; this is quite feasible, and will soon be done at the Nenana Senior Center and is currently done at the Bethel Tundra Women's Coalition shelter for abused families. This will provide a sense of belonging, enrichment, client participation, and a sense of cultural continuity in an alien setting.
4. Inupiaq interpreters for meetings with a large senior citizen participation.
5. sessions devoted to exploring Inupiaq emotional concepts, in conjunction with interpreters, elders and Tribal Doctors.
6. therapy sessions with Tribal Doctors without white participation, centering on general health and body/wellness awareness.

RECOMMENDATION: The first group of clients treated in the new program should be encouraged to develop an "alumni" group that can be recruited later to assist in the program. In fact, each set of clients coming through the program should be encouraged to do this; perhaps clients could be grouped into "clubs" or "classes" that would provide some sense of group identity outside the program itself. Outside activities like sports, recreation, social events and so on could

be centered around these cliques. Since peer relationships and friendship have already been identified as critical problem areas, these "clubs" could provide a format for positive learning experiences and models for new behavior. They should be autonomous groups with no meddling by program staff, although staff could set up the general format. Since in a residential setting there will be many chores and assignments to be performed by clients, these clubs could also provide the organizational structure for program-related jobs. Club A would be responsible for a certain set of chores, or tending the subsistence nets for one week, and then club B would rotate into that slot afterwards. Competitive sports could also be based on the clubs as team structures. The specific assignment of chores or club-related activities, though, should be in the hands of the club leaders. Staff concern should be only that the jobs get done. This is a plan that is also responsive to local needs (since staff members will be undoubtedly looked upon as bossy "know-it-alls", and this takes some of the responsibility for assignments out of their hands) and cultural values on team-work.

RECOMMENDATION: Measures of client performance and success through the treatment process should be developed that are very clear to the clients. The clients should be able to know in a concrete way, without ambiguous abstractions, just where they are at any moment. Some kind of graphic display with stages of severity or scales referring to emotional, physical and social conditions is needed, so that the client can be shown clearly where he was when he came in, and where he is now. Clients won't be responsive to treatment unless they have a clear idea what is happening to them, why treatment plans are made, and what kind of progress they have achieved.

RECOMMENDATION: Staff unity and agreement on program philosophy and goals is a key to good personnel relations and program success. Training workshops or in-service sessions should be devoted to the development of consensus on these issues, and compromises worked out that are satisfactory to all.

RECOMMENDATION: At this early stage in program development substantial effort should be directed toward setting up a cohesive administrative structure.

The "growing pains" of new or expanding programs most frequently stem from difficulties at the administrative level, and seldom have anything to do with treatment or service-related problems. However, since administrative confusion has consequences for all staff and service delivery, it often seems that the problem resides at the lower level. Basic awareness of this fact is often enough to ease some of the confusion involving channels of communication, job duties, and levels of responsibility.

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PUBLIC SAFETY AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN ALASKAN NATIVE VILLAGES

by

JOHN E. ANGELL

1981

PREFACE

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Until very recently Alaska was a poor state. For
ple, in 1969, the year the state received $900
ion in bids for Prudhoe Bay oil and gas leases, the
e budget was $150 million. The task of the state
rnment was to spread its limited revenues over a
geographical area and a wide variety of programs
projects.

Although greatly increased revenues have been in
pect since then, it took 10 years for that prospect
be realized. Last year for the first time the
e's revenues increased dramatically. With that
ease has come a new task for the government. That
is best described as "catching up"; that is, using
revenues to provide goods and services that had
too expensive in the past.

Among these goods and services are many in rural
ka, a large, thinly populated area where the cost
rograms and projects is substantially higher than
here else in the United States. In addition to
e higher costs, the government faces many problems
delivering goods and services in rural Alaska.
g these are lack of communication and transpor-
on facilities, lack of information and planning,
a markedly different cultural and social heritage.

Nowhere have these problems been more evident than
he state's provision of public safety and criminal
ice programs in rural Alaska.

We are, in truth, just beginning to address this
lem in a comprehensive fashion. So John Angell's
ription of the problems and suggested solutions are
timely. Increased state efforts in telecommuni-
ons, alcoholism prevention and treatment and air
sportation will, I hope, solve some of the problems
notes. Others will require still more effort.

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Nearly every conceivable aspect of the urban criminal justice system in America has been studied, described, classified, diagnosed, restudied and redescribed during the past 20 years. An extensive, continuous flow of information about it has touched nearly everyone. Only the most uninformed Americans do not have at least general knowledge about the problems related to public safety and justice.

The available information is not, however, complete. Little is known of the serious public safety and justice problems in remote Native villages in the wilderness areas of Alaska. As Russians, Englishmen and Americans have imposed their dominance, the people living in these communities have been deprived of their traditional social control methods by governments that have not been able to provide alternatives. Consequently, these Native Americans have been obliged to endure unusual crime and personal safety risks.

In contrast to the past, the State of Alaska now possesses sufficient resources to deal with problems facing rural Alaskans; however, appropriate action is hampered by a general lack of public appreciation of the problems. This monograph is directed at filling some of the existing informational gap. Perhaps the availability of information will serve to stimulate more intensive efforts toward correcting deficiencies.

This document could not have been produced without unique cooperation by many organizations and people. Much of the information for it was collected in 56 rural Alaska Native villages by Alaska State Troopers (who provided transportation into most of the communities); employees of Sealaska, Doyon, Calista, Nana and Bering Straits non-profit Native corporations; and staff members from the Alaska Criminal Justice Planning Agency and the University of Alaska Justice Center. The villages studied, although not randomly

selected, are outwardly representative of the Native villages in rural Alaska.

The names of many people who provided assistance did not come to my attention. Some invested resources, others personal time. Among those who I know to have made substantial contributions by providing information, transportation, support or advice related to aspects of this document are Charles Adams, Chris Anderson, Tom Anderson, John Angaiak, William Angaiak, Fred Angleton, Crystal Brand, Steve Conn, Mark Crewson, Jackie Daily, Richard DeRemer, Paul Edscorn, Roger Endell, Tom Ellana, Glen Godfrey, Dave Gosselin, John Havelock, Bill Horr, Dorothy Isabelle, Jim Lansberry, William Manumek, Don May, Ben Maxon, Leonard McCarr, Blair McCune, William McMillion, Tom Moxie, Neil Murphy, George Neck, Sam Peter, Peter Ring, Jim Sanders, Gayle Shoemaker, Roy Seagrave, John Sharp, Debbie Sparks, Yako Tinker and Lisa Waters. I am indebted in a variety of ways to each of these people.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Phyl Booth, Darline Creen, Deirdre Ford and Louisa Snyder for providing the editorial and clerical assistance which has resulted in the completion of this work.

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The shortcomings of this monograph are in spite of the efforts of the people involved and no doubt are a consequence of my failure to completely accept their advice.

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January, 1981

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Alaska, with fewer inhabitants than Portland, Oregon, has a land area larger than Texas, California and Montana combined (Chart 1). The Southeastern part of the state is as far east as the state of Washington and the Western part is within sight of Russia. It spans four time zones--there would be a fifth but the international date line is bent westward to keep part of the state from being a day ahead of the rest of the United States. The distance between the state capital, Juneau, and the northernmost part of the state is roughly equal to the distance between New York City and Kansas City.

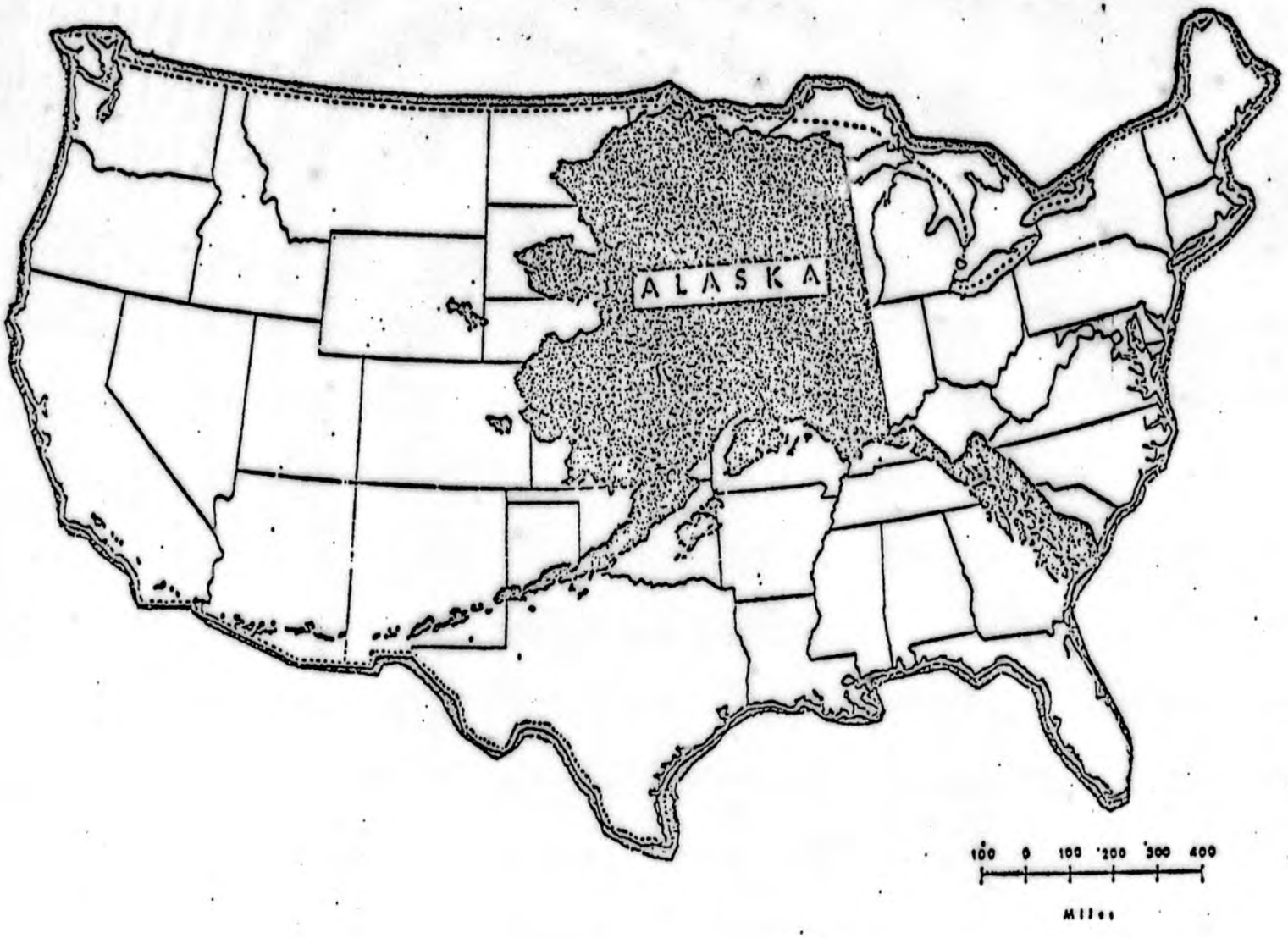
Although over three-fourths of Alaska's people reside in commercial cities similar to those found in other states, the majority of the remainder are Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts who reside in small villages in remote, roadless regions of the state. Although Alaskan Natives in these communities do not--and never have--resided in the igloos of American mythology, they often live at a poverty level in some of the most isolated places and austere conditions in the United States. The most luxurious conveniences in many of these villages are electricity generated by local power plants and satellite television which provides live broadcasts from such far-away places as New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. In the winter, ice cut from nearby lakes is often stacked outside houses to be melted for water, and containers referred to locally as "honey buckets" serve as toilets in homes.

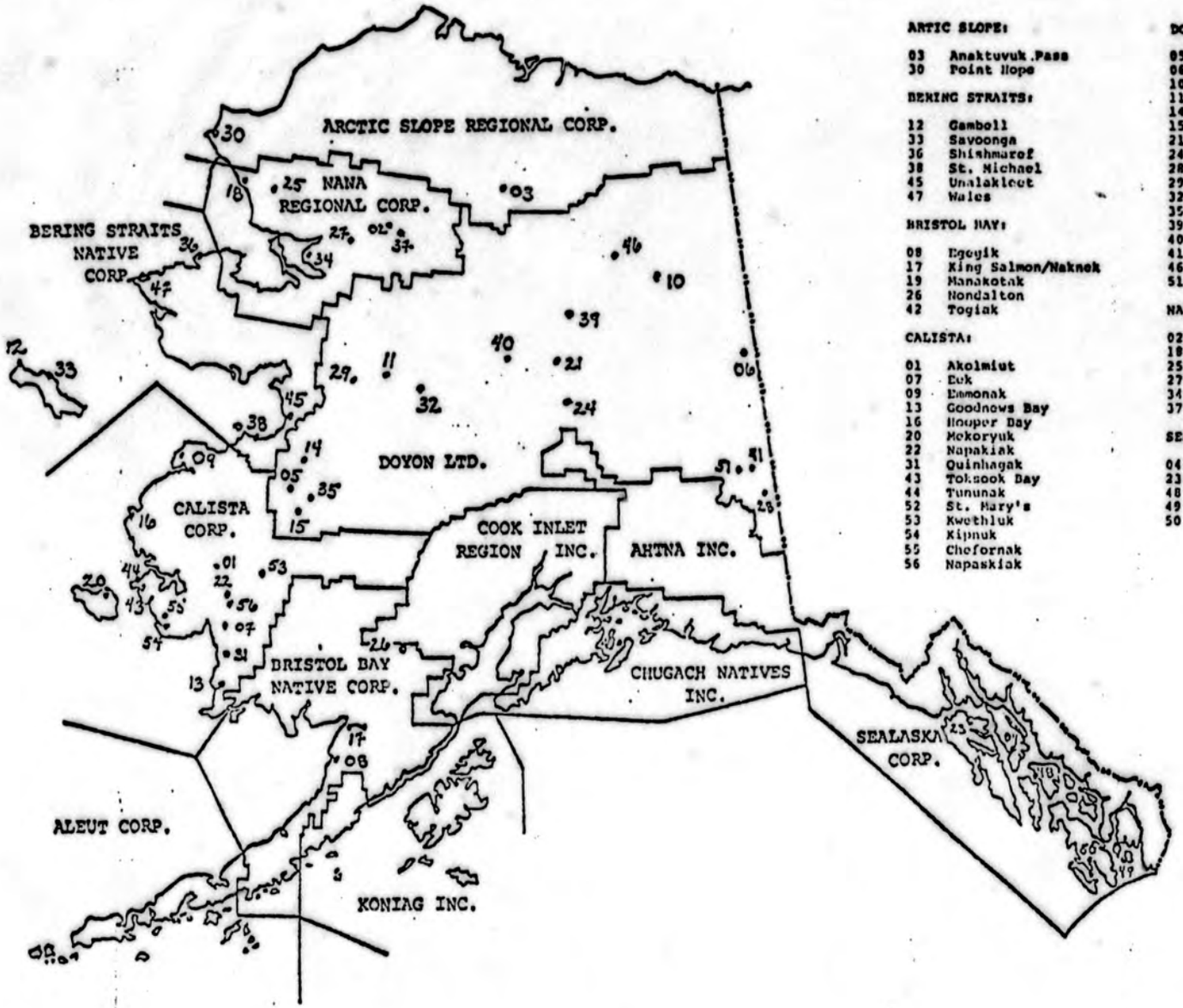
Few Americans have any understanding of the lifestyles and problems of these traditionally peaceful and unassuming Native people. Although their situation is more conspicuous in Alaska than it is elsewhere, even the average Alaskan has very little current information about Native village life. Comprehensive factual data concerning present crime rates, policing methods and local deviancy control mechanisms in rural Alaska simply do not exist.

CHART 1

GEOGRAPHIC SIZE COMPARISON

Alaska vs. "Lower 48"





ARTIC SLOPE:

03 Anaktuvuk Pass
30 Point Hope

BERING STRAITS:

12 Gamboll
33 Savoonga
36 Shishmaref
38 St. Michael
45 Unalakleet
47 Wales

BRISTOL BAY:

08 Egegik
17 King Salmon/Naknek
19 Manakotak
26 Nondalton
42 Togiak

CALISTA:

01 Akolmiut
07 Euk
09 Emmonak
13 Goodnews Bay
16 Hooper Bay
20 Mekoryuk
22 Napakiak
31 Quinhagak
43 Toksook Bay
44 Tununak
52 St. Mary's
53 Kwethluk
54 Kipnuk
55 Chefornak
56 Napaskiak

DOYAN:

05 Anvik
06 Eagle Village
10 Fort Yukon
11 Galena
14 Grayling
15 Holy Cross
21 Minto
24 Nenana
28 Northway
29 Nulato
32 Ruby
35 Shageluk
39 Stevens Village
40 Tenana
41 Tetlin
46 Venetie
51 Tok

NANA:

02 Ambler
18 Kivalina
25 Noatak
27 Noorvik
34 Selawik
37 Shungnak

SEALASKA:

04 Angoon
23 Hoonah
48 Kake
49 Metlakatla
50 Hydaburg

CHART 2

Consequently, Native villages are stereotyped as tranquil, secure communities occupied by carefree people who have few of the public safety problems of urban residents.

The typical Native village in Alaska has between 70 and 1300 residents and is located over 100 miles from a commercial city. It is accessible only by aircraft or wilderness travel (Chart 2). Most villages do not have roadways to even one other community. They are without the conveniences which would be considered essential if judged by the standards of people in even the poorest areas of the other 49 states. Not only are they without a sewer system or running water, but in all likelihood they do not have a fire extinguisher or any organized method for fighting fires.[1] They usually have at least two government employees--a health aide (a local resident who usually has received training in the rudimentary knowledge of medical problems) and a white teacher brought to the village to teach primary school children.[2] Most villages have one or more "stores" which stock basic dry and canned goods for sale at high prices.[3] Nearly all have at least one "community" radio-telephone which is frequently inoperable.[4] When the community telephone is not working, emergency calls can at times be made on a radio provided by either the school or health system. But, obtaining emergency assistance is often impeded by adverse flying weather and unavailable emergency response personnel.

Most Native communities are classified as Second Class Alaskan cities to qualify them for limited amounts of state revenue sharing and federal funds. Hence, each has an elected city council, and a mayor who is the chief administrator. These officials usually serve without pay.

Slightly over half of the rural villages in Alaska have a part-time person who is considered the police department.[5] There are no other representatives of the "justice" system in most communities except during an emergency or the existence of a special problem. A few have a makeshift cell that can be used for the temporary detention of dangerous, disorderly, suicidal or drunk prisoners. Otherwise such people are handcuffed or taped to secure objects such as beds or posts until they calm down or assistance--usually from a State Trooper living in a faraway community--is obtained.

Native villages are frequently surrounded by state or federal land and have no appreciable property tax base. The lack of available jobs eliminates the productivity of income or sales taxes. Therefore, the revenues used to operate the village governments are almost entirely state and federal grants in aid. Total government operating expenditures average less than $100 per capita.

Aircraft fly into each village about once a week--a practice made necessary by U. S. mail delivery. Mail planes carry passengers and serve as a primary method of transportation between these remote communities. Mechanical transportation (usually all-terrain vehicles or snow machines) is used within the immediate area of a community.

CHART 3

ALASKA POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

Age	Reported Village Distribution	1970 Alaska Distribution
65 and above	5%	2%
50 - 64	8%	9%
30 - 49	16%	25%
20 - 29	18%	21%
0 - 19	53%	34%

Native communities have a higher proportion of young and elderly people than the state as a whole (Chart 3). This situation may be the result of the fact that few jobs are available in the local communities, and people in the child rearing age category of 20 to 50 tend to travel to the commercial cities in search of employment. Hence, the lower than normal proportion of residents in this age range. The unique age distribution plus the longstanding practice of sending high school age children to residential, regional schools in distant commercial cities seems to

be contributing to an increasing amount of conflict and delinquency in many of the communities.

The primary languages spoken in Native communities are nearly equally divided between English and Athabascan or one of the Eskimo dialects. English is a second language in every community where it is not the primary language.

The environment combined with tradition limits the practices of agriculture for food production. Processed foods from the Outside are both expensive and foreign to the traditional Native diets. Approximately half of residents of communities are heavily dependent on subsistence methods (i.e., hunting, fishing and wildberry collecting) for much of their food. Reliance on this method of livelihood has been only slowly diminished in recent years.

The lack of opportunities for stable employment is no doubt a significant factor which binds so many to subsistence methods. About one-fifth of the adults in villages have paying jobs as a primary source of livelihood, and nearly all of these people hold government positions. Many employed residents are whites who moved to the community to accept jobs rather than local Natives. The average family income is less than $10,000 per year. All regions of Alaska have Native villages where over 90% of the inhabitants depend almost entirely on hunting, fishing and wild food gathering for survival.

The tension created by the growth of an economic system where money is essential for goods and services and the lack of local jobs has a multitude of consequences. The working age people who migrate to commercial cities in search of work often lack the appropriate knowledge and skills, and are unsuccessful. They associate with other unemployed Natives, adopt a defeatist attitude and many times become participants in the skid row scene of Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau. They return to their home villages with alcohol problems and negative attitudes about the urban areas and people. The damaging psychological and social consequences of this situation can be seen in both the urban centers and rural villages.

Family life within the villages is being affected by these situations and it concerns Alaskan Natives.

Cultural conflict is conspicuous in expressions of concern such as the following made by Native leaders:

- We are moving away from traditions. There is more drinking now than in the past. Young have less respect for older people. Younger generation getting into white man's world. More outside drugs are coming in.

- Youth don't listen to their parents. The older people do not have the same position of respect they used to have.

- Youth are using alcohol and drugs. Youth are receiving all of the attention--elderly are being overlooked.

- Young children haven't learned anything (in school). Old people still have to teach them everything. Youth have changed their behavior today for the worse.

- Children don't understand or speak Eskimo. Subsistence was easy ten years ago. Today, money is needed for everything.

- Young people today act like they are boss of older people. Older people don't have much control over young anymore.

- There is a feeling youth are getting too modernized. There is a growing communication gap and lack of recognition of elderly.

- Women's lib has occurred in most families. Young people are not looking forward to future for living--there are few that are getting their education. Young kids returning from school like to play around and do not have a way of getting along with their elders. They act as spoiled kids, with high manners.

- Youth have adopted more of white man's ways. Youth don't know how to work (can't make sleds, mend nets, etc.).

- Each age group seems to be drifting further apart. Family outings are frequent, but com-

munity outings are less frequent. No youth facilities when boarding school students return home.

Village residents are particularly concerned about the increasing use of alcohol and drugs by young people, and the impact of cultural changes which are often viewed as incompatible with life in the wilderness areas where they live. Urban residents are unhappy about those aspects of these problems which affect their recreational oopportunities and cities. The two groups seldom perceive the relationship between their problems.

Despite shortcomings and difficulties, the life in rural communities is preferred by those who were reared there. Village life provides a sense of security that only accompanies close social and family relationships and familiar surroundings. Contrary to the popular Alaskan opinion, however, the life in Native villages has seldom been and is not now simple, tranquil or easy. Alaskan Natives exist in a margin between their past and the dominant practices in the world outside their enclaves. A sound understanding of the public safety and justice problems facing these people must include a general familiarity with both the historical background and present situation in Native communities.

FOOTNOTES

[1] In many communities in the winter, only snow is available for fire fighting. According to Alaska Department of Public Safety estimates, the residential fire loss rate in rural Alaska is the highest in the United States.

[2] Health aides are given training in first aid and emergency medical services by state and federal governments. They are usually local residents and they receive basic support from regional hospitals located in the commercial centers of each region and Anchorage. All critical cases are transported to Anchorage, Fairbanks or Juneau. Elementary teachers often reside in the village; other education is provided at regional dormitory style schools in commercial cities. Children return home in the summer.

[3] Food and dry goods prices often run four to six times as high as the average in the United States. For example, in some places eggs sell for $2 a dozen, milk is $3 a half gallon, and bread is over $2 a loaf. A 750 lt. bottle of whiskey in most villages costs $40 to $60.

[4] The addition of village telephones was made possible, in recent years, by communications satellites. The state has made a concerted effort to ensure that every community has a means of emergency communication, although communities often do not have working telephones nor radios.

[5] The Alaska State Troopers residing in commercial centers of the state have traditionally responded by aircraft to emergencies in villages. Since 1970 they have attempted to establish Anglo-American type laws and justice operations in the Native communities. Further, they have trained local residents in law writing, policing and judicial operations. (See John Angell, Alaska Village Police Training: An Assessment and Recommendation. Anchorage: Criminal Justice Center, University of Alaska, 1978.)

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONS, PRACTICES AND PROBLEMS

The term "bush justice" is used in Alaska to define a general area encompassing the nature and methods of social control and public safety of predominantly Native communities in the rural areas of the state. A person with even the most superficial familiarity with the history, customs or lifestyles of Alaska's Native people would suspect that the bush justice situation is markedly different from the justice and public safety conditions existing elsewhere in American communities.

Among the fundamental issues concerning Alaska bush justice are the relationships among Native customs, formal laws, law enforcement and the crime and deviance situations in Native communities. This chapter will be devoted to the exploration of some aspects of these relationships.

SOCIAL CONTROL TRADITIONS

The anthropological and historical literature about Alaska Natives provides numerous examples of differences not only between Native and non-Native values and customs, but also among the various Native groups indigenous to Alaska.[1]

The Tlingit Indians in the Southeastern part of the state were originally organized into heredity clans. The only punishable offenses within each clan were incest and witchcraft.[2] Many inter-clan offenses pertaining to life, property or honor were settled by payment of goods from one clan to another:

> Murder was generally punished by death--a man of equal rank being selected from the murderer's clan. In case the murderer was of much higher rank than the man murdered, his clan would offer restitution by a payment of goods. This would also be true if there were slight differences of rank between the murdered man and the man selected to pay for his

> loss. Equality was demanded and differences were always made up by payment of goods.[3]

In contrast to the retributive approach of the Tlingits, the literature indicates the prevalent social control mechanisms of Northern Eskimos included conflict-avoidance, and the use of subtle oblique sanctions such as laughing in wrongdoer's presence and ostracism. Forceful methods of retribution were seldom used, and only rarely, such as in cases of multiple killings, would kinsmen or villagers--selected by group consensus--conduct the execution of a murderer.[4]

These Northern Eskimos, reportedly, avoided giving an order to another; therefore, no formal legal or judicial authority existed.[5] They relied mainly on the fear of stigma for controlling behavior. One author observed:

> They built a society without formal laws or punishments, without courts and prisons. If a man committed a serious criminal act, the people did not strike him down - they ignored him, until finally, finding his life unbearable, he would convict himself and walk alone out of the village to his death on the frozen tundra. The greatest cause of death among adults on the Arctic Slope is still classified in public health statistics as "accidental."[6]

The Inland (Nunamiut) Eskimos traditionally formed hunting bands consisting of kin groups with a recognized leader called an "umealik." The "umealik" was a successful hunter who led the migrant band in its pursuit of caribou herds. A hunting band leader usually had several household groups under his informal control. In these communities the practice of extended family control--where the household head relied on verbal admonishment or mild advice--was used for social control, and only in extreme cases did the person in authority resort to authoritative sanctions.[7]

> An "umealik" relied almost exclusively on non-physical, i.e., verbal and psychological sanctions. Public reprimand, admonishment, giving the culprit a derogatory name by which he would be called for the rest of his life, or,

> in the more serious cases, ostracism and eviction were adjudicated especially in convictions for murder. Only in cases of criminal recidivism did the "umealik" invoke the penalty of execution.[8]

The interior Athabascan Indians were matrilineal groupings with patrilineal inheritance of leadership and judicial responsibilities. Deviancy control was based upon three primary assumptions:

1. The authority of the leader was viewed as absolute.

2. An individual called before the village authority was deemed to be guilty of conduct at variance with recognized village norms.

3. The appearance before the authority was to make amends.

Sanctions involved remuneration of goods to victims, as well as loss of public reputation for the transgressor, and occasional execution or banishment used--particularly for repeat offenders--as a "punishment" decision.[9]

Cultural influences are not easily nor quickly neutralized, and despite intensive pressures for change placed on Alaska Natives during the past 80 years, traces of the traditional social control practice or "law ways" can still be found in their community operations and personal behavior. These traditional practices, although generally unrecognized, will most likely continue to influence both the level of acceptance and the operation of Anglo-American justice operations in Native communities throughout the foreseeable future.

An illustration of the subtle yet powerful influence of an element of the culture of some Natives on their behavior vis-a-vis agents of criminal justice can be found in their reported abhorrence of the practice of lying.[10] These Native groups have historically viewed even minor deviation from fact as a form of unacceptable behavior so serious as to merit banishment or death.

Such severe retaliation probably has not been imposed for at least two generations. However, according to law enforcement officers who have worked both in the state's larger cities and in remote Native communities, rural Natives still adhere to a much higher degree of accuracy and precision in statements made to the officers than do non-Natives in urban areas. These Natives usually responded with straightforward, truthful and self-incriminating answers to questions by police officers who suspected them of deviant actions.

Upon being apprehended by police, an intoxicated person from an Anglo culture can be expected to insist that he has had only "two beers." A Native in the same situation will more often than not give a precise accounting of the amount of alcohol consumed. After recently observing a young Native who was facing manslaughter charges stemming from a snow machine wreck on the North Slope explain openly to a police officer how he had consumed eight water glasses of Jack Daniels whiskey prior to the accident, it has been interesting to read in the Anchorage newspaper of prominant, white government officials, who with a blood alcohol test of above .20 have been arrested for driving while intoxicated, insisting they had only a couple of beers before driving.

Such differences in values in all likelihood have far reaching implications for a Native person's understanding of the Alaska justice system. How can a person understand the logic or rationalize the exercise of constitutional rights when he is morally opposed to any behavior that is not completely straightforward? Could such a person maintain respect for a legal system viewed as encouraging morally deplorable behavior? If Natives view lying as being seriously wrong, how does it influence their perspectives about appropriate laws and justice procedures? It is easy to understand why rural Native defendants are often perplexed when advised by defense counsel to enter "not guilty" pleas at judicial proceedings. After all, they explain to defense attorneys, they <u>did</u> commit the acts, and it would be wrong to claim <u>they</u> are not guilty of them. This characteristic of truthfulness alone could account for a higher conviction rate of Natives than other Alaskans.

In addition to the influence of the customary perspectives concerning right and wrong on behavior, traditional practices for dealing with deviants also influence the way Native communities deal with present day deviancy. For example, the tradition in some Native groups of expecting a victim, or the victim's family and friends, to assume personal responsibility for initiating recourse meant that weaker victims were in some cases compelled to absorb damages inflicted by aggressors because they were physically unable to institute appropriate recourse. Such tolerance among some Natives still exists.

The broader community became involved only after the behavior of an aggressor was perceived as a substantial threat to the entire community. Repeated acts of community-damaging misbehavior were commonly handled by serious discussions between elders of the community and the wayward person. Several such discussions--or warnings--usually preceded any overt action against the person. People who engaged in unacceptable behavior were tolerated until their cumulative behavior became a basis for direct action. When the day of reckoning was reached--often after several years of tolerating misconduct--action was taken. In such cases the person might be banished from the community.

The federal and state constitutions that have been imposed on the Natives hamper continued use of banishment; however, the influence of this traditional way of handling unacceptable behavior is apparent in the present day procedures for handling deviancy in some communities. Native communities still initially dispose of most cases of minor deviancy themselves. The normal practice involves a village council accepting referrals from the village police and rendering decisions about the disposition of the accused. For first offenses, the offender is almost inevitably issued a warning.

Where the case involves a matter that causes widespread concern, the council may call a meeting of all village people and a consensus is reached on the appropriate course of action. Minor misbehavior may be handled by requiring the offender to perform work such as cutting wood, shoveling snow or carrying water for the village. Repeated misbehavior or misbehavior that is considered extremely offensive is nearly always referred to the Alaska State Troopers.

On occasion, Alaska State Troopers are summoned to villages and presented with someone the villagers wish removed for committing crimes. Upon checking the facts, it often becomes apparent that the accusations against a person involve crimes which have occurred over a period of 10 to 15 years, and little evidence of the criminal acts still exists. Even if the evidence is strong statutes of limitation prevent prosecution. Troopers are placed in a difficult position of explaining why it is not possible for them to remove the person from the village.

It seems quite likely that State Troopers are the last in a line of government officials, starting with the Revenue Cutter Service and Federal Marshals, who have been adopted by the Natives as agents of banishment. They serve the villages by removing people whose behavior is so unacceptable the village residents no longer want them in their community. Since the village cannot send a wayward person off into the wilderness, the Troopers provide a palatable alternative. The traditional Native practices and the Anglo-American justice system, thus, have been integrated to form a less-than-perfect accommodation.

Not enough attention has been paid specifically to developing an effective hybrid system that incorporates considerations of Native culture and serves the social control needs of Native communities.

DEFINITIONS OF DIFFERENCES

Unique differences in the rural and urban social control systems of Alaska are widely enough recognized to be reflected in the vocabulary of Alaskans. "Villages" are rural Native cities; "towns" or "cities" are non-Native communities. "Bush justice" is the social control operation in the rural areas occupied primarily by Natives; "criminal justice" is the system in the urban areas of the state. "Village police" work in Native communities; "police officers" are in the urban commercial centers. Such recognition of two systems might serve a worthwhile purpose, but it does not. Instead it designates the existence of a problem.

The two systems denoted by the language are not equally viewed nor viewed as equal. Information con-

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cerning the "Alaska criminal justice system" is extensive; however, there is more information available about the "bush justice system" of early territorial days than there is about its present day operations.

The Alaska criminal justice plans from 1969 through 1977 contain only passing reference to the rural Native villages of the state.[11] The references made to Alaska Natives in the 1969 state plan relate to the possibilities for civil disorder,[12] the need for recruiting more Natives into the Alaska State Troopers,[13] and the arrest rate of Natives.[14]

Although state plans contain gradual increases in the amount of attention paid to Natives and Native communities, the 1978 Criminal Justice Plan is the first to devote any substantial amount to the Native communities and their criminal justice problems.[15] The shortcomings concerning information about the rural communities remain apparent even in this document. For example, the crime statistics available were not arranged to reflect the crime rates in Native villages. Crime statistics for predominantly white communities are reported by the community; however, the crimes that occurred in the Native communities with comparable populations are reported as "the rest of the state." A second example can be found in the description of local policing, nearly all of the state's predominantly white communities with police are listed--including such communities as Whittier with 186 residents and North Pole with 265. The list does not, however, include substantially larger Native communities such as Hoonah, Hooper Bay, Selawik nor Togiak--all of which have several police officers.

Other justice system-related documents containing present rural data obtained in the larger isolated commercial cities with substantial Native resident populations (i.e., Barrow, Bethel, Kotzebue and Nome) rather than from the more traditionalistic and remote villages.[16] This data describes regional centers, but not rural villages. The smaller and more isolated Native communities are as different from Nome or Barrow as they are from Juneau or Fairbanks.

The sketchy rural data render it impractical, if not impossible, to make quantitative comparisons of the

justice situations in rural Native communities with those in non-Native commercial centers of the state. As a consequence the information about contemporary crime and social control in rural Native communities is not discernible and, from the standpoint of justice operations, Native communities are invisible entities. As a result of this situation, the urban justice system has received a disproportionate amount of the state's resources.

The problems of rural Native communities cannot be recognized, much less solved, until systematic approaches for the collecting and processing of information are instituted. If the crime and justice situations in Native communities are to be sufficiently illuminated for problem identification, planning and policy development, continuous data reporting and processing arrangements will have to be established.[17]

ROLE OF ANGLO LAW

Native communities have been encouraged to enact their own ordinances for handling situations and behavior the villagers find objectionable. These ordinances usually deal with curfews for people under 18, stray dogs, trash and garbage, the operation of snow machines, consumption of alcohol and use of citizen band radios (Appendix A). In some cases local ordinances also deal with the protection of fish and wildlife resources. In many cases these ordinances were adopted in response to suggestions by Alaska State Troopers who visited the various villages and trained village police officers. These troopers persuaded villagers that no enforcement was possible unless written descriptions of the undesirable behavior existed.[18]

Many city ordinances have legally questionable provisions. Some are saliently unconstitutional. Since nearly all villages are second class cities, the use of improperly constructed ordinances places the municipalities in a vulnerable position of liability for damages.

Although some Native communities have created their own ordinances for misdemeanor offenses, few if any use them for handling serious criminal acts (Chart 4). Felonies are generally handled by the application of state laws. Few of the local people have access within the village to the Alaska Statutes, and public officials believe that most residents are not familiar with the laws of the state. It is commonly contended by villagers that people would follow the law if only they knew what it was. Aside from actions by locally assigned State Troopers, little effort has been devoted to informing Native people of the law or Anglo legal methods. In light of the legal preparation and perspective of state police officers, a public policy of placing such responsibility with the police needs careful consideration by policy making officials of Alaska.

CHART 4

HOW ARE CRIMINAL OFFENSES HANDLED?

	TYPES OF CRIMES									
STRATEGY	FELONY		MISDE-MEANOR		DELIN-QUENCY		ALL		N.R.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
State Laws	28	55	2	4			14	28	7	14
Village Ordinances			24	47	1	2	11	22	15	29
Ignores			1	2	2	4	1	2	47	92

Alaska State Troopers use Alaska State Statutes nearly exclusively as a basis for their enforcement efforts in Native villages (Chart 5). In contrast, village police rely predominantly on village ordinances and personal persuasion in dealing with offenders. The local police officers feel that most of the people living in their communities agree with the laws being enforced. Village police believe that most people agree with the laws enforced in the village (Chart 6).

CHART 5

METHODS USED TO HANDLE VILLAGE CRIME

METHOD	VILLAGE POLICE		ALASKA TROOPERS	
	#	%	#	%
State Laws	15	31.9	38	80.9
Village Codes	17	36.9		
Personal/Warnings	8	17.0		
Other	1	2.1	1	2.1
No Response	6	12.7	8	16.9

More than one-half of the elected village officials feel the current ordinances are inadequate and new village laws are needed to handle crime and delinquency problems in the community (Chart 7). The ordinances are not by any means comprehensive and they suffer from a lack of precision. Most people believe the deficiencies exist because state justice officials in the rural areas have not provided adequate assistance to rural communities in the preparation of city ordinances.

CHART 6

AGREEMENT WITH LAWS ENFORCED IN VILLAGES

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT	VILLAGE POLICE		ALASKA TROOPERS	
	#	%	#	%
Strongly Agree	16	34.0	16	34.0
Agree	18	38.3	16	34.0
Not Sure	4	8.5	6	12.8
Disagree	2	4.3	1	2.1
Strongly Diagree	1	2.1	1	2.1
No Reply	6	12.6	7	14.9

There does not seem to be any inclination among Native community leaders to reject the concept of written law. While the customary ways for dealing with deviancy seem to have an important albeit inconspicuous and compatible, influence on the way misbehavior in the communities is handled, there is one significant area where Native traditions and the Alaska legal system sharply clash. The conflict stems from the State's adoption and enforcement of fish and wildlife laws and regulations.

CHART 7

VILLAGE OFFICIALS PERCEPTION OF NEED FOR NEW LAWS

ARE NEW LAWS NEEDED?	#	%
Yes	28	54.9
No	22	43.1
No Response	1	2.0

HUNTING AND FISHING REGULATION

Given the dependency of people in the rural areas on subsistence hunting, fishing and food collecting for livelihood, tension over wildlife enforcement is not surprising. Native community leaders are in practically unanimous agreement that fish and wildlife laws and regulations are the major source of conflicts between Natives and the Alaska justice system.

The explanations of the problems in this area by village residents are relatively consistent across the entire state. For example, as reflected in the following statement by a Native official, there is a strong perception of long range damage to Natives by the imposition of Anglo-type fish and wildlife practices:

> "Native people have a lot harder time now that there are fish and game laws. They look at food stamps, public assistance and other sources for food and so forth. A lot of this

has hurt the Native pride of living and how it is depended on."

The statement of another village official conveys a sense of the serious short-range impact of many fish and wildlife laws on the ability of village residents to feed themselves:

"Families sometimes run short on food toward the end of winter. Fish and game laws do not permit people in dire need to hunt waterfowl."

The Fish and Game Board's approach to the regulation of hunting and fishing is attacked as restricting hunting and fishing by Native people who rely on these techniques for sustenance so that game will be available to people who hunt solely for sport. To quote a person with this perspective:

"Emphasis is on trophy hunting and thrill sports instead of subsistence fishing and hunting. Fish and Wildlife should not sacrifice subsistence hunting for benefit of trophy hunting."

The general conclusion about the state's efforts in the regulation of hunting and fishing is reflected in the following statement:

"State doesn't understand subsistence way of life. Need to get more input from villages. State has never tried to understand laws from (a Native) community point of view. (There is) no follow-up when input is obtained. Enforcement of Fish and Game is weak and irregular; Outsiders can break law without fear. Fish and Game too political; (there is a) lack of understanding of villagers and cultural background."

In most instances, local Native community leaders have been pleading for understanding much as they are issuing demands. Throughout Native communities the message is similar. A North Slope village official observed,

"Most of the older people have no taste for white folks' meats. The prices are too high

> on meats. Large families have small chance to get wild meat. Give local people at least some permits to hunt."

Some point out that wildlife use in religious activities such as Potlatch is as important to Natives as the use of wine in some Christian ceremonies. Even though non-Natives understand perfectly well why the use of wine for communion cannot be banned, they have a more difficult time understanding Natives must have fresh moose meat for funeral services.

The North Slope is in the geographic area where Native people depend heavily on whaling for food. In an effort to prevent annihilation of the species, bowhead whale hunting may be completely prohibited by the federal government within the near future. This is an instance where exclusive reliance on legal strategies to solve a biological problem will probably have long-range social consequences far beyond anything anticipated by policy makers. There is a critical need to redefine the problem to include greater consideration of the impact of such actions on the lives and existence of Alaskan Natives.

The dilemma which Alaskan citizens and policy officials must face is clearly reflected in a statement made by a Southwestern Alaska village official:

> "Some laws are needed to prevent the abuse of fish and game; on the other hand, there are families starving who need the food these laws prevent them from receiving."

Some leaders offer simplistic solutions such as the following for problems related to fish and wildlife enforcement.

- It would be better if the Fish and Game would enforce (laws) on the people that are wasting food, especially the head hunters; (Natives) must have subsistence hunting and fishing.

- Allow subsistence hunting and fishing limited to game that is used for food--not wasted. Local council (should) enforce game laws.

Other Natives, however, have ambivalent feelings concerning the appropriate course for future state

action. Some believe it would be sufficient to involve local villagers in both the establishment and enforcement of hunting and fishing regulations and laws. Others feel that consultation by legislators and the Fish and Game Board with Native groups before and during enactment of laws and regulations would be adequate. Other rural Natives do not believe that their need for wild meat and fish can be adequately assessed nor prioritized by state policy officials who are not familiar with their lifestyles, values and needs, or as one said, "(by people) who have never lived a subsistence life nor been in a Native village overnight."

Some people foresee problems with placing control of fish and wildlife entirely and exclusively within local authority. For example, one Native pointed out existing state-established quotas on fish are not respected by others downstream who take most of the fish. He said there should be a lower quota and stricter enforcement at the Yukon mouth so more fish would be available for the subsistence of people upstream. Local control of fish and wildlife could not provide such regulation.

A need for some type of fish and wildlife regulations to ensure maintenance of the supply and prevent abuses by thoughtless or greedy people is felt by most Natives. However, they feel regulations should ensure that the livelihood needs of people, who have relied on wildlife for survival throughout history and have few other options for survival, should remain first priority.

The recently passed law giving priority to subsistence users of fish and wildlife, and the present movement within the state to rely more heavily on regional fish and game advisory boards, seems to indicate some of the Native concerns in this area are beginning to receive policy level attention. It is quite clear, Alaskan Natives in rural communities have grave concerns and strong feelings of apprehension concerning this issue. It is a fundamental issue which impacts their identities and future lives. It is likely, however, that without greater understanding by urban residents, the public pressure will be directed at eliminating state policies which protect subsistence hunting and fishing. Without more attention to improving public understanding, this area is certain to

be a source of major social conflict and problems in Alaska's immediate future.

SERIOUSNESS OF CRIME

The inadequacy of crime statistics from rural areas of Alaska makes it difficult to assess the seriousness of crime in Alaskan Native Communities or compare it with crime in other parts of the state. Community leaders tend, however, to be more concerned about socio-economic than crime problems in their communities. When considering the total situation, unemployment and economic matters are perceived by village leaders as the most significant problems facing Native villages (Chart 8). This perspective appears to be closely linked with the subsistence hunting and fishing problems just discussed. It is logical that food and shelter are viewed as more important than social control and community tranquility.

CHART 8

MOST SERIOUS COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

PROBLEM MENTIONED	FREQUENCY OF MENTIONS	
	#	%
Economic/Unemployment	21	41
Alcohol/Drugs	18	35
Crime/Delinquency	4	8
Lack of Community Services	3	6
Social, Health, Population	3	6
Miscellaneous	2	4

Alcohol and drug problems are also seen as more critical and pressing than crime problems. Perhaps these substance-use problems are perceived by rural residents as inseparably linked with the deviant behavior and crime in the communities. The alcohol situation has been a conspicuous source of constant concern since before Alaskan territorial days; however,

the sale and use of drugs--mainly by the younger people--are felt by village authorities to be new and rapidly growing problems facing Native people. The control of alcohol and drug use in villages is usually viewed as the most effective way of preventing and controlling wayward and criminal behavior in these communities.

Crime and delinquency are felt to be the third most significant category of problems facing Native communities. In most communities, crime and delinquency is ranked slightly higher than the categories of inadequate community services such as fire, police and youth centers and social, health and population growth problems. All of these problems are obviously closely interrelated.

The relatively low ranking given crime problems may also be a function of a perception of crime as an urban problem. Most village officials feel crime is relatively less serious in their communities than in Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau (Chart 9). Only a small proportion of the officials believe crime in their community is more serious, in contrast to 90% who view it as about the same or less serious than in Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau. It is important to consider whether such impressions are well founded.

CHART 9

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME IN VILLAGES
VIS-A-VIS ANCHORAGE, FAIRBANKS, JUNEAU

SERIOUSNESS	OFFICIALS' PERCEPTIONS	
	#	%
Much More Serious	2	4
More Serious	0	0
About the Same	10	20
Less Serious	19	37
Much Less Serious	17	33
No Reply	3	6

A comparison of actual crime levels in urban areas with those in the rural villages is hampered by two conditions. First, as previously mentioned, crime statistics for Alaska are reported and tabulated in a way that makes it difficult if not impossible to identify either rural regions or individual Native communities. Municipalities of the state with the economic base to provide the normal public services produce crime reports and statistics and provide these statistics to the state. These statistics are tabulated in state reports by state. The rural villages, however, do not have the resources to engage in such reporting, and crime statistics from all areas outside the cash economy municipalities are accumulated and reported by the Alaska State Troopers. These statistics are compiled in state reports under the encompassing categories of "Alaska State Troopers" or "rest of the state." As a result, it is not possible to distinguish between the crime in suburban areas near Anchorage or Fairbanks and the Native communities.

CHART 10

COMPARISON OF ALASKA VILLAGES, ALASKA STATEWIDE, AND UNITED STATES CRIME RATES

CATEGORY OF CRIME	RATES*		
	ALASKA VILLAGES	ALASKA STATEWIDE	UNITED STATES
Homicide	28.4	10.9	8.8
Rape	99.2	50.3	26.4
Robbery	127.6	96.5	195.8
Aggravated Assault	326.0	286.5	228.6
Burglary	936.8	1310.2	1439.4
Vehicle Theft	446.5	3272.6	2921.3
Simple Assault	354.3	783.7	446.1

*Per 100,000 population in 1977.

Second, the crime patterns in the rural communities are undoubtedly different from those of the urban areas of the state. For example, the difference

in physical possessions such as automobiles and jewelry between villages and urban areas no doubt influences the theft rates. The overall crime rates in urban areas are substantially inflated by these differences. Therefore, even if usable official crime statistics were available, their appearance is likely to be skewed.

Crime statistics obtained directly from local police officers can be used for a gross comparison of the crime situation throughout the state. Such a comparison supports a conclusion that the impressions of the officials about a lower crime rate in villages is in some respects erroneous (Chart 10). If the village police reports of the crimes of homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault are accurate (and they appear to be consistent with other available information), the ratio of these crimes to population is greater in Native villages than it is in urban areas. In regard to crimes of violence, the villages are nearly twice as hazardous places as urban areas of the state. Further, they are considerably more hazardous than other places in the United States.

Property crimes, on the other hand, seem to occur less frequently in villages--perhaps as a consequence of the available property and personal relationships in the Native communities.

PUBLIC SAFETY EMERGENCIES

The preceding statistics concerning incidence of crime in the individual villages themselves do not adequately illustrate a frightening public safety situation facing many remote villages of the state. In most villages when a life-threatening emergency occurs, it is not uncommon to spend hours, and on occasion days, attempting to get a request for assistance to a law enforcement official outside the community. Once communication is established, an officer may not be able to respond quickly. In some cases, the Alaska State Troopers in rural areas are faced with such severe personnel shortages and transportation problems that responses to many village requests are impossible.

The public safety emergencies occurring in rural Native communities of Alaska exceed the imagination of

people who have spent their lives in populated areas of the United States. One emergency that occurs with some frequency in these communities involves an intoxicated person roaming around the community firing a high powered rifle randomly into the air or at objects. A village police officer recently described one such incident where all of the people in the village ran to a local elementary school for shelter. They barred the doors, turned out the lights and hid quietly--some under desks--until the rampaging drunk stopped shooting and went to sleep. Although this incident lasted many hours, it was never officially reported outside the community. A dangerous incident such as this one would be handled expeditiously by police in an urban area, but in an Alaskan village it may keep an entire community in terror for hours and days.

A similar case occurred recently in another community. It involved several armed young men--apparently from another community--who took over the village hotel and occupied it for an extensive period of time. Inside the building, they drank and ate, and vandalized the building. Periodically they fired shots out through the windows towards the village. The village population felt helpless and simply hid in their homes until the crisis was over and the young men left.

Such emergencies obviously do not happen every week or even every year in each rural community in the state; however, it is deplorable that they can occur at all without receiving the attention of Alaska criminal justice agencies or the general public. Similar incidents in other parts of the United States or the urban communities of Alaska would not only receive considerable media attention, they would cause a tremendous public outcry.

Given the inadequacy of the present emergency response system, there is a substantial probability of eventual disasters occurring in some communities.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though the Anglo-American legal system was imposed on the Natives of Alaska over a century ago, the transition from traditional Native law-ways and

social control practices is far from complete. A hybrid system produced by an integration of traditional Native ways and Anglo-American techniques has evolved in Native communities. It appears that some of the traditional social control methods of Natives have been weakened as a consequence of the integration of traditional and Anglo social control methods; however, new mechanisms have not been established to provide the level or quality of service expected or enjoyed by other Americans.

The concepts, limitations and appropriate uses of Anglo-American law is not adequately understood in Native communities. In some instances state policies are inappropriate or in conflict with the perceived needs and expectations of people residing in these communities. Village officials would like to see laws improved and made more relevant. They would like to ensure that such laws are better administered.

Perceived shortcomings in laws and regulations related to hunting and fishing cause rural residents the greatest concern because of the heavy dependence of these people on such techniques for food and social well-being. There is a widespread impression that state actions in this area are tailored to the biological and environmental characteristics of the species and to the recreational and business preferences of influential groups, while rarely reflecting the biological and environmental characteristics and needs of the rural people whose survival is at stake.

Fundamental survival issues and perceptions of relative well-being exert a heavy influence on the perception of the seriousness of village public safety and justice problems. The increasing importance of a cash economy to Native people living in rural areas, combined with the inadequacies of village economic systems is a crisis situation which urgently needs attention. Exacerbating this situation are the entrenched problems related to alcohol consumption and the rapidly growing problems related to the use of narcotics particularly by local youths.

Interpersonal crimes against persons and public safety problems in Alaskan Native communities seem to be as or more serious when considered on a per capita basis than anywhere else in Alaska and possibly any

other rural area of the entire country. Never-the-less, the village residents' concerns about criminal activity are overridden by their concern about the socio-economic problems of their communities. There is an inclination to view deviate acts as a consequence of alcohol and drug induced weakening of the self-control capacities of basically good community members. Therefore village crime is perceived as being less important than alcohol and drug use. This perception is reinforced by crime statistics which are compiled and presented to the public in such a fashion that the relative seriousness of interpersonal crimes in rural communities vis-a-vis urban municipalities is not apparent. These statistics provide rural residents with incomplete and misleading information about their situations. Further, the mass communication process as it presently operates in Alaska immediately reports and accentuates the crime problems of major urban areas of both Alaska and the lower 48 states while ignoring the village happenings. Since many villages get television coverage of street crime in Philadelphia and Los Angeles via satellite directly from the local newscasts in those cities, village crime seems mild compared to the crime-a-minute presentations offered by these programs.

It is ironic that the seriousness of rural crime is not more fully appreciated by the people most victimized by it. If these affected citizens fail to fully comprehend the extent of the problem, it is not surprising that public officials and people who have infrequent contact with rural communities have less than a complete understanding of its seriousness.

It would be unreasonable to anticipate any substantial investment of public resources to crime and public safety in rural Alaska until the pressing problems in these areas have been more completely defined and articulated throughout the state. The following chapter illustrates, more pointedly, the inadequacy of the present mechanisms for preventing crime and insuring pubic safety and justice in rural Native communities.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For examples, see Adamson Hoebnel, "Social Controls," Societies Around the World, Vol. 1 (1953), pp. 136-42; Catharine McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic period in Northwestern North America," Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 2 (1965), No. 2, p. 3015; and Hippler and Conn, "Traditional Athabascan Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISEGR Occasional Papers, No. 7. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1972.

[2] Kalervo Oberg, The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973, p. 130.

[3] Ibid.

[4] A. Hippler and S. Conn, "Traditional Northern Eskimo Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISER Occasional Papers, No. 10. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1973, p. 68.

[5] Adamson Hoebel, op. cit., p. 445.

[6] H. G. Gallagher, ETOK--A Story of Eskimo Power. New York: G. P. Pittman and Sons, 1974, p. 38.

[7] Leopold Pospisil, "Law and Social Structure Among the Nunamiut Eskimos," Explorations in Cultural Anthropology, Ward Goodenough (ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964, p. 397.

[8] Ibid, p. 423.

[9] A. Hippler and S. Conn, "Traditional Athabascan Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISEGR Occasional Papers, No. 7. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1972, p. ii.

[10] E. Adamson Hoebel, "Law Ways of the Primitive Eskimos," Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 31 (1941), pp. 663-683.

[11] See Initial One Year Criminal Justice Plan for State of Alaska, by Peat, Marwick, Livingston and Co. (May 1969), and Alaska Criminal Justice Plan--1977, by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency, for a comparison of the changes which have occurred.

[12] Initial One Year Criminal Justice Plan, p. 5.

[13] Ibid, p. 31.

[14] Ibid, p. 11.

[15] Criminal Justice Plan. Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1978.

[16] For example, the Rowan Public Opinion Survey (Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1976) separates opinions from urban and rural cities, but does not separate the opinions of residents of rural commercial centers such as Bethel and Nome from the more remote smaller communities.

[17] See Crime in Alaska--1977 (Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1978) for an illustration of the way Alaska crime statistics are reported.

[18] John Angell, Village Police Training. Anchorage: Criminal Justice Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, 1978.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC SAFETY AND JUSTICE SERVICES

The State of Alaska attempts to provide a comprehensive, centralized system for public safety and justice to its residents. This arrangement is the result of both design (e.g., the Alaska constitution establishes a highly centralized government) and necessity (e.g., approximately two-thirds of the area of the state has no local governmental entities for the provision of justice services). Most Native villages have over the years been persuaded to incorporate themselves as Second Class Cities to obtain the authority to enact ordinances and participate in state and federal revenue sharing programs. In spite of their incorporated status, these communities often have no appreciable tax base and seldom have sufficient local financial resources for more than the most rudimentary public services. They must rely on the state for financial support and public services.

The state government funds and manages nearly all state and local prosecutorial, judicial and correctional operations in Alaska. Prosecutions are the responsibility of the Alaska Department of Law which is headed by the Alaska Attorney General. District Attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General and assigned regional responsibility. State agencies have been created for defending and offering limited legal services for people who cannot afford counsel. The Alaska Supreme Court has the formal authority for organizing and ensuring support for all judicial activities in the state. The administrative arm of the Alaska Court system serves the Supreme Court by overseeing the administration of court operations throughout the state. Jails and correctional operations in the state are under the Alaska Divsion of Corrections. Where state jails do not exist, the state is obligated to arrange for either local detention of arrestees or transportation of prisoners to state correctional facilities in urban centers of the state.

Even though basic police operations are primarily the responsibility of local governments, the Alaska Department of Public Safety has comprehensive, state-

wide police jurisdiction and provides a complete range of primary and supplemental police services throughout the state. The Department of Public Safety is the only justice system component which maintains pilots and aircraft for facilitating its ability to provide critical emergency and essential police services to rural areas. The Department's Division of Alaska State Troopers has over the past twenty years played the primary leadership role among state justice agencies in informing rural Native residents about law and the organization and operation of the Anglo-American justice system. It has educated village officials and local police through the use of both formal and informal training sessions.

The conspicuousness of troopers in rural areas and the Department's efforts to provide legal education to remote villages have established its employees as legal authorities who have high credibility among rural Natives. In general, it is safe to say, the Alaska State Troopers more than any other state officials, are likely to be consulted by Native communities for advice concerning legal matters and public safety problems. As a result of this situation, the Troopers have a unique relationship to villages. When a village wants legal advice or has a crime problem, trooper assistance is often sought. Even those communities with their own police view troopers as the appropriate officials for supervising local law enforcement matters. In contrast to urban police departments that perform nearly all law enforcement responsibilities within their jurisdictions, village police handle minor matters and depend on troopers for follow-ups and the processing of serious crimes.

With few exceptions, the state has situated most justice operations in urban, commercial centers. Justice facilities are located in these towns and justice employees maintain residency there. From these locations, the state employees attempt to serve the needs of people in the surrounding villages. It is not unusual for a single state official to be responsible for providing services to people in an area of several thousand square miles. Without doubt, the most distressing problem faced by local residents is related to obtaining assistance from the Alaska Department of Public Safety in handling the periodic life-threatening emergencies which occur with regularity in remote Native communities.

EMERGENCY RESPONSES

Although they have no other options, Native communities cannot, as previously mentioned, count on state agencies for expeditious response during critical emergencies. State operations are simply not organized to provide such responses to rural communities. Consider, for example, most Americans would view thirty minutes, from the time an emergency occurs until a police officer arrives on the scene, a slow response. The average response time for police in an Alaskan city is less than half an hour. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals advocated the goal of less than one minute for the police receipt of a citizen request for emergency assistance, and it maintained that no police department should take longer than ten minutes to place an officer on the scene.

CHART 11

AVERAGE CALL COMPLETION AND RESPONSE TIME
REQUIRED TO OBTAIN POLICE FROM
OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY

RESPONSE TIME REQUIRED	ESTIMATED CALLS COMPLETED	ESTIMATED POLICE RESPONSE
Less than 1/2 hour	67%	7%
1/2 to 1 hour	20%	10%
1 to 5 1/2 hours	7%	19%
5 1/2 to 10 hours	2%	7%
1 to 7 days	0%	47%
Over 1 week	5%	10%

In contrast, 57% of the emergency requests from Alaska Native communities in rural areas are not answered within 24 hours of the incident (Chart 11). It seems safe to conclude that residents of Alaskan Native villages have the distinction of receiving the slowest police response in the entire United States.

Only 17% of the requests for police assistance result in an officer being at the scene of the emergency within one hour. Native officials estimate that in about 14% of the instances it takes more than an hour simply to contact a State Trooper when a village emergency occurs. Although such calls for help are usually made by telephone or radio, in many instances the only method available for transmitting an emergency message is the mail plane.

Village residents have come to accept the fact that it is futile to report crimes or expect police assistance except in an emergency. Such a situation in all likelihood contributes to a substantial under-reporting of crimes in rural, Native communities. More importantly, slow responses to emergencies most certainly affect the human suffering and death rates in rural Alaska.

ROUTINE SERVICES

The Alaska State Troopers routinely visit rural villages more often than any other justice officials--on the average of slightly over once a month.[1] State Fish and Wildlife officers visit villages about four times a year. Most communities have no readily accessible judge or magistrate (Chart 12). Except as related to actual criminal cases, village residents and officials have few contacts with prosecution and defense officials. On the average, a Native village was visited only once by a prosecution or defense attorney in 1977. Since the typical community had over six felonies during 1977 there were many instances when the assistance of state legal officers was required for criminal matters. It is apparent the state justice processes are seldom performed in Native communities of Alaska.

Villagers want more attention from the representatives of the state's justice system.[2] Indigenous village police officers would like for troopers and prosecutors to routinely visit their villages to review their efforts and provide advice. "They should visit me more often and see how I'm doing," is a common observation of village police officers.

CHART 12

PUBLIC OFFICIALS ASSESSMENTS OF QUALITY OF JUSTICE AND SELECTED PUBLIC SERVICES

	GOOD		OK		NEEDS IMPROV.		INADE-QUATE		NO SERVICE		N.R./ DON'T KNOW	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Village Police	7	13.7	6	11.8	20	39.2	5	9.8	13	25.5		
AST	13	25.5	12	23.5	14	27.5	10	19.6	1	2.0	1	2.0
A F & W	7	13.7	6	11.8	17	33.3	13	25.5	4	7.8	4	7.8
Magistrates	14	27.5	7	13.7	8	15.7	3	5.9	14	27.5	5	9.8
Legal Services	8	15.7	10	19.6	7	13.7	7	13.7	14	27.5	5	9.8
Prosecutor	3	5.9	11	21.6	9	17.6	5	9.8	11	21.6	12	23.5
Defense Services	4	7.8	9	17.6	3	5.9	4	7.8	20	39.2	11	21.6
Probation/Parole	8	15.7	8	15.7	7	13.7	8	15.7	12	23.5	8	15.8
Local Jail	2	3.9	3	5.9	11	21.6	9	17.9	22	43.1	4	7.8
Mental Health	4	7.8	3	5.9	6	11.8	4	7.8	29	56.9	5	9.8
Medical Services	15	29.4	11	21.6	17	33.3	4	7.8	2	3.9	2	3.9
State Jail	6	11.8	13	25.5	2	3.9	2	3.9	16	31.4	12	23.5
Educational Services	22	43.1	9	17.6	18	35.3	2	3.9	0	0	0	0
Fire	0	0	3	5.9	19	37.3	9	17.6	19	37.3	1	2.0
Welfare, Unempl.	10	19.6	16	31.4	13	25.5	6	11.8	2	3.9	4	7.8
Youth Services	0	0	1	2.0	7	13.7	13	25.5	28	54.9	2	4.0

Village officials would like for state justice officials to provide legal training for their village councils and citizens. These people believe that by failing to visit villages many district attorneys, public defenders, judges and state troopers have not learned of the unique problems and preferences nor the customary methods Natives use in handling crime and deviancy problems.

More frequent visits to rural communities by state agents might improve mutual understanding and temper the exercise of discretion by justice officials who deal with rural problems. However, state officials point both to the difficulty of pursuading employees to live in rural areas and the cost of providing services in remote areas as preventing any substantial changes in the existing situation.

CHART 13

URBAN ALASKA PUBLIC OPINIONS
ABOUT JUSTICE SYSTEM*

AGENCY	GOOD	POOR	DON'T KNOW
Police	59%	37%	4%
Courts	18%	73%	9%
State Jails	10%	69%	21%
Probation and Parole	11%	61%	27%
District Attorneys	23%	41%	36%

*Rowan Public Opinion Survey. Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1976.

Public opinions reveal a need for improvements. A survey conducted in 1975 showed that attitudes of residents of rural areas were more negative toward criminal justice operations than those of people in the urban centers of the state (Chart 13). The situation does not seem to have changed since 1975. In general, educational and medical services receive the highest ratings from village officials. Magistrates, local police and state troopers are also rated relatively

high in the overall comparison of services available to villages.

Despite the relatively high opinion of state troopers in comparison with other criminal justice officials, less than one-half of those who rated the Alaska State Trooper services as inadequate expressed similar impressions of educational and medical services.

CHART 14

NATIONAL RATING OF POLICE

RATING	AGENCY		
	FBI*	LOCAL POLICE*	URBAN POLICE**
Highly Favorable	52%	53%	40%
Favorable	33%	31%	41%
Unfavorable	7%	8%	12%
Highly Unfavorable	4%	5%	
No Response	4%	3%	7%

*Sourcebook of Criminal Statistics--1976. Washington: USGPO, February 1977. Reflects results of a national sample.

**National Crime Survey, as reported in Myths and Realities About Crime. Washington: LEAA-USGPO, 1978. Reflects survey in 26 central cities from throughout the United States.

Fire and youth services seem to be held in lowest regard by Native officials. In both instances none of the officials interviewed in 51 villages felt these services could be characterized as good, and very few would even give them an adequate rating. Two interesting facts come to mind about these areas.

First, according to the Alaska Department of Public Safety, rural Alaska has one of the highest, if not the highest, per capita fire loss rate in the world.

Second, the need for recreational activities and youth centers, which would keep young people in the villages entertained and out of mischief, were frequently suggested as methods for improving the quality of life in villages.

In comparison with other parts of the United States, Alaskans seem to be relatively less impressed with their police services (Chart 14). The national attitudes toward the police are considerably better than the attitudes toward the police in Alaska; and opinions of urban Alaskans are higher than those of people in Native villages.

With exception of the state enforcement agencies, over 30% of the village officials feel that state level justice services are either inadequate or not provided to their villages. One cannot fully appreciate the implications of this situation without an understanding of the gross deficiencies in the local justice operations of Native villages.

LOCAL PUBLIC SAFETY OPERATIONS

Only about three-quarters of the Native villages have local police officers. The number of officers in communities with police range from a high of 12 in Metlakatla to 1 part-timer in St. Mary's. The average number of police officers in villages was 2.4 and the most frequent number was 2. About 80% of those communities with their own local police have full-time police employees, the remainder have paid part-time or volunteer officers.

Although it is not possible to obtain completely accurate financial information, the revenues for village police operations consist of (1) state revenue sharing which provides the largest proportion of the money, (2) CETA which provides slightly less money than the state revenue sharing, (3) Native corporations' contributions, (4) Bureau of Indian Affairs funds, (5) LEAA grants and contracts and (6) local revenues which are about the same level as the LEAA contributions. Nearly all of the money spent for police in 1977 was invested in salaries. About 10% of the communities spent more than $1,000 for police supplies and equipment.

The salaries paid full-time police officers in 1977 are by Alaskan cost of living standards very low (Chart 15). Forty-two percent of the communities pay police less than the salary for the average job in the community. The lowest salary was $65 per month. The average was $837 per month. Five percent of the officers were paid over $1,500 per month. Not only are these salaries low, they are frequently discontinued because of shortfalls in funds.[3] If state funds are not increased to replace those of the CETA program which is being terminated, rural communities will most likely be forced to reduce the number of officers they can pay by one-half. This could result in one-half to two-thirds of the remote Native communities in Alaska being without their own resident police operations in the near future.

CHART 15

LOCAL POLICE SALARIES

AMOUNT PER MONTH	% OFFICERS EARNING
Less than $400	10
$401 to $600	13
$601 to $800	18
$801 to $1000	45
$1001 to $1500	10
Over $1500	5

The educational achievements of police officers in the Native communities are considerably lower than Alaska police officers as a whole (Chart 16). All urban police have reportedly completed high school. In comparison, 45% of the village officers have not. The difficulty of obtaining a high school education in villages without schools may be responsible for this discrepancy.

The village officers fare even worse in regard to training. Fifty-eight percent of these officers have received no police training. Another 14% have attended

only a one week Village Police Basic Training Program which was presented by the Alaska Department of Public Safety.

CHART 16

POLICE EDUCATION LEVELS

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT	PROPORTION OF OFFICERS COMPLETING	
	Alaska*	Rural Sample
Less Than High School	--	45%
High School Graduate	29%	36%
College Courses	50%	8%
Associate Degree (2 year)	8%	6%
Bacc. Degree (4 year)	8%	2%
Other or Unknown	5%	3%

*Source: A report distributed by the Alaska Police Standards Council in January 1978.

About 24% have attended a police training program of more than one week duration. In contrast, nearly all of the municipal officers and Alaska State Troopers with more than one year of police service have completed a basic police academy. Thirty-one percent of the village police officers have completed neither high school nor police training. Fifty-one percent without police training have no college courses.

One reason for the training deficiencies of local police officers is high personnel turnover. Most of the village governments have an extremely unstable personnel situation. The village police officer turnover rate for 1977 was approximately 120%. Only about 20% of the officers employed by Native communities have been in the continuous employment of the community for more than one year. Although there may be other contributing factors, this turnover situation is in part due to the revenue situation in these communities. Communities with the most stable source of revenue have police officers with the most longevity.

Some villages have developed a system for stabilizing their police situation despite funding problems. They have hired the officers when funds are available, and terminated them when money runs low, over a period of many years. This tends to keep the same people serving as police over the years.

The paucity surrounding policing in Native communities is nowhere more apparent than in regard to supplies, materials and equipment. Some of the communities do not possess even such fundamental items as paper for making records. A village official recently explained that information about the community's crime situation was not available because, "The police do not keep records of their activities. They have no report forms to use."

Although police keep records in about half of the communities, most have no standard forms or filing systems. Officers use lined writing tablets in lieu of forms. The few police with structured incident forms use materials supplied by the Alaska State Troopers. Filing is done in cardboard boxes or desk drawers.

The provision of emergency medical assistance was one of the more frequent types of activities which the village officers are called upon to perform; nevertheless, no first aid supplies are available to the police in over 90% of the rural Native communities. Medical assistance often is limited to obtaining a medical aide or a doctor from another community or arranging for transportation to a regional medical center.

There is also a shortage of fire extinguishers in the communities. The police have access to a fire extinguisher in about 30% of the communities. Even those fire extinguishers that exist are in need of recharging and one can never be certain they will function properly. In cold weather fire fighting involves using shovels to throw snow on the burning buildings. Other police emergency equipment and supplies are also scarce. The total equipment available to the village police in 56 Native communities surveyed was 2 airplanes, 5 boats, 8 snow machines, 81 uniforms, 9 long guns, 51 handguns, 99 handcuffs, and 102 bullets. In some instances even this equipment belongs to the village police officers or people who reside in the community.

The information concerning capital expenditures for police reflects an absence of investment in police facilities. About 68% of the villages with police have office space for the officers. Existing office space often leaves much to be desired. In only 48% of the instances are the available offices considered by village officers to be in good shape. It is in fair condition in 32% of the places, and in poor condition in 15%. Whether or not office space exists, village officers in over half the communities were expected on occasion to use their homes for business.

COMMUNITY DETENTION

Most Native communities have no jails or cells for detaining prisoners (Chart 17). Few Alaskans have considered how such communities handle people such as violent mentally ill, drunks, and deviates who must be incarcerated for protection of the community or themselves. Those villages located any substantial distance from another population center have a limited range of options. In some instances a school or National Guard building which can be used is available. When questioned, village police officers frequently offer such explanations about detention practices as: "We just handcuff them to a bed and watch them." "Cuff them to their bed. One time this year we had to tape one man from head to foot--he was violent and drunk."

Taping or handcuffing to a bed is the common restraint method. It is not clear why this method is so frequently used; however, taping seems to be an innovation taught in Village Police training programs by Alaska State Troopers.

Village police officers object to operating without detention facilities. It is a particular burden on officers who are forced to keep disorderly prisoners in their own homes. Such prisoners frequently threaten officers and their families. They yell obscenities, spit on family members and destroy property before sobering up. The tension created by such behavior is, no doubt, one reason why the job of a village police officer is so difficult and the turnover rate is so high.

CHART 17

WHAT IS DONE WITH PRISONERS IF NO JAIL EXISTS?

METHOD	PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNITIES USING METHOD
Handcuff	31
Call State Troopers	25
Place With Family	6
Use Community Facility	6
Other	31
No Answer	13

Citizens and public officials in a few communities do not feel jails are warranted because few people are arrested. Most communities, however, believe that some sort of local detention facilities are critically needed. Their officials claim:

- There is no safe alternative for the detention of disorderly individuals while waiting arrival of troopers to remove them from the village. Further, if jails were available they could be used to detain prisoners overnight for minor offenses or their own protection.
- The availability of a local lock-up would reduce criminal acts. Presently, minor offenses are ignored for lack of cells.
- Intoxicated people could be held until they sober up.
- It would be easier to hire and retain local police officers if jails were available.
- Deviants could be kept in jails near their homes and families, and sentenced to perform community services.

The jails available are not in good condition. Police officers in communities with jails rate them as being inadequate and urge state support for upgrading them. Not one of 56 villages visited had a jail which was viewed by its police officers as being in excellent condition (Chart 18).

CHART 18

ASSESSMENT OF CONDITION OF
COMMUNITY DETENTION FACILITIES
(N=28)

CONDITION	DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE OPINIONS
	%
Excellent	0
Good	29
Fair	11
Poor	57
No Response	3

Typical of police comments about the local detention situation is: "Jail is poor, no heat in cell, no toilet facilities, no way to feed prisoners."

The use to which village detention facilities are put is reflective of the pattern of problems in the rural communities. The most common reasons for incarceration are (1) drunk and disruptive in public, (2) protective custody, (3) assault and battery, and (4) crime. The rural police officers most frequently use their jails for alcohol sleep-off and protective custody purposes. Only about 25% of the communities with a jail do not make such use of the facilities. Despite constitutional issues which might be raised, detention of intoxicated persons is felt to be justified because to leave such people out in the cold would at times constitute a death sentence.

Even though required by state law, in some communities there is no method for keeping incarcerated

juveniles separated from adults, or women separated from male prisoners (Chart 19). The supervision of prisoners in local communities with jails almost always falls to local police (Chart 20).

CHART 19

ARE SEPARATE DETENTION AREAS AVAILABLE FOR JUVENILES/WOMEN?

SEPARATE	WOMEN FROM MALES		JUVENILES FROM ADULTS	
	#	%	#	%
Yes	21	75	16	57
No	3	11	6	21
No Response	4	14	6	21

The feeding of prisoners is a major problem for police in most communities. Commonly, ad hoc use is made of whatever feeding arrangement that seems appropriate at the time it is needed--as opposed to having an established practice for all prisoners (Chart 21). For example, a police officer in one community complained that his prisoners had to be fed by either his wife or a relative of the prisoner; otherwise he had no choice but to see that they are ". . . released twice a day to go home for meals."

CHART 20

WHO SUPERVISES PRISONERS?

SUPERVISION BY	COMMUNITIES	
	#	%
Local Police	20	71
City Guard	3	11
State	1	4
Other	1	4
No Response	1	4

The practice of holding a prisoner's family responsible for feeding detainees was followed in a number of communities. The local government accepts responsibility for providing prisoners with food in approximately 43% of the communities.

CHART 21

WHO PROVIDES PRISONERS'S FOOD?

PROVIDER	COMMUNITIES	
	#	%
No Set Practice	8	29
City/Village/Council	12	43
Prisoner's Family	4	14
Police Officer	1	4
Other	3	11

When prisoners are held for violations of state statutes, local communities are entitled to reimbursement for their services. It is ironic that in spite of the local financial situation, and prisoner maintenance problems, rural communities frequently do not seek remuneration from the state for detention services provided under state law.

LEGAL AND JUDICIAL OPERATIONS

Few Native communities in Alaska have resident attorneys--either government employees or private--available for legal advice. The state does not seem in the past to have viewed the provision of routine legal information to rural communities as a high priority. The average number of visits by state attorneys per community has been approximately one each year; however, villages near urban centers have received more frequent visits than do more remote places. Advice from an attorney is usually obtained by calling or visiting a larger commercial center such as Kotzebue, Nome, Barrow, Bethel or Sitka. In the absence of attorneys, village residents and officials usually depend on Alaska State Troopers for legal guidance.

Thirty-six percent of the Native village officials believe that crime problems are related to inadequate legal services. There is a widespread perception, which has prima facie validity, that neither prosecution nor defense officials visit Native communities unless forced to do so by the location of a trial. Village police officers have ambivalent feelings about their perception that Alaska district attorneys prefer to work with Alaska State Troopers rather than local police. Such perceptions may account for the relatively low regard most village officials have for the state's legal staffs.

The Alaska Court System is organized so as to serve rural areas from their offices in commercial cities (i.e., Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, Sitka, Ketchikan, Kodiak, Valdez, Bethel and Nome) in the various regions of the state. Grand and petit juries are nearly always seated in these cities rather than in rural communities. Therefore, it is the exception rather than the rule that an accused is tried in the community of the crime. Residents of commercial cities can count on being indicted by local people and tried before a judge who they have an opportunity to endorse or disapprove at the ballot box. People from rural areas, in contrast, are taken out of their judicial districts for indictment by a white grand jury. They are tried before judges who they do not know and who they have had no opportunity to select or reconfirm--judges who have been selected and retained by urban residents.

This situation is further complicated by administrative rules which permit state court officials to give priority to cost factors rather than representativeness in selecting a jury. Jurors are chosen from residents within a boundary approximately fifty miles from the place where the jury will be seated. The jury rolls are created from lists of licensed drivers, people who filed state income tax forms, and people who have hunting, fishing and trapping licenses and reside within the geographic area designated for jury selection. As a result, people accused of committing crimes in rural areas are tried in urban centers before juries consisting of urban residents who have limited understanding of Native lifestyles, customs or problems.

The realities surrounding this system have forced the creation of supplemental, local judicial operations to deal with the numerous relatively minor instances of deviancy that frequently occur in remote villages. One alternative for dealing with these problems, which has been instituted by the Alaska Court System, involves indigenous lay-judges, called magistrates. However, a minority of the state's rural communities have resident magistrates. Court decisions concerning the appointment of magistrates seem to be based on considerations of the demands of a community, a gross assessment of the community's needs, the availability of a willing resident who court administrators deem to have the necessary capabilities, and adequate available funds. These magistrates have limited formal authority to conduct hearings and trials and usually have some formal training in judicial processes.

CHART 22

COMMUNITY JUDICIAL MECHANISMS

TYPE OF MECHANISM	NO. CITIES	% CITIES
Magistrates	16	55
Problem Board	5	17
City Councils	6	21
No Answer	2	7

Other strategies have been adopted by some villages to supplement the Court System operations. These alternatives include the use of Problem Boards and city councils. Such local judicial mechanisms exist in 29 out of 56 rural communities we surveyed (Chart 22). Sixteen or fifty-one percent of these communities relied primarily on problem boards, and six (21%) relied on their city councils. These figures probably do not accurately reflect the proportional distribution of responsibility between these three alternatives throughout the rural areas of the state since the sample itself was skewed toward communities with magistrates. In an extension of traditional practices city councils in general seem to play a substantially greater role in social control than these statistics reflect.

None-the-less, in terms of activity, most trials and hearings held in the communities are conducted by magistrates, followed by village councils, problem boards, and state courts (Chart 23).

CHART 23

REPORTED TRIALS AND HEARINGS IN 29 COMMUNITIES DURING A SIX MONTH PERIOD

TYPE TRIAL OR HEARING	NO. HELD	% OF TOTAL
Magistrate	175	76
Problem Board	16	7
Council	33	14
Other Courts	5	2

Magistrates handle case loads ranging from one to sixty-five trials and hearings every six months. Magistrates have the authority to enforce both state laws and village ordinances. Although they are agents of the state court system, they often use informal trial methods which have little or no legal bases in state procedures or law. Some magistrates reportedly are inclined, on occasion, to give as much consideration to hearsay and community sentiments as to the formal rules of the Alaska justice system. Their power comes from the fact that they are respected members of the community and regardless of the legality of their decisions, they are seldom challenged. Although a magistrate occasionally comes in conflict with a traditional chief or a village council, they generally enjoy the highest popular support by village residents of any justice officials in Alaska.

In communities where city or village councils play the primary role in handling the routine, less serious incidents of deviancy, the following are typical of the explanations given by village officials about the Council's role and functions:

- City council makes most of the decisions concerning the handling of deviancy. The major decisions are made by having a meeting with

the people. The police turn a problem over to th council. If it is serious, it is turned over to the state troopers.

- The council may make the decision to punish criminal by fines and have him work. Serious crimes, call troopers.

- Council acts as a judicial body for its community. The village council talks with young people with the help of village police.

- The village council handles problem people by sentencing them to cutting wood, shoveling snow, etc. Sentences are figured by a standard rate per hour until the damage done by a person is paid in full.

Problem boards normally engage in dispute mediation rather than adversity techniques for handling deviancy problems. This approach is more compatible with the traditional social control methods of many Native groups than is the Anglo-judicial method. In the late 1960's it was encouraged by the Alaska Court System, but in recent years the courts have all but ignored it. At the present time problem boards have no formal legal bases in state law or court rules.

Council and problem boards use village ordinances and customary rules covering acceptable behavior by village members rather than state statutes for legal authority in handling incidents that come before them. Some of the actions of these groups do not meet the legal standards of Alaskan or American law.

Some communities have both a council and a problem board for dealing with deviancy problems. Where both agencies are involved, the council concentrates on crimes committed by individuals against the community and the problem board tends to mediate disputes between residents. In some communities magistrates also perform mediation and general service responsibilities. These services often include preparing legal documents, writing letters, and even handling drunks and welfare problems. In describing her duties, one magistrate explained:

> Magistrates are expected to be on call 24 hours a day for any problem that might arise,

> including being called out in the middle of the night for a homicide, suicide, breaking up a brawl and seeing that drunks are taken home because they are annoying someone. This includes sitting up with and baby-sitting (the drunk), making coffee and otherwise trying to get him sober enough so you know he will not go back into the village again. People expect you to make out all types of forms. . . I can't think of anything a magistrate is not expected to do.

Such activities obviously are well beyond their job descriptions, but they may be important to a community's social operation.

It seems clear that local legal operations are viewed by village residents as being more relevant and effective than the services provided by state government. Shortcomings of local operations in terms of financial support and compliance with formal bureaucrats and legal requirements and descriptions are affected by the local attitudes about the legitimacy of the operations. On the other hand, local residents and officials feel that the state must stand behind and support local legal operatives.

Although many of the rural Native people lack information about the role and operation of state legal officials and courts, they would like more contact with them and support from them. In particular they are interested in cooperating with these justice agencies in dealing with community problems. They want information about the laws of Alaska and how the laws and procedures might be used to improve the quality of life in villages.

TRIAL AND POST-CONVICTION SERVICES

State attorneys, judges and troopers who visit remote villages tend to associate and deal with each other rather than residents of local communities. One person expressed a widely-shared concern about the appearance of unfairness given by justice officials on those few occasions when they travel to villages to conduct trials.

> How do you suppose village residents feel when they see an airplane load of state troopers, district attorneys, a public defender and a judge arrive the night before a trial? Everyone departs the plane laughing and joking--often about the village. They associate together in the evening, and spend the night in the same rooms. The next day they meet the defendant, select a jury, and cooperate in expediting the trial so they won't have to spend a second night in the village. They finish the trial by the end of the day and the entire group goes back to the plane together, joking and laughing. They get into the plane and fly back to their homes in some other city.

In addition to the awkward appearance made by the few urban lawyers and judges who have traveled to Native communities to hold trials, both prosecution and defense lawyers are normally inadequately prepared for such trials. Attitudinal and financial constraints hamper their performance. Public defenders tend to be overloaded with cases and suffering from inadequate support staff to assist with case preparations. This situation prompted one person to observe, "There is something wrong with a system which allows a defendant to come into court for trial and meet his counsel for the first time."

The problems for rural people are equally severe when legal proceedings are held, as they generally are, in urban courtrooms. Village residents are usually unable to participate in the legal proceedings in the commercial cities. Accused persons who are viewed by local people as dangerous to their communities are, therefore, released by regional courts and transported home with little, if any, consideration of the preferences of the village residents. When an accused returns to the village, residents are left to wonder about the reasons for the release. As a consequence, the Alaskan judicial system is generally viewed as being too anxious to release accused people who the village residents would prefer to have banished from their communities.

State trials held in urban areas for defendants arrested in villages do not afford the same degree of

civil rights protection for the accused as is given to someone arrested in an urban community. An accused Native far too often does not understand the justice system; nor does he have the same grasp of English possessed by those who are conducting the trial. He or she is seldom judged by a jury containing a Native, and even less frequently by a jury of their village peers. Consequently, it should not be surprising that village Natives are convicted with greater regularity than whites.

Once convicted, the likelihood of being sentenced to a correctional institution also appears to be higher for rural Natives than urban residents. This may be in part the result of having state probation officers who reside in urban areas responsible for pre-sentence reports. These reports seem to reflect a white, urban bias that works to the disadvantage of rural Native residents. For example, criteria for assessing the appropriate sentence include factors such as employment record--certainly not a good criterion for evaluating a person who normally survives by hunting and fishing for food. Further, since probation officers seldom have sufficient time, resources, or desire to travel to remote Native villages to interview people personally, most pre-sentence investigations of people from isolated areas are conducted by letter or telephone.

Those who are sentenced to incarceration are usually assigned to correctional facilities in Fairbanks, Anchorage or Juneau, or to federal institutions in the Lower 48 states. Such locations effectively prevent friends and family members from villages from visiting them, and hamper reentry into their communities upon release. Most village residents prefer having correctional facilities nearer their communities, but their desires have not to date had any significant impact on state correctional policies (Chart 24).

Institutionalized convicts are treated by Anglo standards. They receive the food preferred by Caucasians rather than the traditional Native foods, such as seal oil, caribou or whale meat. They are placed in rehabilitation programs that teach job skills for which no jobs exist in their home communities. They are expected to participate in group discussion programs and engage in self-criticism in ways that are

in direct conflict with their traditional values. They at times do not understand their rights and tend to accept unfair treatment in silence. Occasionally they spend time beyond the end of their sentences simply because in their silence they are overlooked.

CHART 24

PREFERRED JAIL MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

Responsible Unit	Proportion Preferring	
	#	%
Village	25	53
State	16	34
State & Village	1	2
Borough	1	2
Federal Government	1	2
Don't Know/N A	3	6

Parole is a state function which is beyond the understanding of most rural residents. It provides almost no worthwhile services for Native villages. Parole hearings are conducted in urban areas thereby limiting participation by rural residents. The Parole Board regulations and procedures are complex and pose an interpretation problem for well-educated people who are skilled in the English language. Natives for whom English is a second language are at a unique disadvantage. Parole benefits urban areas and convicted persons with urban backgrounds and lifestyles.

Those convicted Natives who are granted probation or parole are, in reality, usually returned to their communities free of further active supervision by the state. Villages normally are not advised of conditions placed on a probationer or parolee who is released to return home. Probation officers seldom visit villages to advise local people and, hence, probationers and parolees who misbehave are frequently not reported to Alaskan Corrections. Community officials feel strongly that if more information on probationers and parolees

were provided they could use it to deal with repeat offenders. If probation and parole is to be effective, correctional officers must spend more time and effort in rural Native communities.

The state correctional services provided to Alaskan Native communities by the state is generally inadequate for serving rural Native needs and priorities. The quality of correctional services in urban areas is far superior to that provided for rural communities and people.

CONCLUSIONS

The State of Alaska is under a constitutional obligation to provide public safety and justice services for all people within its borders. To meet this obligation, state officials have instituted a highly centralized, comprehensive system consisting of state police, legal service agencies, courts and corrections. On paper, this system is such an extraordinary model of rational simplicity, it creates envy in the policy planners of other state. There are no county sheriffs that have concurrent jurisdiction with Alaska State Troopers; there is one Department of Law which uses merit in selecting district and prosecuting attorneys; there is a single professional court system which is supervised by the Supreme Court and supported by an administrative arm staffed by professional court administrators; and there is a statewide correctional operation financed entirely by state funds.

From the perspective of the people who reside in the remote rural communities of the state, this system is like a beautiful watch from which the mechanism has been removed. Such a perspective is consistent with the reality of the situation. The components of the system are organized around the largest cities of the state. They are staffed by non-Natives who frequently have never visited, not to mention lived in, a rural Native community.

These agencies purport to take their services and justice to the rural communities. In reality, the people of rural communities are taken and must travel to the urban centers for services and justice. Neither the attitudes nor organization of Alaska's criminal

justice system are appropriate for providing the quality and quantity of support needed in rural Native communities. The response of state agencies to local needs is slow and often inadequate even in emergency situations. Even when the employees of state criminal justice operations make their most sincere efforts to serve the needs of rural communities in ways such as holding a trial in a village, they give the appearance of being aloof colonists. Rural residents do not have confidence in them or the system they represent.

The alternatives to services provided by state agencies are not clear examples of success. Few communities have adequate local police, legal or correctional services. In fact, few operational alternatives exist because resources for funding them are not available in rural communities. An ongoing village public safety program cannot be instituted without funds. Legal and judicial operations have been heavily dependent on the interests of the court system. However, in spite of the deficiencies in the local public safety and justice operations, they enjoy more favorable endorsements from residents and community officials in areas where they exist than do counterpart state agencies and employees.

Although there is a preference for local services, there is also a widely shared desire to have state criminal justice agencies organized so they would provide support for local operations. Village people are interested in preparatory programs such as training and operational support programs such as emergency medical and social control response and support.

The situation concerning the mechanisms for dealing with crime, justice and public safety in rural Alaska is quite clear. The system is deficient at best, nonexistent at worst. There are definable desires for changes. The basic characteristics of the most strongly felt desires for changes and some proposals for addressing them will be explored in the final chapter.

FOOTNOTES

[1] It should be noted, however, that communities in Sealaska and Doyon regions are visited much more frequently than the other regions. Villages in Calista, Bristol Bay, Bering Straits and Arctic Slope regions are seldom visited.

[2] The single exception to this was the Doyon region where state troopers reportedly visited more frequently than village officials indicated was expected.

[3] One police officer told us, "We get paid $75 a month when we get paid; however, the city hasn't paid us for three months."

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE

No state in the United States faces the unique social control and public safety situation which exists in the remote regions of Alaska. One of the factors which complicates this Alaskan situation is the existence of two separate and operationally disjointed justice systems. The system in the commercial population centers of the state is highly articulated, readily identified, minimally staffed, adequately funded and extensively managed. Its problems are reasonably well documented, although not completely solved. The system in the rural Native communities of the state is understaffed, inadequately funded and nearly invisible. It has not been the subject of the kind of scrutiny given the urban system. Data concerning its operations have to date been infrequently and incompletely accumulated.

Due to the dearth of information about purposes and means of the rural justice system, comparisons of its efficiency and effectiveness with urban justice operations have been minimal and it is difficult to define its problems. Quite apparent, however, is the fact that the state does not provide people residing or traveling in rural areas the protection nor justice services provided for people in urban locations.

The problem is not simply one of the traditional inequalities between urban and rural areas. If the fundamental instruments of criminal justice that are almost universally available throughout the United States (i.e., copies of state statutes, police officers, record forms, readily available legal advice, accessible judges, defensive weapons, etc.) are required for adequate public safety and social control, the situation in Alaskan Native villages is critically deficient. As we have seen, few of the Native villages have reasonable access to Alaska's constitution, criminal laws or administrative regulations. Many villages do not have local ordinances and those which do frequently have only a single copy because they lack the equipment needed for reproduction of such documents. The fact that many existing village ordinances fall short of meeting minimum standards of legal defi-

nition and constitutionality should not be surprising. Legal advice to villages for ordinance drafting is practically non-existent.

Even if village ordinances were legally and culturally sound, approximately one-quarter of the state's Native villages have no local mechanisms for enforcing them. Where mechanisms such as public safety officers and problem boards have been instituted they usually have inadequate support. Frequently Native communities cannot afford even the most basic public safety supplies, equipment or facilities.

Illustrations of the consequences of justice and public safety deficiencies are numerous. I recently reviewed several letters written over a period of a year by one village police officer to a higher official whose office was in an urban center. The police officer pleaded for bullets so he could shoot roving dogs which he claimed created a hazard to the people of his village. Bullets are so inexpensive and readily available in most American communities, it is difficult to appreciate why a police officer would be moved to invest efforts in begging for them. No wonder the officer's letters were not treated seriously by outside officials.

The bullets were not provided, and shortly after the officer's last letter a five-year-old boy was attacked by a pack of dogs, dragged under a building, severely mauled and nearly scalped. Fortunately, the incident was spotted in time for adults to save the boy, and the child was evacuated to a hospital in Anchorage where, after several weeks of treatment, he survived.

Emergency communications equipment defects provide another illustration. Occasionally one can spend several days trying to establish telephone contact between villages. Sometimes it is impossible to communicate with someone in a village by any method short of physically traveling to the village. Alaska is probably the only state where a substantial number of its communities must occasionally rely on a mail plane to deliver messages requesting emergency assistance for crime and public safety matters. One village police officer we spoke with explained how he spent 11 hours one winter day attempting to contact Alaska State

Troopers for assistance in removing a person who had attempted suicide and was in critical condition. In this instance, the trooper post was only about 15 miles across the tundra from the caller, but the radio quality was not up to the task.

Public communications linking rural residents and other people of the state are also seriously deficient. Information concerning rural areas and problems is not being adequately covered by the media. The state has done a commendable job of ensuring that village residents can enjoy television news from urban areas, but the mass media seldom relay information from rural areas to urban residents and policy officials. State justice system executives and employees seldom visit or communicate with people in rural areas. Alaskan citizens and state officials do not receive the information needed for sound decision making about rural areas.

Interpersonal communications shortcomings create many misunderstandings which lie festering. As an example, like other citizens, many village leaders are quick to express the belief that their crime problems can be controlled by the court's imposition of "harsher punishments." Such expressions for harsher punishments do not appear, however, to carry the same meaning as a similar statement by urban residents. Village residents normally give a misbehaving village resident several warnings and opportunities to change his or her behavior before seeking assistance from the state's criminal justice officials. When they request assistance from the State Troopers, they expect them to punish the person by removal for a period of time from the community.

Today, in contrast to bygone years when an enforcement officer from outside the village could be counted on to fulfill their expectations, a person taken out of a village by a trooper is likely to be immediately released by the court and returned to the village on return flight of the same plane that hauled him from the community. The villagers who want the offender to suffer temporary banishment do not understand why the criminal justice system, specifically the judges, have not complied with their wishes and kept the person away from the village. Hence, this device translates into advocacy of "harsher punishment."

Improvements are needed in both criminal justice processes and the facilities available for criminal justice operations in rural villages. Local citizens cannot continue to use schools, public buildings, and their own homes to detain such people. State jails and correctional facilities located in predominantly white commercial centers do not and cannot effectively address the needs of the Native communities and citizens. The court system cannot continue to rely on magistrates to identify space for local legal proceedings. Convenient space must be arranged for local trials. The situation must be changed so grand jury hearings and trials can be held near the scene of crimes by judges who are immediately familiar with Native village life and juries of local people rather than in distant urban centers before urban judges and juries.

Residents and public officials of Alaska's rural Native villages place a high priority on obtaining state action toward changes in the current situation. They have an understanding of the problems and priorities of their communities, but their ability to take steps toward improvement is blocked by inadequate local resources. There are simply no taxing possibilities in many of their communities. The state government is their primary hope for the resources and support. The state response in the past has obviously been minimal. One rural village official told me the first essential step toward solving the problems of his community is simple, the state should recognize that his village is part of the state and get with providing assistance with public safety problems.

The State of Alaska has not adopted a comprehensive plan for improving public safety and justice services for its citizens. This is not to say that planning has not been done, for it has. However, it has always been fragmented by the traditional Anglo-American approaches to legal, judicial, police and correctional problems and issues, and it has nearly always reflected the mass society-oriented mental sets, assumptions and biases of people who have been educated to work in urban, rather than sparsely populated, wilderness communities.

The situation has been improving. There is a growing recognition by Alaskan law makers and other policy l.el officials of the importance of addressing

the problems confronting the state's rural Native communities. Increased investment in social research and planning is paying off with information which can be used to clarify problems and identify possible alternatives for proceeding to improve the quality of life for all Alaskans. Whether readily apparent to all village residents or not, a variety of significant steps involving legislative, executive and judicial decisions have been initiated over the past decade. These actions are improving communications, emergency medical services, and education through the state.

Unfortunately, far too often the approaches instituted have, like the planning, been fragmented and piecemeal. They have resulted in facilities being funded in some communities while other less vocal communities with equally pressing needs are neglected. Money to pay local police and public safety officers has been provided by the state to some villages and not to others. Magistrate and judicial positions have been established in one community in one region while for no apparent reason large areas of the state are without any local judicial or legal services. Even those communities receiving state funded facilities and programs have usually found themselves with inadequate resources to maintain them.

The State Departments of Community and Regional Affairs, Public Safety, Law, Health and Social Services, and the Alaska Court System have on numerous occasions moved ahead independently of each other to make substantial policy and organizational changes with insufficient consideration of how those changes will impact other governmental and justice operations. Agencies with the resources develop data collection instruments and procedures without consultation with their counterparts in other units of government concerning their related needs or procedures.

The public safety and justice needs of Native villages in rural Alaska are more basic and unique than those existing anywhere else in the United States. The state must adopt a comprehensive and rational approach for guiding and supporting the development and implementation of strategies for solving public safety and justice problems in the individual communitites as well as across the entire state. One such alternative might be the following four point approach to enhancing state and local cooperation.

and report data by these geographic regions. A centrally located public safety facility for state police, legal, judicial and correctional operations should be constructed in each region.

Such regional arrangements could substantially improve state services and the support provided to local communities. State police should be able to respond immediately from regional offices when their assistance is sought by a local community. A district or superior court judge should be assigned to each region and systematically circulate from community to community within the region conducting necessary judicial proceedings. A correctional generalist should be assigned to each region to explain and enforce correctional standards, provide assistance to local communities and coordinate the state's correctional efforts in the region.

3. The state should support the design, implementation and maintenance of a reliable emergency communication system for each region of the state.

The remoteness of rural communities in Alaska, and the extreme hazards facing residents of these communities make it extremely important that emergency communications be substantially upgraded. By developing regional communications systems which link the local communities in each region together on the same network and tie the network of each region to centrally located public safety facilities, the effectiveness of the communication system will be maximized. The relationships between the villages of each region and state criminal justice agencies would be strengthened. Further, the inclusion of all communities in each region on the network will enhance the utility of the system and increase the protection and security of all villages.

4. The state should provide foundation grants for local public safety and justice services to every established community in the state.

Most of the remote communities do not have sufficient local resources to fund their own public safety operations. The present per capita state revenue

sharing programs are not adequate to fund the public safety services needed by these rural communities. In many instances the existing per capita grants and revenue sharing funds provided are inadequate to pay for the accounting required as a condition of their provision. Only the state has enough resources to guarantee the justice services critically needed by rural communities. As a start, the state might grant each city, regardless of its size, the money required for one full-time police, emergency service or public safety position; minimal supplies, materials and equipment for its public safety operation; and basic correctional services. The current cost of such a package for a city could be as low as $50,000 or about $10 to $15 million a year for all cities in the state.

Communities could be given the authority to, within limits, use the justice grants in the manner most appropriate to their communities. For instance, if a community felt temporary detention facilities should be given a high priority, it could use a portion of its correctional services grant each year to pay for the construction of such facilities. On the other hand, a programs if such programs were deemed to be its highest priority. In order to encourage local communities to accept responsibility for handling their own problems, some criminal justice services provided by the state might be charged against their correctional services grant.

Implementation of the preceding four point approach will not produce an immediate fix for all the public safety and justice problems in rural Alaska. There is simply no way to produce such instant results. The approach is, however, a relatively simple and inexpensive way of creating a basic support superstructure which rural communities critically need. The backup system will be sufficient to provide the minimal protection and service for each community while it develops lops the details of its own local system. With the state system in place and minimal economic resources, local communities will be able to design their own arrangements for integrating traditional Native ways with new approaches that will best serve their people. In the long run such an approach should be more productive than the state's imposition of a complete, inflexible public safety system on all communities.

Whether Alaskans find this particular approach acceptable or not, the crime and public safety problems of rural communities must not be ignored. Given the inadequacy of past information and resources, perhaps the short-comings of our efforts to address these problems in Native communities will receive generous treatment by future historians. Henceforth, however, excuses may not be available. Without changes, the situation in Alaskan Native communities will grow more serious. Eventually, if we delay decisive action, Alaskans may be faced with more drastic and undesirable consequences.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE VILLAGE ORDINANCES

Note: The names of cities, persons and places have been omitted from these ordinances to avoid singling them out for unfair criticism.

CITY ORDINANCES FOR YEAR 76 & 77

001. CURFEW

All school kids and persons under 18 years of age shall be in their own homes by 9 P.M. on all school days. Unless they are on an errand for their parents or accompanied by their parents.

On weekends and on the night before holidays, the time will be extended one hour which will be until 10 P.M.

When a child is not in his or her own home, the head of the house should tell him to go home at 9 P.M., unless he or she has the permission from their parents to stay in another house.

Those who violate the Ordinance 001. (School kids and persons under 18).

1. The City Police will give warning and write the name.

2. The City Police will give second warning, and check their name.

3. He or she will be brought before the Village Council.

4. The Village Council will put them to work.

002. MOVIES

The movies should be over before 9 P.M. on week days in order for the school kids to be home by curfew time which is 9 P.M.

The time will be extended one hour on the night before holidays and Friday nights for the movies to be shown from 9 P.M. to 10 P.M.

There will be no movies on church days which are: Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday, or on special services on holidays.

To any personnel showing a movie it is stressed that they should not show a restricted movie to any minor.

Violation to this ordinance will cause the owner to be evicted of its license.

Owners of show halls, organizations, committees or clubs who violate the above three ordinances, upon conviction, will be punished by a fine not exceeding $50.00.

003. ALCOHOL

There is to be no selling, drinking, or bringing liquor within the City.

Any liquor brought into the City will be taken or shipped back.

Anyone offering or giving any liquor to a minor will be turned over to the State Trooper including the minor.

Anyone who violates these rules will have to face the charges by the members of the City Council.

The intoxicated will be fined if he is caught driving any machine or vehicle.

Nobody should go to other houses and try to persuade and offer any liquor.

004. PILOTS BRINGING IN DRUNKS

The pilots are not allowed to bring in any intoxicated persons.

If the pilot is caught bring in intoxicated person(s), he will be fined up to $500.00 and turned to the FAA.

005. TAKING THINGS WITHOUT PERMISSION

A person(s) will not take things without the owner's permission.

If a person(s) is (are) caught or reported taking anything that doesn't belong to him or them without the owner's permission, he or she will have to face the charges from the owner. This will be done in front of the City Council.

There will be no stealing of any type in the City of (omitted) or on hunting grounds.

In an emergency on the hunting grounds, things will be permissible to be taken or to be used. When the person(s) returns to the city he or she is (are) required to contact the owner.

006. DOGS

If a dog or cat bites any person(s), the dog or cat will have to be killed and its head sent to be examined by an animal doctor for possibility of rabies.

If a person(s), who has been bitten by a dog or cat, wants to press charges, he or she has to bring the case before the city council.

007. VEHICLES

All vehicles are expected to be driven with care within the city, and the vehicles are also have lights turned on one-half hour before sunset.

Anyone under 15 years of age caught driving will be asked to go home on the first charge. If the parent wants his child to drive even he is under age, he or she will have to accompany the child while he is driving. Also the vehicle will be impounded if not accompanied.

Anyone caught driving while under the influence of alcohol will be arrested. He or she will be fined between or up to $500.00. He or she will be also put to work if he or she cannot pay their fine. If he or she refuses to pay his fine or work, he or she will be put in jail for 30 days.

When the roads are built, anyone driving will have a drivers license.

009. GAMBLING

GAMBLING IS PROHIBITED BY STATE LAW.

There shall be no gambling of any kind with money or anything of value in this city.

Anybody caught gambling will be fined by the City Council according to Section 4.

The owner of the house will be fined $50.00 on first offense. The players and watchers will also fined $25.00 each. (In reference to City Ordinance 001. Section 6)

A person(s) refusing to pay his fine will be turned over to higher authorities.

010. FIREARMS

No one under 18 years of age is expected to handle any type of firearms within the city without the accompany of an adult or in the hunting grounds.

No one under 21 years of age is expected to handle any revolvers or pistols.

Anyone caught by city officials or reported by residents handling any type of firearms while intoxicated will be turned over to the State Trooper immediately.

012. DRUGS

A person(s) is (are) not to bring any form of drug(s) into the city or the cannery.

A person(s) is (are) not to sniff or suck any form of an intoxicant such as rubber cement, gas, etc.

A person(s) caught sucking, sniffing or giving any form of an intoxicant will be turned over to the custody of their parents and face the charges from the City Council.

A person(s) caught taking, giving, or selling any type of a drug(s) will be turned over to the State Trooper.

013. VISITORS GOING OUT TO THE ISLANDS OR UP RIVER

Any non-resident of (omitted) going out the following islands or up the (omitted) River should submit a reason to the city:

For the Islands:
To avoid any restrictions of free movement, the city has proposed this ordinance be known, to protect reindeer, walrus, and other restricted wildlife.

WHY? From the past incidents, the walrus killed were left behind therefore blaming the people of (omitted). They were killed for tusks and the flesh was left behind. Also there has been an incident that one of the reindeer has been shot with probably a tranquilizer. Oil has been shot with 22 shells.

For the (omitted) River:

To also avoid any restrictions to free movement, we, the City Council, enforce a summitting of reason.

WHY? There has been removing of Land Allotment markers. The land selected for allotments has been used by Sports fishermen and Sports hunters.

014. LITTERING

People of (omitted) will have garbage cans in their yards to keep their trash in.

The city council will hire workers to empty trash cans in proposed areas for camps. And the people that have been drinking within the city will work if they cannot pay their fines.

015. BURGLARY

A person(s) should not to enter or break into any unoccupied house for attempted burglary.

If there is a fire in an unoccupied house, it is okay to break the lock or window to try and salvage any furniture that could be taken out or put the fire out.

If a person(s) breaks into a house and takes any materials, he or she will face the charges from the

owner in front of the City Council and will be turned over to the State Trooper.

016. SHOPLIFTING

There is to be no shoplifting from stores within the city of (omitted).

If a person(s) is caught, he will have to pay for the merchandise according to what the store manager says. If he (or they) is (are) turned over to the city council, and, he (or they) will be warned and the price for the merchandise will be doubled and given to the manager.

On the second offense he (or they) will be turned over to the State Trooper without any questions asked.

019. VANDALISM

If person(s) knowingly break or destroy anything belonging to the residents of (omitted) be it a child or an adult is required to replace the item or will pay for it. It will be to the accordance of the owner.

If they will not pay or replace it, they will be handed over to the City Council. If they still resist they will be handed over to the higher authority.

If things are broken when the home is not occupied the things should not be disturbed until the investigator is called to take over on this matter.

AIR GUNS COMES UNDER FIREARMS

Any type of air gun will not be shot within the city.

Anyone caught by the city officials or reported by residents shooting at a person(s) within the city or on hunting grounds will be warned on first offense. His air gun will be taken away from him for a period of 30 days.

SKIFFS COMES UNDER VEHICLES

It shall be unlawful for any motor-driven boats or any other marine vessel to be driven in a reckless manner

to exceed 15 miles per hour within the city limits. This pertains to the (omitted) river which is more dangerous than any other boating areas.

Anyone caught driving under the influence of alcohol will be fined between or up to $500.00 He or she will be put to work if they cannot pay their fine. If he or she refuses to work or pay the fine, he or she will be put to jail for 30 days.

DATE ISSUED: 11-4-76

EFFECTIVE DATE: 11-15-76

(omitted) Mayor

(omitted) President

(omitted) Secretary

(OMITTED) CITY ORDINANCE FOR CITIZENS BAND RADIO

AN ORDINANCE OF THE CITY OF (OMITTED) ALASKA, REGULATING THE CITIZENS BAND RADIO OWNER RESPONSIBILITY.

BE IT ORDAINED AND ENACTED BY THE CITY OF (OMITTED) ALASKA AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. C.B. owner. No (omitted) resident may create violence toward her/his neighbor.

SECTION 2. No (omitted) resident may create violence concerning an attempt to protect a safety of her/his children.

SECTION 3. A (omitted) resident will be warned not to create violence towards her/his neighbor by the (omitted) City Police.

SECTION 4. A citizens band radio will be taken away from the owner for an extend of two months as a penalty.

DATE ISSUED:

(omitted) Mayor

(omitted) President

(omitted) Secretary

CITY OF (OMITTED)

1. It shall be unlawful for any person to Drive or Operate any vehicle or Snowmachine
   After nine o'clock (9 P.M.)
   Without Headlights
   Without any purpose.
   If anyone is caught the first time, will be warned.
   If anyone is caught the second time, they will be subject to fine.

2. It shall be unlawful for any person to go over regulated speed limits,
   Five (5) M.P.H. within the city
   Ten (10) M.P.H. within the freeway pond and Airport road
   If anyone is caught the first time, they will be warned.
   If anyone is caught the second time, they will be subject to fine.

3. It shall be unlawful for anyone UNDER the age of ten (10) years to Operate or Drive any vehicle without parent supervision.
   If anyone under the age of ten (10) years is caught the first time, they will be warned.
   If they are caught the second time, they will be subject to a penalty of fine.

Drunks or Disorderly Conduct

1. They will not be tolerated.

2. It shall be unlawful for any person to appear in any public place while intoxicated or in a loud and disorderly manner, disturbing the peace. Anyone appearing drunk and disorderly will be warned once, and if they are caught the second time, they will be subject to fine or penalty, or both.

DOGS

1. Keep your dogs tied.

2. Get your dogs vaccinated.

3. If any dog is seen roaming around in the city, the owner will be asked to tie it to a place where the owner can watch it. If the owner does not do what was asked of them, the dog will be shot, if seen loose again, or roaming around.

If you have any questions, go see the cops of this village.

(City Name Omitted)

(City Official's Name Omitted)