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Alaskan Villagers' Views on Problem Drinking: "Those Who Forget"

ANNE SHINKWIN and MARY PETE

Statewide statistics suggest that problems relating to alcohol abuse represent a major public health problem for Native Alaskans but very little is known about alcohol use on a community level, due to deficient reporting mechanisms and a lack of relevant research. The research reported here was designed to begin to fill this stated need. Alcohol use patterns, the extent of drinking, and associated problems as perceived by residents of two Alaskan Eskimo villages are documented. The structure and effects of alcohol programs in the villages, which represent local attempts to manage alcohol, are also examined. The research demonstrates that it cannot be assumed that all Native Alaskan communities have the same scale of drinking and consequent problems. Differential response to alcohol programs, which have essentially the same structure, is demonstrated and related to the recent development of contrasting levels of community organization in the two villages, which share a common cultural tradition. The utility of a comparative case study approach in examining alcohol problems in Native American communities and the need for expanded research for informed alcohol program planning and implementation are emphasized.

THIS PAPER IS ABOUT PROBLEMS with alcohol use in two Alaskan Eskimo communities, as perceived by residents of those communities. Current programs to address perceived problems are also described. The paper is the result of one month's fieldwork in the villages, conducted in the summer of 1980.

The research is the first field study in the state directed at obtaining an "inside" or emic view of drinking on a community level. A primary research goal was to obtain data on the nature and extent of drinking, especially "problem drinking," based on local Eskimo classifications of drinking patterns. Data on alcohol use in rural Alaska, which is populated predominantly by Native Alaskans, who constitute about 17% of the state population, are difficult to obtain and are not available on a community or regional level. However, the magnitude of alcohol-related problems is reflected in statistics on the disproportionate representation of Native Alaskan alcohol-related mortalities in the state (43% of all suicides, 38% of homicide deaths, 60% of alcoholism deaths, 25% of deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver) indicating the severity of alcohol problems for this segment of the population (Kelso 1977, Vol. V:4). In addition to a lack of hard data on alcohol

use in Alaskan villages, the few recent studies that address the subject in Native Alaskan communities rely on classifications of drinking patterns imposed by the investigators (cf. Klausner et al. 1980; McNabb 1980). Other studies in northern North America also have not seriously considered local perspectives of drinking patterns, focusing instead on various aspects of acculturation held to be important in understanding Native American responses to alcohol (cf. Clairmont 1962; Dearing 1980; Ervin 1968; Ferguson 1971; Hamer and Steinbring 1980; Honigsmann and Honigsmann 1965, 1970; Lubart 1970; Norick 1970). It is a thesis of this study that research products useful for alcohol program planning must begin with an explication of local perceptions of drinking patterns and associated problems. Several important articles in a recently published collection of studies on drinking in southwestern United States Native American communities (cf. Brown 1980; Everett 1980; Topper 1980; Waddell 1980) and Leland's (1975, 1978) studies of drinking patterns in a Nevada Indian settlement also proceed from this assumption.

Our study also documents and describes mechanisms of control of drinking within one community that is managing its drinking problems, in contrast with another that is experiencing an increase in problem drinking and accompanying social problems. In both communities the management of alcohol is explicitly linked by residents to their respective "alcohol programs." The reason for the differential response to alcohol control in these two communities with a common cultural tradition is briefly explored. The applied implications of the research are also summarily discussed.

The Research Problem and Methodology

Research was conducted in two communities we call River Village and Sea Village.¹ They were identified by the Native regional health corporation as representing, in the one example, a village "in trouble" (Sea Village) due to alcohol abuse and, in the other, a village (River Village) where alcohol abuse was on the decline. Both villages had alcohol programs, adminis-

Anne Shinkwin is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and Mary Pete is an Eskimo research assistant and graduate student in anthropology at the same university. Our research was funded by the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA 1 H84 AA 03156-01) and we would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dorothy Jones, University of Alaska, Anchorage, the Principal Investigator on the project, for giving us the opportunity to conduct the field research that forms the basis of this paper. We also gratefully acknowledge review of this paper by Louis Andrew and Fred Pete, Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation, as well as numerous representatives of the two villages we worked with, and our colleagues, Judith Kleinfeld, G. Richard Scott, University of Alaska, and Pat Book, Northern Alaskan Health Resources Association.

tered by the health corporation but locally managed. Our primary goals were to determine the community perspective on drinking, the extent of drinking, and to ascertain why the communities represented such contrasts in the extent and management of drinking, if, in fact, they did.

In order to do this, we gathered data on local definitions of drinking, the history and amount of drinking, as well as the characteristics of locally defined problem drinkers. The local alcohol programs, which represented the formal management of drinking, were intensively examined and were a point of departure for looking at the broader system of social control of drinking in each community.

Due to our objective of providing a community perspective, we considered it critical that official representatives of the villages, such as the mayor, local council members, health aides, and employees of the local alcohol programs be involved in all levels of research. Initial contact was made with alcohol program personnel of the regional health corporation and they provided contacts in the two villages that had agreed to participate in the project.

Prior to fieldwork, letters were sent to the mayors and the alcohol counselors in each village. Village officials in both villages, including the mayors and city council members as well as local church representatives, law enforcement officers, and health aides, were important assistants in the research. In addition to our contact with these individuals, many other people volunteered their time to work with us. Some of these people were already known by us from other settings and some of them were new acquaintances. Concern about drinking is so widespread in both villages that most people were very eager to talk with us. This was true of nondrinkers as well as self-identified problem drinkers.

In one village, 16 people worked with us, with varying contact from one to many interviews, and intensive work was completed with 5 key participants (3 males, 2 females). In the other, larger, village (Sea Village) 40 people participated, again with varying contact, and intensive work was conducted with 6 key participants (4 females, 2 males). Review of the research findings was provided by the village councils at public meetings. In both villages, local cooperation was outstanding in every respect.

Data were collected through the use of systematic interviews and much of the fieldwork was conducted in the native language (Central Yupik Eskimo). The use of the local language facilitated quick and easy collection of data and was a primary factor in the acceptance of the fieldwork since it presented such a stark contrast with local conceptions of research techniques used by people from outside the community. City council and police records in one village and magistrate records in the other were also examined for data on drinking.

The Setting

River Village and Sea Village are both situated in southwest Alaska in the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta. This area is one of the most isolated in the state and can be reached on a regular basis only by air from Anchorage to Bethel, the regional service center and transfer point to outlying communities, which are dispersed over a 75,000-square-mile area.

Villages along the west coast, such as Sea Village, were among the last in the area to experience direct non-Native contact, due to the shallowness of the sea along the coast from the Kuskokwim River to Norton Sound, which discouraged shore contact. Transportation between the 48 villages in the area is by air, boat, or snowmobile. Year-round resident populations in River Village and Sea Village are Alaskan Eskimo (River Village: 100%; Sea Village: 99.7%), and residents are nearly all bilingual (Central Yupik and English). In fact, English is rarely heard in the villages in the summer when school personnel are on leave.

River Village is one of a number of small riverine communities (population 361) along the Kuskokwim River, in close proximity to Bethel. Sea Village is a large settlement (population 623) on the Bering Sea coast, considerably removed from Bethel. Each village contains roughly comparable local educational, medical, and commercial services.

The current (1980) population profiles for River Village and Sea Village demonstrate that the populations are growing and are dominated by young people (25 and younger). The average age for River Village, 24.04, indicates a slightly younger population overall than Sea Village, with an average age of 25.21. The sex ratio (1.18) is the same for both villages and even though it is slightly higher for River Village young adults (1.67, age 25-35, compared to 1.58 for Sea Village), this difference is not significant. The populations, as a whole, differ significantly in the proportion of married to unmarried people (age 16+), with 49.5% in River Village compared to 39.8% in Sea Village being married (chi-square = 4.95, $p < .05$). Proportionate differences are most dramatic for younger males (21-30) with only 13.3% being married in Sea Village compared to 32.4% in River Village (chi-square = 5.77, $p < .02$). These differences disappear and are not statistically significant for males in the next age category (31-40), with 46.2% of the men in Sea Village and 57.9% in River Village married. Similar differences exist for young females (21-30) in the two villages, with only 24.6% married in Sea Village compared to 56% in River Village. Likewise these differences become less significant in the next age category (31-40), with 62% in Sea Village and 75% in River Village married. In River Village, all but three men 40 and older are married. In Sea Village, all men 50 and older are married or have been married.

The economies of the two villages, like those of other Alaskan villages, are based on subsistence activities and wage employment (primarily seasonal). Although our economic data are not complete, access to cash in River Village is more widespread due to involvement in commercial fishing that is not locally available to Sea Village. Subsistence fishing in both villages and sealing in Sea Village are major sources of food.

Both villages have incorporated as second-class cities and each has a city council responsible for village services such as police protection and maintenance of city facilities. In addition, each has a "tribal council" (Indian Reorganization Act [IRA] or traditional), which is recognized by the federal government and may apply for a number of federal programs, including employment assistance and various social services. Nearly all members of River Village belong to the Moravian Church and most residents (90%) of Sea Village are Roman Catholic.

In summary, both villages are relatively isolated, although Sea Village is considerably more isolated from the regional

center. Both are relatively traditional villages, inhabited year-round almost exclusively by Alaskan Eskimos, most of whom use Yupik Eskimo as their first language. Sea Village's population is 1.7 times larger than that of River Village but the population structure of each is similar, containing a large number of young people with a significantly larger number of unmarried people in Sea Village. Both have similar economic and political systems on the surface and each is characterized by a single (though different) dominant religion.

Alcohol Use and Control in River Village and Sea Village

HISTORY OF USE AND ACCESS. The use of intoxicants was not part of traditional Alaskan Eskimo culture, but by the turn of the 20th century, inhabitants of both villages had been exposed to alcohol. In spite of easier access to liquor from traders in Bethel by River Village, its use and the production of home brew apparently was never particularly intense or widespread. The making of home brew was not condoned according to Oswalt (1963), and to his knowledge it was only made three times during 1955-56 in a village near River Village that he studied. Today, there is no tradition of making home brew and its use is scorned. In contrast, home brew was incorporated in the culture of Sea Village early in this century and was made when men lived in the traditional men's house (*qasgiq*).¹ One man would make brew with the assistance of his wife and invite men from his *qasgiq* to come to his home (i.e., where his wife and children lived) for a "party." This occurred rarely and there was no trouble due to intoxication. One local participant recalled "sometimes an old man would act very funny." In the recent past, when the population was dispersed seasonally in camps for various subsistence activities, the frequency of home brew parties probably coincided with periods of in-gathering in mid-winter and summer. In Sea Village, the practice of making home brew became more widespread with the gradual concentration of the population year-round in the present-day village, the abandonment of the *qasgiq*, increasing periods of inactivity due to less reliance on subsistence activities, the addition of more leisure time, and increased access to the now necessary raw materials.

According to residents in both villages, heavy drinking is associated with the introduction of bottled liquor in the 1930s and 1940s when people began going to the Bristol Bay region for cannery work and returned home with alcohol. Today alcohol may not be sold legally in Bethel or the two villages. However, extensive bootlegging in Bethel makes alcohol easily available to residents of River Village at a cost of \$40 for a fifth. Liquor is also mail-ordered from Anchorage and picked up in Bethel. Occasionally an individual in River Village might sell a bottle to someone, but no individuals living in the village sell alcohol as a source of income.

In Sea Village, mail orders of liquor arriving in cases by air freight, a bootlegging system within the village, and a liquor distribution network that includes two neighboring villages combine to ensure a regular, although not steady, supply of alcohol. Since the local airline assigns a low priority to alcohol shipments, orders accumulate in Bethel until a freight run is made. This administrative practice exacerbates problems in villages since large shipments of alcohol arrive at the same time

leading to drinking binges. This airline policy was often mentioned and deplored by many village residents. The cost of a fifth of whiskey in Sea Village is \$60. In contrast to River Village, local participants in the research pointed out that certain individuals living in the village are known to regularly sell liquor, when they can obtain it, as a source of income.

TYPES OF DRINKING. In order to discover if there were local categories of drinking, we adopted Spradley and McCurdy's (1972) approach by asking the structural question—"What kinds of drinking are there?" or "What kinds of drinkers are there?" Although this approach was somewhat embarrassing, since the questions often prompted incredulous looks from our local research assistants, who wondered at our ignorance, we found that people consistently used the same Yupik words to refer to two kinds of drinking patterns, and that each pattern was characterized by contrasting attributes: (1) *Metuut caramek*—they drink a little bit; (2) *Metuut nalluyagulluteng*—they drink until they forget or until they are out of control.

Metu- is a verb form meaning "to usually drink." In the context of alcohol, it classifies a person as a "drinker" just as one may say "she usually drinks pop," "she is a pop drinker." It is interesting that this verb, derived from *mer-* (to drink steadily), is used rather than *yuurgar-* (to sip a drink). The latter is used for hot substances, like coffee, while the former is used for the action of drinking something like water. The choice of verbs may relate to the pattern of alcohol use when it was first observed/used; that is, it was drunk quickly.

Those that drink (i.e., those who consume alcohol in contrast to those who do not) are then distinguished by separating (1) those who drink a little (*caramek*), from (2) those who forget (*nalluyagulluteng*). The first category is that of controlled or "social drinking." These drinkers "know when to stop," "know when they are going to cross a threshold of no control." They also drink infrequently. The contrasting, and mutually exclusive, category is that of problem drinkers. The words describing these drinkers emphasize loss of control and loss of consciousness. The implied contrast is that they drink a lot and they drink frequently. The Yupik Eskimo terminology does not mean "passing out," but rather an inability to know what you are doing. "A person can be walking around but have passed out." These problem drinkers "drink until they can drink no more," "will never turn down a drink," and "will drink until all the liquor is gone." Due to the lack of a regular supply of alcohol, no one in the village drinks daily and none of the problem drinkers were described as individuals who rely on alcohol on a daily basis. Rather, they are people who will always drink to excess when the opportunity provides itself, and they seek the opportunity. Heavy drinking, by necessity, is "binge drinking," since it is limited by the lack of a stable supply source. It is important to emphasize that these classifications do not use any concept of addiction in the sense of physical dependence.

This classification system is dynamic in that people move in and out of these statuses in the minds of the observer. Assignment of a person to a category is dependent on his/her recent behavior. Therefore, people are not classified as problem drinkers indefinitely by local observers even if they have a long history of drinking. If a person has not been drinking heavily in the recent past, which may be several months or recent

years, he was classified by our assistants as a nonproblem drinker.

The discovery of a cognitive category of social drinkers, supported by descriptive data documenting the existence of this pattern of drinking in each community, is an important finding that contrasts with the urban Native stereotype of intoxication-drinkers, that is, people who drink to get drunk (see also Leland 1975). The use of this category by Eskimos, and evidence for this type of drinking in Eskimo communities, has rarely been noted in anthropological studies, with the exception of the Honigmann's (1965) study of Frobisher Bay. An equally important finding is the belief that a heavy, habitual drinker can become a nondrinker in a short period of time, and furthermore can become a successful nonproblem drinker.

INCIDENCE OF DRINKING. Detailed data on the status of current individual drinking habits, using local classifications, were gathered from local research assistants in order to assess the nature of drinking patterns and the extent of problem drinking. Five individuals in River Village and six in Sea Village, who categorized their own drinking patterns, regularly assisted us in compiling the information. Classification of drinkers was very consistent from one observer to the next. The frequency of nonproblem drinking in River Village reported here is probably somewhat low, because people do not advertise their drinking in this village. On the other hand, problem drinkers appear to be well known in both villages, since their behavior often becomes public. In River Village, there was 100% agreement by the five key assistants on the assignment of individuals to drinking categories. In Sea Village, heavy drinking is so extensive that occasionally it was difficult for people to draw the line between problem and nonproblem drinkers. Invariably, if any doubt existed, the individual was placed by our local assistants in the nonproblem category. For this reason, the number of problem drinkers arrived at for Sea Village is believed by us to be a minimal representation of the actual numbers of persons with drinking problems. The final count is based on 100% agreement by at least three key assistants for each individual's classification. Doubt of appropriate categorization for all individuals by all assistants was related to lack of knowledge of an individual's recent behavior, not to any ambiguity regarding what constituted a problem drinker.

The population that could be expected to contain drinkers was defined by us to include people age 16 and over, since by age 16 people were locally classified as drinkers. Fourteen percent of this population in River Village and 35% in Sea Village occasionally drink (Table 1). These nonproblem drinkers may not drink for a long period of time, but have been known to drink and may be expected to drink in the future. Problem

drinkers constitute 7.5% of the population in River Village and 24% in Sea Village. Hence, a very large proportion of River Village's population never drink, in contrast with Sea Village. The abstainers in both villages include some former heavy drinkers as well as people who have tried alcohol and chose to be abstainers. The greater extent of drinking in Sea Village is dramatically illustrated when one realizes that 51% of the village households contain at least one problem drinker, in contrast with 18% of the households in River Village.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROBLEM DRINKERS. Individual problem drinkers present somewhat contrasting profiles when the villages are compared. In River Village, problem drinkers are nearly exclusively male, whereas one-fifth in Sea Village are female. Although River Village has a significantly larger proportion of married people than Sea Village, marriage is not generally significant in either village in predicting drinking status. The one exception is found in Sea Village, where there is a significantly larger proportion of married females in the problem drinking category (chi-square = 8.284, $p < .01$). All married female problem drinkers in both villages are married to a problem drinker. The absence of any household in either village where the wife is the sole problem drinker suggests that excessive drinking by a married woman is not strategically possible or tolerated by her family. People apparently manifest problem drinking at an earlier age in Sea Village, with the highest proportion (40% of total drinkers) represented in the 20-29 age category, in contrast to River Village where 41% of the drinkers are between 30 and 39. In addition, more older (60+) people drink in River Village (18% of the drinkers compared to 3% in Sea Village).

In River Village, problem drinkers tend to be employed (77% have full-time jobs) whereas in Sea Village they do not (27% have jobs). This can be related in part to a higher unemployment rate in Sea Village. Household form (simple or extended) is not significant in predicting a person's drinking status and problem drinkers do not live in particularly large households relative to average household size in each village. Households with multiple drinkers are rare in River Village (16% of households with a drinker) but are a fairly common pattern in Sea Village where nearly one-half (48%) of the households with one problem drinker have at least one more problem drinker. Sea Village households that have more than one problem drinker often involve husband and wife or husband, wife, and children as the drinkers. These combinations are nearly absent in River Village. Children (age 16+) drinking in a household where one of the parents does not drink occurs very rarely in River Village (1 case) but is substantially represented (16 cases) in Sea Village.

DRINKING BEHAVIOR. Our observations, verified by our local assistants, are that the drinking behavior of village residents is well known in each community. In Sea Village, problem drinkers' behavior is a fairly common topic of conversation because of the frequency of heavy drinking in the community. Heavy drinking in Sea Village often is public, in contrast with River Village. People who are drinking in Sea Village may call others in off the street to join the party, a practice not observed in River Village. We observed that intoxicated people move boisterously from one section of Sea Village to another, and gunshots may also signal heavy drink-

TABLE 1. PROPORTIONS OF DRINKING STYLES

Type of drinking	River Village	Sea Village
Abstainers	78.5% (178)	41% (170)
Nonproblem drinkers	14.0% (31)	35% (147)
Problem drinkers	7.5% (17)	24% (101)
Total	100.0% (226) ^a	100% (418) ^a

^a Age 16+

ing to the whole community. Excessive drinking often creates an atmosphere that is both threatening and a cause of concern for most of the village residents. Given the extensive kinship ties in the villages, the household(s) involved may contain persons with numerous relatives, thereby rendering the behavior highly significant to a substantial portion of the village.

In Sea Village, heavy public drinking is associated with the temporary absence of a policeman in the village, which may result, for example, from official travel to Bethel. We observed this phenomenon and were told that absence of police control at anytime might result in excessive drinking.

Problem drinkers in different households often drink together and they appear to select close relatives who are also problem drinkers as drinking companions, although our data are not complete on this aspect of problem drinking. Solitary drinking, however, seems to be unusual.

In general, the behavior of problem drinkers is characterized by self-destructive or aggressive acts toward other people. They place themselves in potentially dangerous situations as a byproduct of intoxication—such as being drunk in a boat, passing out outside in the winter, recklessly driving a snowmobile. This was tragically demonstrated in River Village in the summer of 1980 by the drowning of two young men who had been drinking, and the recent (since our fieldwork) drowning death of another problem drinker. In Sea Village, two young men committed suicide within one week during the spring of 1980 while intoxicated; at least four other problem drinkers have attempted suicide and six habitually talk of suicide. In the last four years, four other male problem drinkers (excluding the two last spring) committed suicide, and two of these incidents were related to the accidental death of another problem drinker. This tragic aspect of problem drinking is often referred to in Sea Village and there is widespread fear of more loss.

Since most drinking occurs with relatives, domestic violence or child neglect is often associated with long periods of alcohol consumption. Aggressive behavior within the household that was described to us and recorded in the police files includes verbal and physical fighting (most common), wife battering, assaults with knives, random shooting, and breaking up things in the house.

ALCOHOL PROGRAMS. The design and content of the existing alcohol programs have been the responsibility of each village. Regional health corporation personnel function as resource people to local programs and play a supportive, nondirecting role for the local programs. For example, recently the corporation received a training grant to bring village counselors to Bethel for a series of workshops. The alcoholism program in River Village has received strong village support and there is widespread familiarity with the program, unlike Sea Village where many residents expressed ignorance of the existence of a program. Those interviewed in this study in Sea Village, however, strongly supported the concept of a local alcoholism program.

River Village began its program in 1974 with a grant from the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), which established a village alcohol counselor position and permitted the construction of a small building for recreational and counseling facilities. At the instigation of the local alcohol counselor, a village alcohol board (seven men,

three women) was established several years ago containing representatives of the city council (two), the church (two elders), and the public health system (one current and one former health aid). The great majority of the board members have never had drinking problems but our analysis revealed that seven have close relatives who are problem drinkers today, and several of the board members mentioned to us their concern for problem drinkers in their family. With one possible exception, all board members have a long history of concern about drinking problems and one is a former heavy drinker who has strong feelings about the negative aspects of drinking. The board is supposed to represent a support system for the counselor and for problem drinkers. Assistance from the board can be activated when anyone in the village begins to drink heavily, and board members act as counselors for problem drinkers.

Sea Village's program began in 1977 and four counselors were hired. Today, there are two counselors (one female, one male) who are considered by themselves and others to be former problem drinkers and are from two large families in the village. An alcohol board was formed in the spring of 1980 after a two-day public meeting sponsored by the health corporation and attended by the counselor from River Village, who wanted to share his approach to alcohol control with Sea Village residents. Other individuals in the region concerned with alcoholism also attended. The workshop was planned after the alcohol-related suicides of two young men earlier in the spring, which drew attention to the seriousness of alcohol problems in the village. The meeting was not well attended and there was considerable vagueness on the part of many people about what happened at the meeting or even ignorance that there was a meeting.

The alcohol board is supposed to contain members of all major village organizations—borrowing the model from River Village. However, unlike River Village, no specific individual is expected to regularly represent his or her institution on the board. It is only expected that each organization will send a representative. Also, unlike the River Village board, members are not expected to have any counseling responsibility. Several meetings had been held last summer but our prognosis for the future of the board in Sea Village is not good, given the generally professed ignorance of its existence.

The alcohol counselor in River Village has been critical in the development of a viable local program. This elderly Native man, a respected individual from a large family, has for many years been dedicated to helping others with drinking problems. While there have been continuing personnel changes in the counselor positions in Sea Village, this man has provided continuity in River Village's program. Counseling in both villages occurs after a problem drinker has sobered up, and the content of the counseling is nearly identical. The negative effects to one's health and one's family are stressed with an accompanying positive emphasis on caring support and rehabilitation. The alcohol counselor in River Village emphasized, "a person by himself is not strong." Counselors in both villages also participate in programs of public education on alcohol, particularly in the schools.

In River Village, the counselor initiated a flow system for alcohol abusers that includes the cooperation of the police and the city council. An abuser is taken by the police to jail to sober up. The police notify the alcohol counselor and the

council is alerted and expected to meet the transgressor when he or she is sober. Repeating offenders also must meet with a church elder for counseling.

The system appeared to be operating very well in the village from our observations during our stay. For example, we witnessed, from a distance, the efficient dispatch by the police and the counselor of one drunken, disorderly person from home to the jail. Council members met with this person the next day. Our interviews with members of the village council, IRA council, church elders, and a member of the police force showed widespread support for these procedures. The alcohol program, in general, is said to be responsible for a substantial decrease in the amount of village problem drinking. According to several assistants, people drink less and "there are more spaces between drinking" incidents for problem drinkers.

In Sea Village, the system for processing problem drinkers who are causing disturbances is similar and is set in operation by the police. Like the system in River Village, village police are expected to remove the person to the jail for purposes of detoxification and possibly for a formal charge. The police can sign a complaint if they have observed violation of a law. The maintenance of police on staff who do not drink on the job, however, has been a problem. The officers are expected to refer the drinker to the alcohol counselor. If a complaint is signed, the local magistrate (rather than the city council) then enters the system and the transgressor is brought to court. The reliance on the magistrate system, rather than the city council, has resulted in a legal system with little real power because of the reluctance of people to sign formal complaints.

In sum, the processing of alcohol abusers has had considerable problems in Sea Village, in contrast with River Village. River Village has combined representatives from the family, political, and religious institutions in the community in a structure that can be activated and put in motion when necessary to cope with alcohol abuse. Although Sea Village has attempted to build a similar structure, it does not function.

Summary and Discussion.

SUMMARY. Serious drinking problems in River Village and Sea Village are linked by residents in both villages to the introduction of bottled alcohol approximately 40 years ago. Categorization of drinking patterns in each village is the same and is based on two well-defined styles of drinking.

Data on the extent of locally defined problem drinking confirm the differential response to alcohol use in the two communities, initially suggested by health corporation personnel. The proportion of adults (age 16+) who are problem drinkers in Sea Village is more than three times that in River Village, which contains roughly the same proportion of adult problem drinkers reported nationwide. Viewed from any perspective, Sea Village is experiencing serious drinking problems on a large scale. Symptomatic of these problems in Sea Village are (1) the presence of village residents who are active bootleggers, (2) the maintenance of the tradition of home brew production/consumption, (3) the frequency of multiple drinkers (various combinations of household members) in a single household, (4) the public nature of drinking, and, (5) the relatively large number of alcohol-related deaths and/or accidents in the past few years. None of these features charac-

terizes River Village. It should not be overlooked, however, that all residents interviewed in both villages feel that alcohol abuse is their major community problem.

Analysis of the characteristics of individual problem drinkers does not lead to any particularly clear conclusions about features of problem drinkers in general, although some contrasts in village patterns are apparent. In River Village nearly all problem drinkers are male, in contrast with Sea Village, where one-fifth of the problem drinkers are female. Problem drinking status is statistically not related to marital status unless you are a female in Sea Village. Household type or size is not predictive of one's drinking status in either village. In River Village, problem drinkers tend to be employed, while in Sea Village they are not.

Analysis of the effects of the local alcohol programs in the two communities reveals notable differences. In River Village, the program has been successfully integrated with other village institutions to provide a control system for problem drinkers and an active counseling program. The program is attributed great success by village residents. In Sea Village the program is less visible, and in spite of the efforts of dedicated program personnel it has not been integrated with other aspects of Sea Village's institutional structure. Although an attempt has been made to institute a control system similar to that in River Village, the system has had serious problems.

DISCUSSION. The successes of the alcohol program in River Village can be related to the kind of community organization that has characterized this village for the last decade, an organization at critical variance with that of Sea Village. A relationship between drinking patterns and degree of community development was noted long ago by Berreman (1956) for three Aleut communities, and the significance of that relationship is highlighted by this case study.

The design of the alcohol program in River Village, incorporating village people who are key figures in social, political, and religious institutions in the community, reflects an integrated approach to one problem that our study demonstrates is working. This same strategy is being applied to other social problems in the village. The approach is new and dates to the early 1970s when the two councils in the village became active. According to our data, it was during this decade that the present political organization developed, the alcohol program was begun, and drinking problems began to decline. The alcohol program was built on a communitywide sociopolitical structure that was already in existence. Political activities, for example, in the area of increasing educational benefits for village youth, as well as the alcohol program activities, are explicitly linked by residents of River Village with local self-determination. The alcohol program, in fact, in our opinion, has become symbolic of local control within this village and has been contributing to a growing sense of community pride and local determination.

The configuration of village institutions in Sea Village today represents a type of organization in stark contrast with that of River Village. Sea Village does not exhibit functional integration beyond that of large local families.¹ The problems being encountered in local government, which were described to us by city council members and residents, have inhibited the development of their current alcohol program, which by design needs an integrated communitywide institutional

framework that does not currently exist. River Village's alcohol program, which is a model held to be ideal in the region, has worked in River Village because of the combined efforts of public figures drawn from the major social, political, and religious institutions in the village. While the alcohol counselors and other concerned Sea Village residents have tried to adapt River Village's approach to alcohol management, the program has suffered because of the contrasting community context, characterized by an absence of the kind of sociopolitical integration found in River Village.⁴

The applied implications of this study for approaches to alcohol problems in rural Alaskan communities are several. It is clear that a single approach to drinking problems in Native Alaskan communities cannot be expected to be successful. Programs must be designed that accommodate the highly variable community contexts that apparently characterize these communities. In this case study, a common cultural tradition has not resulted in communities today of a single type, and this has significantly affected their responses to the management of drinking. The research has identified the nature of drinking and segments of the population that should be addressed. For example, any approach in Sea Village must recognize the widespread concentration of multiple drinkers in single households and use a family approach to treatment rather than concentrating on individual drinkers.

The problems in Sea Village are shared by numerous other Native Alaskan communities and present a major public health challenge. Our recent research in a third community revealed a profile of drinking nearly identical to that identified for Sea Village. Approaches to solutions must be informed by anthropological research, although anthropologists in Alaska have tended to avoid this research area because of its obvious sensitivity within the state. Our own reluctance was promptly dissolved by the outstanding local cooperation in both communities where the benefits of this kind of study were immediately perceived. We hope that our experience will encourage other anthropologists to join in developing relevant research programs. The study described in this paper strongly recommends a comparative case-study approach, focusing on communities as the appropriate level of comparison.

NOTES

¹ Due to the sensitive nature of the research, pseudonyms are used for the villages.

² River Village also had a *qasgiq* and several older men in the village today were raised there. However, no stories of alcohol use in the village relating to this time period were obtained. The absence of local oral history regarding alcohol in River Village is probably related more to the negative connotation attached to alcohol use in the village today by older men than to historical fact. However, due to the strength of the Moravian religion in River Village early in this century, it is probable that alcohol use in the village was considerably more restrained 80 years ago than in Sea Village, where there is no evidence for similar sanctions.

³ See Burch (1975:240-41, 246-47) for a discussion of traditional large local family organization in northern Alaska, which appears to be very similar to the current family organization in Sea Village.

⁴ Since both villages traditionally had similar institutions and a similar form of village organization, the process whereby River Village has transformed its level of integration to accommodate a representative form of government, within the context of still-

important large local families, is extremely important. This issue is the subject of another paper, presently under preparation.

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ALCOHOL RELATED MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY
MEDICAL DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT
A CONCEPT PAPER

Prepared By: James Gorman
For: The State Office of
Alcoholism and Drug Abuse

3/15/82

Alcohol-Related Morbidity and Mortality

Alcohol-related mortality for appears to be remaining relatively constant in the United States. While alcohol-related morbidity data are limited in scope and quality, some information is available from the National Center for Health Statistics Hospital Discharge Survey (HDS) (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1975). The estimated number of alcoholism discharges increased from 424,000 in 1975 to 464,000 in 1977. With an average length of stay of nearly 8 days, cases with a primary diagnosis of alcoholism accounted for more than 3 million bed-days of inpatient utilization. The rates of utilization have increased more sharply for males than for females.

At least 910,000 discharges (2.5 percent of all discharges) from short-stay hospitals in 1975 had at least one diagnosis for an alcohol-related cause. Of these, 424,000 discharges had first-listed diagnoses of liver cirrhosis or alcoholic psychosis. The remaining 362,000 alcohol-related discharges included neuroses, symptomatic and chronic ischemic heart disease, gastritis, duodenitis, diseases of the pancreas and liver, diabetes, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases, esophageal varices, vitamin deficiencies, trauma and other injuries all as first-listed diagnoses accompanied by alcohol-related diagnoses.

Effects of Alcohol on Heart Rate, Blood Pressure, and Blood Vessel Tone

It has long been known that in healthy humans alcohol doses equivalent to two to five ordinary drinks (30-75 ml of alcohol) produce slightly increased heart rate, blood pressure (systolic more than diastolic), and cardiac output.

It is unclear how many of these changes are direct effects of alcohol on the circulatory system and how much they represent indirect nervous system regulation. However, in the case of severe intoxication the nervous system is believed to predominate in low blood pressure, slow heart rate, and, ultimately, death from cardiac standstill. Some evidence has been presented that blood pressure elevations in persons who use large amounts of alcohol may be due primarily to alcohol withdrawal rather than to direct alcohol action.

Effects on Heart Pumping Action

Many acute and chronic studies of both animals and humans indicate that alcohol at blood levels representing very mild to severe intoxication decreases the force of heart muscle pumping action (myocardial contractility). There is much evidence that humans with a long history of substantial alcohol intake and without clinical evidence of heart disease often have abnormally functioning heart muscles. This phenomenon, which many consider to represent preclinical heart muscle disease, has been demonstrated in several studies on humans and animals.

Enlarged scarred hearts were described as early as 1861 among some chronic heavy users of alcohol. In modern descriptions the hearts show increased weight, dilatation of all chambers, scarring of heart muscle, and clots ad-

hering to the inside linings of the chambers. Alcohol-induced abnormalities in heart muscle can also be detected by optical microscopy and electron microscopy. Histochemical studies show an increase in the accumulation of fat droplets and a decrease in the activity of enzymes of oxidative metabolism. None of the gross, optical microscopic, electron microscopic, or histochemical findings are specific enough to distinguish heart muscle diseases in users of large amounts of alcohol from cardiomyopathy in other persons.

Alcoholic Cardiomyopathy

So many investigators have seen an association between chronic substantial alcohol use and heart muscle failure that the evidence cannot be ignored. Longstanding use of substantial quantities of alcohol has been found in a large proportion of patients with unexplained heart disease, often in more than 50 percent. These patients have evidence of heart muscle disorder without evidence of a specific cause. This situation, which is generally called "cardiomyopathy" or "primary myocardial disease", comprises 2-3 percent of patients hospitalized for heart disease. The percentage found in autopsies are similar.

Among the earliest clinical features of alcoholic cardiomyopathy are non-specific and often minor electrocardiographic (ECG) changes and rhythm disturbances. The prevalence of such early nonspecific evidence of cardiac susceptibility to alcohol is not known. The likelihood of progression to chronic myocardial disease is also unknown and is presumed to be low, though these persons may represent a high-risk group.

The late clinical picture is a chronically weakened and dilated heart. Congestive heart failure, chronic rhythm disturbances, conduction abnormalities on the ECG, and high incidence of embolic complications (i.e., blood clots obstructing the circulation) are characteristic. Although the development is usually insidious, a number of patients seem to have an acute onset of severe heart failure and do not come to medical attention before the late stage has been reached. Even at this point some patients show partial regression, but many progress inexorably despite abstinence from alcohol and optimal medical therapy. Except for the relation to alcohol use, this clinical picture cannot be distinguished from chronic congestive cardiomyopathy of any cause.

Alcohol and Hypertension

Strong epidemiologic evidence obtained from varied populations shows that regular use of large amounts of alcohol is associated with a substantially higher prevalence of hypertension. Although the agreement among various studies establishes an association between alcohol use and blood pressure, the possibility still exists that the association, at least in part, could be influenced by such factors as (1) psychosocial stress as an underlying factor for both hypertension and use of large amounts of alcohol; (2) a common hereditary predilection for both alcohol use and hypertension; (3) other environmental factors such as dietary habits; or (4) alcohol withdrawal, which is associated with increased heart rate and blood pressure in some heavy drinkers.

A physiologic mechanism has not been established for the association between alcohol consumption and blood pressure elevations, though there has been some speculation that chronic corticosteroid excess or action through the renin-angiotensin hormone system may be involved.

The possibility of true direct association between alcohol consumption and blood pressure is strong enough to lead some health practitioners to advise hypertensive patients who take three or more drinks a day (35 ml or more of absolute alcohol) to cut down.

Alcohol and Other Cardiovascular Disease

A positive relation between drinking and stroke incidence has been reported. The relationship is stronger for hemorrhagic than for thrombotic stroke with hypertension. A bleeding tendency due to alcohol has been implicated as a possible additional explanation.

An unusual form of angina pectoris, known as Prinzmetal variant angina, is widely believed to be related in some patients to reversible spasm of large coronary vessels. Although alcohol has been reported to be one of the pharmacologic agents that can induce the phenomenon, the association has not been widely observed. A number of cases of myocardial infarction have been reported among alcoholics with no evidence of atherosclerosis or thrombotic occlusion, and a mechanism of external constriction of coronary vessels by scarring due to alcoholic cardiomyopathy is postulated.

Myocardial infarction without atherosclerosis is a poorly understood event that also occurs occasionally in nonalcoholics. Substantial alcohol use has been reported to be associated with a higher incidence of venous conditions, such as phlebitis and varicose veins.

Alcohol and the Endocrine System

Currently, much research interest is focused on the effects of alcohol on the metabolism of testosterone (male hormone), perhaps because the systems involved in that synthesis and degradation of that hormone are easier to work with. Numerous studies have shown that acutely or chronically administered alcohol lowers serum testosterone levels in males of all species, including man. Many male alcoholics manifest sexual impotence, loss of libido, and clinical symptoms of hypogonadism, including breast enlargement, loss of facial hair, and testicular atrophy as a result of diminished testosterone levels.

It is now well documented that testosterone clearance is enhanced in chronic alcoholic humans and animals. The enhancement appears to be due primarily to the induction (increased synthesis) of liver enzymes called 5-alpha-reductases, which are responsible for the degradation of testosterone by converting it to dihydrotestosterone. New evidence also indicates that prolonged administration of alcohol in male animals and humans causes their estrogen levels to rise, and that this increase correlates with an increase in the level of a liver enzyme called hepatic aromatase, which is involved in the conversion of androgens to estrogens. Furthermore, it has been shown that there is an increased rate of conversion of testosterone and

androstenedione to their respective estrogens in man. It is probable that the signs of "feminization" in male chronic alcoholics are due to the simultaneous reduction in androgens and increase in estrogens.

Considerable evidence suggests that acute or chronic alcohol administration also depresses testosterone synthesis in the testes. In most studies involving acute alcohol administration, serum testosterone levels become depressed in 1-2 hours, reach maximum depression 3-5 hours after administration, and become normal or higher than normal 6-8 hours later when blood alcohol levels are very low. The effect of acute alcohol has recently been found to be biphasic; that is, low doses increase testosterone levels and high doses depress them.

Most investigators have found that chronic alcohol administration has strong toxic effects on the testes. Serum testosterone levels are low in chronic alcoholics as well as in animals maintained on alcohol for long periods, and it appears that repeated and persistent alcohol use ultimately causes irreversible damage to the structural and biochemical architecture of the testes.

Alcohol and the Nervous System

Congestive Dysfunction and Brain Damage

Prolonged, repetitive overindulgence in alcoholic beverages affects the brain. The evidence comes from a variety of sources. First, there is biomedical evidence of altered brain structures and functions from autopsies; pneumoencephalograms (brain x-rays); computer-assisted tomography scans (CT scans); cerebral blood flow measurements; electroencephalogram (EEG) measurements; measurements of event-related electrical potentials (brain reactivity); and biochemical, endocrinological, and psychopharmacological studies. Second, neuropsychological tests show the presence of cognitive and perceptual deficits in alcoholics that are similar to those in patients with brain syndromes associated with alcoholism.

The brain syndromes are typically slow and insidious, with major subtypes of dementia (general loss of cognitive or mental abilities), specific loss of recent memory, and, to a lesser extent, loss of remote memory. It has been estimated that approximately 10 percent of alcoholics presented for treatment may fall into a category called "chronic brain syndrome", a condition usually considered irreversible. A large number of alcoholics fall into the intermediate stage of brain damage in which acute brain syndrome symptoms are absent and cognitive changes that may be present are not sufficient to diagnose chronic brain syndrome. The condition is considered reversible, though there are questions as to whether recovery is complete.

Altered Brain Structure and Function in Alcoholics

Atrophy (loss of brain cells) has been considered for many years to be one of the major consequences of alcoholism. Several pneumoencephalographic studies of alcoholics in the world literature and conclude that in any given sample of alcoholics the proportion of individuals with brain atrophy will range from 50 percent to 100 percent, depending on how selective an

alcoholism treatment program is (the highest percentages are found in unselective alcoholism treatment programs).

Several Computerized Tomography studies have reported signs of brain atrophy in alcoholics. The signs include enlargement of the brain ventricles (cavities in the brain tissue filled with cerebrospinal fluid) and widening of sulci (the valleys in the external convolutions of the brain cortex). Blood flow measurements, which indicate the degree of functional activity and level of metabolism in various parts of the brain have shown disturbed cerebral flow in alcoholics.

The Wernicke-Korsakoff Syndrome

The Wernicke-Korsakoff syndrome represents an extreme on the continuum of cognitive impairment resulting from alcohol-induced brain damage. The major symptoms of the Wernicke stage include a global confusional state; ophthalmoplegia; nystagmus; ataxia; and pain, loss of sensation, and weakness of the legs and arms. The patient is disoriented as to time and place, unable to recognize familiar people, apathetic, inattentive, and unable to maintain a coherent conversation.

The neurotoxic effects of alcohol that can result from years of heavy consumption have been implicated in alcoholic Korsakoff patients. The most striking and persistent features of these patients are severe amnesia, confabulation, and remarkable personality alterations. The Korsakoff patient's memory disorder involves both anterograde (difficulty in learning new information) and retrograde (difficulty in recalling public and personal events from the recent past) amnesias. Although most textbooks of neurology accept avitaminosis as the primary cause of the Wernicke-Korsakoff disorder, there are now impressive data that prolonged alcohol consumption, unaccompanied by malnutrition, results in permanent learning deficits and significant brain pathology.

Alcohol and Cancer

Epidemiological and clinical observations in the past century have shown that alcohol consumption is involved in the etiology of cancer. Although the mechanism of cancer causation is unknown, heavy alcohol consumption has been related to an increased risk of cancer at various sites in the human body, particularly malignancies involving the mouth, pharynx, larynx, and esophagus.

Results of the Third National Cancer Survey of 7,518 cancer cases revealed a significant positive association between alcohol intake and cancers of the oral cavity and larynx and less striking positive associations between alcohol and cancers of the esophagus, stomach, colon, liver, breast, thyroid gland, and malignant melanoma.

Alcohol and tobacco appear to act synergistically in the pathogenesis of cancer of the upper digestive tract. Investigating the possible cocarcinogenic effect of tobacco and alcohol usage, a reported dose-response relationship for liquor at constant tobacco usage in both men and women, indicating that the risk for each type of cancer increased with the quantity

alcohol consumed. An increase in risk with alcohol consumption was not observed among nonsmokers.

The incidence of esophageal cancer varies enormously in different parts of the world. The incidence is moderate in most Western countries, with a remarkable exception in Brittany and Normandy in Western France. A recent retrospective study found a linear relationship between the logarithm of risk of esophageal cancer and daily alcohol consumption, and an additional risk related to apple brandy and cider. This study also reported that the combination of alcohol consumption and smoking increased the risk in a multiplicative manner.

The possible association between liver cancer and alcohol consumption is related to cirrhosis, because the cancer very often is accompanied and preceded by cirrhosis or hepatitis and infection. Although primary liver cancer is rare in North America and Europe, it is one of the most frequent forms of cancer in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The mechanisms by which alcohol increases the risk of primary liver cancer are probably different from the direct action suspected in cancer of the upper respiratory and digestive tracts. In the liver, alcohol seems to act similarly to other liver-damaging agents. Alcoholic liver injury has a deleterious effect on liver cell organelles, suggesting that the impairment of mitochondrial function and ultrastructural damage may be analogous to the biochemical lesion within the epithelial cells of the upper digestive tract. High alcohol consumption, particularly in association with liver disease and malnutrition, also has been shown to be immunosuppressive.

Epidemiological studies on the association between alcohol consumption and colon and rectal cancer have yielded a strong correlation between beer consumption and colorectal cancer, particularly rectal cancer. Results from the Third National Cancer Survey showed a positive association between alcohol use and rectal cancer for women only.

Alcoholic patients with cancer have poorer chances of survival and greater chances of developing another primary tumor than do other patients with the same cancer. The investigators found that the risk of developing a second cancer, especially of the upper digestive tract or larynx, was enhanced significantly by the patient's heavy exposure to tobacco and alcohol before the first cancer appeared. The carcinogenic property of an alcoholic beverage may reside in other constituents or cogeners of the beverage, not in the ethanol molecule itself. Ethanol may enhance the action of carcinogenic substances such as polycyclic hydrocarbons, nitrosamines, and fusel oil, which may be found in some foods and beverages. Recently, unitrosodimethylamine (NDMA), a suspected carcinogen, has been detected in some brands of scotch, whisky, and beer.

The Teratogenic Effects of Alcohol

A common pattern of birth defects and mental retardation among some children of alcoholic women has raised serious concern among scientists and health authorities in recent years and has prompted intensive research into the relationship between such defects and the consumption of alcoholic bev-

erages by pregnant women. The evidence confirms an association between maternal drinking during pregnancy and an increased risk of poor pregnancy outcome.

The principal features of FAS have been grouped into four categories:

- 1) Central Nervous System (CNS). The most common CNS dysfunction (seen in more than 80 percent of the patients) was mental retardation. Other characteristics were poor motor coordination, hypotonia (reduced muscle tone), irritability in infancy, tremulousness, and hyperactivity in childhood.
- 2) Growth Deficiency. Prenatal and postnatal reduction in body length, weight, and head circumference below the third percentile occurred in more than 80 percent of the cases.
- 3) Characteristic Cluster of Facial Abnormalities. Most frequent and characteristic are short palpebral fissures, a short upturned nose with a hypoplastic philtrum (underdevelopment of the ridge between the base of the nose and the upper lip), a sunken nasal bridge, epicanthal folds (folds on the inner aspect of the eyelids), a thin upper lip, hypoplastic maxilla (underdevelopment of the midface), and growth retardation of the jaw.
- 4) Other Major and Minor Malformations Among the FAS patient population there is an increase in malformations of various organ systems including cardiac, urogenital, and skeletal. For example, septal defects and heart murmurs, aberrant palmar creases, limited joint movements, and renal anomalies have been reported.

Even among women not considered alcoholics or alcohol abuser, those who drink relatively greater amounts of alcohol (by self-report) are at higher risk for pregnancy complications and suboptimal development among their children.

Cirrhosis

Cirrhosis of the alcoholic is characterized by diffuse fibrosis and lobular distortion with or without fat, inflammation, or increased iron. It has various stages and activity which determine clinical features, reversibility, and prognosis. Mesenchymal cell proliferation appears to be of key importance in the evolution of cirrhosis since it alters sinusoidal blood flow and oxygenation and produces fibrosis.

Morphologic, hemodynamic, and functional abnormalities in alcoholic cirrhosis are not spontaneously progressive. Morbidity and mortality depend largely upon ability to control alcoholism and stabilize the disease. Active liver cell damage, and lobular distortion with associated intrahepatic vascular changes interfere with metabolic capacity of the liver, including ability to oxidize ethanol. Abstinence from alcoholic beverages is of primary importance in protecting uninjured liver cells and repairing damaged hepatocytes. Regeneration is facilitated by a nutritious vitamin and mineral-supplemented diet.

Cirrhosis is progressive in alcoholics who continue to ingest ethanol and eat poorly. Serial liver biopsies show that at least 50% of alcoholics with Laennec's cirrhosis develop postnecrotic features. Superimposed liver cell damage increases lobular distortion and is responsible for the encountered functional changes. New forms of therapy with long survival of patients with ascites, bleeding esophageal varices, and hepatic coma provide the setting for these changes. When alcoholics with mild, moderate, and severe cirrhosis are combined, approximately 8% develop this lesion.

Iron storage disease, a common malady in the alcoholic, provides a bridge between hepatic and pancreatic lesions resulting from chronic alcoholism. Increased iron intake or absorption appear to be principally responsible for iron overload which accumulates in the liver, pancreas, skin, heart, and endocrine glands.

The Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals has established accreditation standards for Alcoholism programs that are highly detailed and specific regarding acceptable delivery of care in Alcohol programs. These standards are used by community programs in Alaska as guidelines for operation. The State Office also used them as the criterion for performing program reviews and in making recommendations for improvement of service delivery. Several sections of the manual are directly related to somatic and morbidity outcomes of alcohol use. These are medication control, Dietetic Service, Emergency care, Inpatient care, and Intermediate care. Each of these service components can be described according to the standards as follows.

Medication Control

In those programs that have an organized pharmaceutical service the director of said service must be a graduate of a recognized college of pharmacy, or a person of equivalent education and experience, who is oriented to the specialized functions of the alcoholism program. This person is responsible for maintaining written policies and procedures to ensure accordance with applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations concerning medication. Policies and procedures are also required of programs who utilize a community pharmacy or the pharmaceutical services of another component within the program.

Written policies and procedures should include the following. Medication orders shall be written only by physicians authorized and available where medication is dispensed. Telephone orders only be taken from these physicians by staff authorized by the program and by law in limited urgent circumstances and signed by the physician not more than 72 hours later. Medication dispensed by clinical staff shall be done under supervision of medical personnel. Clinical staff members authorized to administer medications must participate in a training program that includes the following, a) information about the nature of the drugs, b) supervised clinical administration of medications, and c) familiarization with expected action and side effects of the drugs. Self administration of medication shall be permitted only when the patient has a prescription from a physician and will be supervised by a clinical staff member. A specific routine of drug administration indicating dose schedules, automatic stop orders, methods

for control and accountability of drug products, documentation of administration errors and reaction, and method for checking side effects will be established.

Drug preparation and storage areas must be well lighted and located in a secure area. All medications must be inspected and inventoried monthly, distribution documented, dates of effectiveness checked, and all federal, state, and local laws for security observed.

Emergency Care

Includes provision of 1) immediate medical evaluation and care; 2) supervision of persons by properly trained staff until they are no longer incapacitated by the effects of alcohol; 3) evaluation of medical, psychological and social needs leading to the development of a plan for continuing care; and 4) effective transportation services. Service delivery will be based on a written plan describing organization and triage. The lines of authority, roles and responsibilities of emergency care personnel shall be defined. Methods of personnel utilization shall be described and the interrelationship of the component and its personnel with other service providers delineated.

A detailed description of a twenty-four-hour triage process that describes upon contact with incoming persons, level of urgency determination, appropriate services to be performed and assigns the person for emergency attention is required. Documentation of the availability and utilization of the transportation support system shall include but is not limited to a detailed description of provisions for transportation to the emergency care component as well as mechanisms for assuring transportation to and intake by subsequent care components must be publicized to the target population utilizing a variety of media.

Emergency services available on a twenty four-hour-basis shall include at a minimum; 1) determination by trained staff of whether each person should receive a medical, psychological and/or social evaluation; 2) treatment of acute and potentially life-threatening disorders; and 3) supervision of medically ill persons by trained medical staff. Records of emergency care should be kept for each person receiving emergency services. A control register containing essential information on each person served will be kept. Each program will provide documentation verifying that staff and supportive personnel who perform those services, that are either directly available or available by referral, have received training. A written plan developed in accordance with a physician will describe continuing training of all emergency personnel.

Dietetic Service

Each program must develop a plan for the organization and delivery of dietetic services. The service must be directed by a person knowledgeable in food service and must include the utilization of one qualified dietitian on either a full-time, part-time or consultation basis. The service must meet the needs of patients with special dietary requirements and dietary information on each patient must be kept in their record. In all programs

dietetic services should be in compliance with applicable federal, state, and local law and regulations.

Inpatient Care

Inpatient care components must provide twenty-four-hour supervised care under the direction of a physician in a hospital or other suitably equipped medical setting designed for the diagnosis and/or treatment of medical and/or psychiatric illnesses derived from or associated with alcohol abuse or alcoholism. Each program must justify the primary diagnostic and treatment modalities utilized. A written plan must be formulated that defines the role of the individual in charge, includes specifications of lines of authority, defines the roles and responsibilities of inpatient care personnel, methods of personnel utilization and the interrelationship of the component with others within the program. Mechanisms used to facilitate care of patients who require continuing care and treatment after the completion of inpatient services must be described. Mechanisms for care required by patients who may require diagnostic or treatment services unavailable in the component must be outlined.

Each patient must receive an evaluation of medical needs within twenty-four hours of admission. The evaluation includes a medical history, physical examination, C.B.C., urinalysis, serology, chest x-ray, liver function test and E.K.G. All evaluations must be carried out by or under the supervision of a qualified physician and the results documented in the patient records. There is a written, individualized treatment plan based on the diagnostic assessment of medical needs that is updated and evaluated periodically during treatment. The same process is also utilized regarding the patient social/psychological needs. In this component medical supervision of all clinical staff shall be provided and documented and a training plan for personnel established.

Intermediate Care

The intermediate care component is designed to facilitate the rehabilitation of the alcoholic person by placing him in an organized therapeutic environment that includes diagnostic services along with counseling, vocational rehabilitation and/or work therapy. A medical evaluation must be completed during this span of illness either prior to or at the time of the patients entry into intermediate care. A procedure for the determination of the necessity of a medical evaluation must be developed in consultation with a physician. Evaluations in this component must be conducted by a physician and documented in the patient records.

In discussions with a local program director regarding the medical problems prevalent among clients in the inpatient component, the following were identified. Hepatatic liver, cirrhotic liver, cardiac arrhythmia, bleeding ulcers, gastritis, high rate of mouth and esophageal cancer, hypertension and high risk of stroke during detoxification. In this program the medical diagnostics and treatment are primarily conducted during the detoxification period. Medication and treatment is sustained during the remainder of the inpatient period in a manner that does not interfere with the treatment of the alcoholism.

The standards for inpatient care described earlier are in a scrupulous manner and allow for comprehensive and efficient care in the opinion of the director interviewed. The majority of medical problems are successfully dealt with after detoxification. The others are referred to the hospital for further treatment.

Alaska Felony Sentences: 1980

Alaska Judicial Branch December 1982



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E. N. Coxey, Director



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EDMOND W. BURKE
CHIEF JUSTICE
SUPREME COURT

1031 W. Fourth Avenue, Suite 301
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA
99501
(907) 279-2526

ACTING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
P. H. TROXELL

FELONY SENTENCING UNDER ALASKA'S

NEW CRIMINAL CODE

1980 OFFENSES

ALASKA JUDICIAL COUNCIL

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INTRODUCTION

This report constitutes the third major statistical study of Alaska felony offense dispositions and sentences conducted by the Alaska Judicial Council. The Council's first study--analyzing the effects of the abolition of plea bargaining in Alaska superior courts and covering convictions rendered from August, 1974 through August, 1976--collaterally found significant patterns of apparent racial disparities in sentences among many classes of felony offenses. A follow-up study, including convictions between August, 1976 and August, 1979, reveal that racially disproportionate sentencing outcomes have been largely eliminated. In addition to these findings both studies provided a definitive statistical and descriptive analysis of sentencing outcomes that proved extremely valuable to Alaska's legislature and court system in the administration of criminal justice.

The current study includes all felony offenses committed in calendar year 1980, that resulted in conviction. In addition to exploring racial disparity, the study provides the first statistically comprehensive analysis of dispositional and sentence outcomes rendered under Alaska's new criminal code, which became effective January 1, 1980.

The methodologies for data collection and analysis are provided in Part I of the report. Part II begins with a review of Alaska's new criminal code and its unique sentencing provisions. This section is largely devoted to a statistical description of urban Alaskan sentencing practices and includes a discussion of significant relationships discerned in the analysis. It also notes major changes that have occurred since the Council's last studies. Finally, Part III describes findings of rural Alaskan sentencing patterns and presents significant relationships discerned among these court location cases.

PART I
RESEARCH DESIGN, ANALYTICAL AND
STATISTICAL METHODOLOGIES

A: Data Collection Methodology

This section of the report describes the processes and dynamics by which cases were selected and information gathered on felony defendants, their cases and sentences.

The data collection methodology employed in this study is in part different from that used in earlier Council studies of felony sentencing, due primarily to Alaska's new criminal code which became effective January 1, 1980. Despite such differences in the collection methods, however, limited comparisons with findings of past studies may still be validly and reliably entertained. The nature and extent of these changes will be discussed where applicable, including caveats and limitations appropriate to comparisons with earlier findings.

1: Case Selection

The data base for this study includes virtually all cases in which the offense was committed between January 1 and December 31, 1980. The offense must originally have been charged as a felony, resulted in a conviction of any type (felony or misdemeanor) and have been sentenced. Sentencing for felony offenses is typically not imposed for a period of approximately two months following conviction or acceptance of a guilty plea. In an effort to capture the universe of 1980 felony offense convictions, cases were coded through August 1981. According to this procedure, a very few number of

otherwise acceptable cases were not captured in the data base due to appeals or extended delays.

The final data base of 1980 felony offenses includes 853 cases--481 from the urban courts (Anchorage, Fairbanks & Juneau) and 372 from the rural courts (all other locations). All eleven superior court locations are represented in the study, including: Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, Ketchikan, Sitka, Kenai, Kodiak, Bethel, Barrow, Nome and Kotzebue.

Cases were identified by checking file numbers against computer print-outs listing cases that met the above criteria and provided by the Alaska Court System. All other 1980 offense files were then checked in an effort to identify any additional cases not identified by the court system. This process resulted in our finding many such additional cases.

* The Judicial Council's earlier studies of felony sentencing patterns (Effects of the Official Prohibition of Plea-Bargaining on the Disposition of Felony Cases and Alaska Felony Sentences: 1976-1979) used a different case selection procedure than that employed for this analysis. The earlier studies included all cases convicted between the earliest and latest dates defining the temporal scope of the study. As noted, cases were included in this study if the offense was committed in calendar year 1980 and resulted in a conviction, even if the conviction was not entered until 1981. The primary reason for this change in the logical definition of the data

base concerns the new criminal code which became effective in January, 1980. The present 1980 data base facilitates an exclusive analysis of new criminal code offenses. In addition, problems associated with the mid-year cut-off points for data collection in earlier studies have been resolved in favor of a calendar year approach.

It is anticipated that future Council studies of felony sentencing practices will incorporate this revised data collection procedure thus assuring maximum comparability of future findings.

2: Design of Forms

The data sources and collection instruments used in the present study were very similar to those used in the Judicial Council's previous felony studies. Court case files and pre-sentence reports were the primary data sources. For cases resulting in a misdemeanor conviction, the Department of Public Safety's fingerprint files were also considered.

The original coding instrument was divided into one section devoted to information regarding the defendant and one concerning information regarding the offense(s) committed. Coders recorded an array of information legally, administratively and/or hypothetically relevant to sentence and other dispositional outcomes including, for example, the defendant's prior criminal history, demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the nature and severity of the offense and the type of disposition and sentence outcomes.

3: Coders and Coding

Five coders with backgrounds in criminal justice research and/or experience in data collection were selected by the Judicial Council to collect the data. Coders spent their first month (February, 1981) in Anchorage, training for two weeks on actual court case files. Data collection in Anchorage was three-quarters completed by the end of March and the coders were sent to the other locations for April through mid-July. They then returned to Anchorage to complete work there. Each coder spent approximately an hour and one-half with the case file and pre-sentence report, recording answers to questions on the coding form. A second coder then independently checked through the coding forms, case file and pre-sentence report for errors. Because some of the variables being collected required discretionary judgment, any disagreement concerning a coding decision was resolved by the Judicial Council permanent staff who supervised the work. The coding supervisor checked each coding form a second time for errors in offense codes, discrepancies in sentence and prior record variables and missing data.

4: Final Processing

Completed coding forms were assigned a unique number by the coding supervisor at the completion of the project so that defendants' names would not appear on the final computerized data tape. This procedure facilitated maximum

confidentiality as to each defendant and also provided a means for the Judicial Council staff to identify individual cases for later error or ambiguity corrections.

Keypunching, the intermediate step between data collection and computer based analysis, was performed by Superior Business Services of San Francisco. This firm was chosen for keypunching because of its sophisticated technology (which reduced the likelihood of errors), its price and its guarantee of a low maximum error rate (3/4 of 1% maximum). The data was punched directly from the coding forms to magnetic tape, eliminating the problems and errors typically associated with IBM cards, and each form was checked by an independent verification of the original recording of the data.

B: Statistical Methodology

The primary dependent or outcome variable analyzed in this study is sentence length, defined as the length of the active prison time imposed by the court for the conviction. Suspended time was subtracted from the sentence in determining "active" time. If no active time was imposed or if the entire sentence was suspended, sentence length is treated as zero. A secondary outcome variable considered in the study concerns the proportionate likelihood of receiving a straight probationary, or zero, sentence length. These defendants may also have been placed directly on probation under the terms of a suspended imposition of sentence (SIS).

For purposes of maintaining comparability of our new data with previous felony studies, the unit of analysis is a single felony charge against a defendant that resulted in a conviction of any type (felony or misdemeanor). Accordingly, each one of a series of multiple charges against a defendant appears as a unique case in the study.

The Judicial Council's 1980 data base includes N=853 cases and N=671 defendants from Alaska's eleven superior court locations. Following the analytical design of earlier Council studies, offenses were organized into six broad groups or classes on the basis of generic substantive similarities. The six offense classes include: (1) Murder and Kidnapping (2% of all cases); (2) Violent Felonies (35%), including rape, robbery, assaults and manslaughter; (3) Property Offenses (41%), including burglaries and theft offenses; (4) Fraud Offenses (5%), including bad check and forgery; (5) Drug Offenses (14%); and (6) "Other" Offenses (3%), including sexual abuse of minors and prostitution offenses.

1: Analytical Objectives and Statistical Procedures

In a study of this scope, with many important factors potentially affecting sentence variation (including length and likelihood of receiving probation), the statistical and analytical methods have two primary objectives: The first is to identify the factors which most significantly contribute to

increases or decreases in sentence length or the likelihood of receiving a straight probationary sentence. Having identified these factors, a second goal is to "explain" sentencing by estimating the degree to which each of the most significant factors affects sentence outcomes while statistically controlling (or adjusting) for variation among the other factors.

In an effort to best coordinate and assess the impact of the broad range of factors which may affect sentence outcomes, all variables were first grouped into six categories based on substantive similarities and shared temporal and casual characteristics. The six groups of independent variables whose impact on sentencing were examined in this study include: (1) Offender demographic and socioeconomic variables (e.g., age, sex, race, employment and financial status and history of chemical addiction; (2) Prior criminal record variables (e.g., number of prior felony and misdemeanor convictions and whether the defendant was on probation or parole at the time of the offense); (3) Offense variables (e.g., specific offense at conviction, number of contemporaneous charges, victim harm, use of alcohol/drugs at the time of the offense); (4) Process variables (e.g., custodial or bail status of defendant, type of final disposition, type of attorney, judge at sentencing); (5) Pre-Sentence report variables (e.g., PSR recommendation and

characterization of the defendant); and (6) Sentence outcome variables (including type of sentence, net active period of incarceration, sentence conditions, fine).

The analysis relied upon two separate statistical procedures in testing for the effects of these variables on sentence outcomes. Each independent variable was initially screened through one-way analysis of variance. This statistical procedure assesses the impact of each variable on sentence length by calculating and comparing the mean values for each category of a variable and testing the differences for statistical significance. The procedure eliminates from further analytic consideration factors that exhibit little or no statistically significant association with sentence length. The shortcoming of this procedure is its inability to handle many factors simultaneously. This process was replicated for each variable within the six groups of independent variables against sentence outcomes imposed for cases in each of six classes of offense for both urban and rural offenses.

Factors which survived the analysis of variance screening in offense classes of sufficient size were then subjected to a two-stage stepwise multiple regression analysis, which can simultaneously analyze the impact of many factors on sentence variation. In general, multiple regression identifies the most significant factors from a potential pool of many and provides an index of the relative independent contribution of

each factor while adjusting for differences among the others. The final product of multiple regression analysis includes identification of a set of factors with the greatest explanatory power and indication of the independent contribution of each to sentence length.

Due to limitations in the numbers of cases in each class of offense, multiple regression, which requires at least $n=50$ cases per class in a study of this type, could not be performed within each offense class. For those classes in which regression analysis could not be applied we relied upon an analysis of subpopulations to analyze and describe sentence variation. This method facilitates a comparison of sentence length and likelihood of receiving probation (expressed as a percentage) among various subpopulations defined by those variables identified as most significantly associated with sentence outcomes. Because of the intuitive ease of interpreting subpopulation analysis results, the analysis was also performed for all factors included in the regression models (where performed).

PART II

URBAN ALASKAN SENTENCING PATTERNS

A: Introduction

This section of our report describes felony sentencing patterns for 1980 offenses committed under Alaska's new criminal code for Alaska's three urban court locations--Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau. The section begins with some general descriptive statistics summarizing the distribution of 1980 offenses according to court location, offense class and class of felony initially charged.

This study constitutes the first comprehensive statistical analysis of felony dispositions and sentence outcomes under the state's new criminal code. Accordingly, before proceeding to discuss the statistical analysis we present an overview of the revisions and classification scheme adopted by the new code, including its new presumptive sentencing provisions for repeat felony offenders.

After presenting and discussing the statistical-sentencing models and analysis of outcomes for each of six generic classes of offense, we have devoted a subsection to a discussion of some of the more significant relationships discerned in the analysis of these urban offenses. Finally, we compare the major outcome findings of the present study with those of prior Judicial Council felony sentencing studies--including the plea bargaining study (August, 1974 through August, 1976 convictions) and the 1976-1979 study.

With the exception of changes in data base parameters, the definition of offense classes and new sentencing related variables occasioned by the new criminal code, the methods of analysis employed were virtually identical to those used in the earlier studies. Sentencing was analyzed (modeled) for each of the six classes of offense described in Part I with the exception of those offense classes containing too few cases. Within each class, the most significant factors associated with increases or decreases in a typical sentence have been identified and the magnitude of their impact estimated. The result was a set of the best predictors of sentence length variation for each class. (These sentencing models are represented by the multiple regression tables appearing in the appendix to this report.)

The most significant factors in each class were further subjected to a subpopulation analysis in which sentence outcomes were computed for each value of the variables. This analysis was conducted to assist the reader in empirically interpreting differences and effects indicated by the multiple regression analysis.

B: Description of Data Base: Court Locations, Offense Classes and Class of Felony Initially Charged

The data base for this analysis includes 481 convictions rendered from offenses committed in 1980 and

originally charged as felonies in Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau.

Table I, below, summarizes the frequency distribution of 1980 cases according to court location. Table II, which follows, indicates the distribution of cases according to the six classes of offense described in Part I.

TABLE I

Distribution of 1980 Urban
Data Base By Court Location

<u>Court Location:</u>	<u>n of Cases</u>	<u>% of Total N</u>
Anchorage	242	50.3%
Fairbanks	190	39.5%
Juneau	<u>49</u>	<u>10.2%</u>
	N=481	= 100%

TABLE II

Distribution of 1980 Urban
Data Base By Six Offense Classes

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>n of Cases</u>	<u>% of N</u>
(1) Murder/Kidnapping	14	2.9%
(2) Violent Felonies	151	31.4%
(3) Property Offenses	199	41.4%
(4) Fraud Offenses	26	5.4%
(5) Drug Offenses	82	17.1%
(6) "Other" Offenses	<u>9</u>	<u>1.9%</u>
	N=481	= 100%

As these distributions reveal, Anchorage courts disposed of slightly over half of all urban 1980 offenses while Fairbanks courts handled about 40% and Juneau courts handled only about 10%. Overall, property offenses (Class 3) were most common (41.4% of all offenses) followed by violent felonies (31.4%) and drug offenses (17.1%).

As will be more fully discussed in the next subsection, the new criminal code classified offenses according to degrees of severity. Table III summarizes the distribution of the 481 offenses according to the class of felony originally charged. (Drug offenses were not classified under the criminal code revision and were thus unaffected by this scheme.)

TABLE III

Distribution of New Criminal
Code Classified Offenses
As Originally Charged
(1980 Urban Offenses)

<u>Offense Classification:</u>	<u>n of Cases</u>	<u>% of N</u>
Unclassified Felonies	13	2.7%
A Felonies	59	12.3%
B Felonies	117	24.3%
C Felonies	210	43.7%
Drug Felonies	<u>82</u>	<u>17.0%</u>
	N=481	= 100%

The sentencing provisions of the new code left judicial discretion intact for the sentencing of misdemeanants and most first time felony offenders. However, judicial discretion was substantially restricted by the adoption of presumptive sentences for repeat felony offenders.

The code provides the following statutory maximum sentences, regardless of whether the defendant is a repeat offender:

A Felony -- 20 years

B Felony -- 10 years

C Felony -- 5 years

A misdemeanor -- 1 year

B misdemeanor -- 90 days

All repeat felons whose prior felony was committed less than seven years prior to the offense for which the defendant is to be sentenced and a limited number of first-time Class A felons are subject to presumptive sentencing. A presumptive sentence is a legislative determination of the term of imprisonment that the typical defendant convicted of an offense should be sentenced to, absent the presence of legislatively prescribed factors in aggravation or mitigation or extraordinary circumstances. A person sentenced presumptively may not be placed on probation and is not eligible for suspended imposition of sentence or parole.

The new code specifies the following presumptive terms for repeat felons:

<u>Class of Felony Offense:</u>	<u>Second Felony Conviction</u>	<u>Third Felony Conviction</u>
Class A	10 Years	15 Years
Class B	4 Years	6 Years
Class C	2 Years	3 Years

In addition, first offenders convicted of a Class A felony are subject to a presumptive sentence of six years if the defendant used or possessed a firearm during the commission of the offense or caused serious bodily injury. (Manslaughter is excluded from this six year presumptive term due to the wide range of conduct included within the definition of that offense.)

As noted above, the code includes legislatively prescribed aggravating and mitigating factors whose presence may be considered by the sentencing judge. Presumptive sentences of four years or less may be decreased by the judge by an amount as great as the presumptive term for factors in mitigation and increased up to the maximum term of imprisonment for that class of offense for factors in aggravation. Presumptive terms more than four years may be decreased by an amount up to 50% of the presumptive term for factors in mitigation and increased up to the maximum term of imprisonment for that class of offense for factors in aggravation.

Finally, in unusual situations imposition of a presumptive sentence may result in manifest injustice to the defendant or to the public as a result of the presence of an aggravating or mitigating factor not specifically listed in the code. Where a sentencing court finds that manifest injustice would result from imposition of the presumptive term, its findings are transmitted to a three judge panel for sentencing.

D: Analysis of Sentencing Outcomes By Class

(1) Class 2: Violent Felonies Other Than Murder And Kidnapping*

Table II-2 (Appendix A) reflects the charge at final disposition of the 151 cases initially charged as a Class 2 offense. One third of these charges (n=51) were reduced to misdemeanors at final disposition, while all felony convictions remained Class 2 offenses. Since the judge may consider the nature of both the original and final offenses at sentencing, use of this procedure facilitates maintaining as much of the information about both charges as possible.

* The offenses making up Class 2 range from sexual assault I and II (AS 11.41.410/210), Assault I, II and III (AS 11.41.200/210/220). Robbery I and II (AS 11.41.500/510). Arson I and II (AS 11.46.400/410). Escape I, II and III (AS 11.56.300/310/320), criminally negligent homicide (AS 11.41.130) to misconduct involving weapons I (AS 11.61.200).

This table also provides the number of cases, mean and median active sentence and a sentence distribution for each of the specific offenses at conviction. Considerable variation in sentence length is indicated for many specific offenses. For example, 16.7% of Assault I convictions resulted in a straight probationary sentence (zero active sentence) while 33.3% resulted in sentences over 60 months. As would be expected, sentences imposed for offenses reduced to misdemeanors are clustered at the low end of the distribution, with most cases resulting in a sentence of six months or less.

Most Significant Factors Affecting Sentence Length

Tables II-3 and II-4 (Appendix A) list seven factors that survived both of the initial screening procedures and which were identified by multiple regression analysis as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length. They include:

1. A Pre-Sentence Report recommendation of substantial time to serve;
2. Conviction of a Class A felony;
3. Imposition of a presumptive sentence;
4. The specific offense at final disposition;
5. Characterization of the defendant by the pre-sentence report as a professional or habitual criminal;

6. Defendant was jailed pending disposition of his/her case (i.e., defendant did not make bail or release on his/her own recognizance);
7. The defendant was convicted after a jury trial (rather than from entering a plea of guilty).

Table II-3 of the report represents a descriptive summary of the sentence outcomes (mean active jail imposed and likelihood of receiving a straight probationary sentence) for each of the categories of variables identified as most significant in Class 2 sentencing. It is included in an effort to facilitate a more empirically meaningful understanding of the impact of each of the seven factors by comparing their outcomes against those of the other categories.

Thus, for example, the proportionate likelihood of receiving probation and the mean active sentence imposed for the n=30 cases in which the pre-sentence report recommended "substantial time to serve" (6.7% and 71.25 months, respectively) can easily be compared with the outcomes for cases resulting in other pre-sentence report recommendations. The mean sentence values indicated in this table should not be confused with the estimated (multiple regression) contributions of each factor noted in Table II-4. The latter coefficient values represent the estimated independent contribution of each factor to sentence length while statistically adjusting for the impact of all other significant factors.

The statistics underlying each group of comparisons denotes the level of statistical significance of the outcome differences. For example, where $p=.010$, there is only one chance out of one hundred that the empirical differences are due to chance or accident. The minimum accepted level of statistical significance generally relied upon in studies of this type is .05, indicating that 95 times out of 100, the noted differences would not be due to chance.

Table II-4 provides the estimated contribution of each of the seven factors to sentence length, independent of the effects of all other factors. The factors are listed in the order of their relative ability to explain (or account for) linear variation in sentence length. The sum total of the variation explained by the set of factors (also referred to as the "model") is represented by the statistic R^2 , which in this table is 65%.

The statistical effect of a factor on a typical sentence is expressed with a plus sign (associated with an anticipated increase in sentence length) or a minus sign (associated with a decrease). The figures following these signs indicate the magnitude, in months, of the estimated increase or decrease. For example, the sentence for cases in which the pre-sentence report recommends substantial time to serve would be 14.1 months longer than cases where more favorable recommendations were made, other things being equal.

Comparison and Explanation of Most Significant Factors In the Class 2 Sentencing Model

While most of the factors identified in Table II.4 would be intuitively expected to demonstrate a significant impact on sentence length, others raise interesting if not problematical issues. The single most significant factor was a pre-sentence report recommendation of "substantial time to serve". Sentences imposed on cases with this recommendation were 14.1 months longer than those with more favorable recommendations. Similarly, conviction of sexual assault I resulted in the greatest magnitude of impact on sentence length, 52 months. In addition, conviction of a Class A felony resulted in an estimated increase of nearly 18 months to typical sentence length in comparison with sentences imposed on other classes of offense. Since the model's coefficients are additive, the total actual estimated increase in sentence length for a sexual assault I conviction, which is a Class A felony, is nearly 70 months.

On the basis of the findings of the Judicial Council's last felony study (1976-1979) and the staff's review of hundreds of pre-sentence reports, we included variables regarding the pre-sentence report which is typically prepared prior to sentencing for all felony convictions. We hypothesized that both the sentence recommendation of the probation officer preparing the report as well as his/her

characterization of the defendant would play a significant role in sentencing. This hypothesis was confirmed by the findings. Both of these pre-sentence report variables have proven to be especially significant. In addition to the impact of an adverse sentence recommendation ("substantial time to serve") discussed above, we found that the report writer's characterization of the defendant as a "professional or habitual criminal" significantly increased sentence length (by 29.6 months) even after taking into account other factors regarding the nature of the offense and the defendant's background. Cases in which the pre-sentence report both characterized the defendant as a habitual criminal and recommended substantial time to serve could expect their sentences to be nearly 44 months longer than most other combinations of recommendations and characterizations.

The impact of cases sentenced presumptively is interesting. On the one hand, this factor is a proxy for prior felony convictions since, with the exception of some first offenders convicted of Class A felonies, presumptive sentencing only applies to repeat offenders whose prior conviction is less than seven years old, excluding periods of incarceration and probation. Thus, one would expect presumptively sentenced cases to result in significantly longer sentences than those imposed on first offenders or offenders with prior misdemeanors or felonies over seven years old. However, the results of a

detailed analysis considering various combinations of this factor and prior record factors strongly indicated that presumptively sentenced cases resulted in sentences longer than the variation accounted for by an offender's prior criminal history. Two explanations appear to account for this fact. The first concerns the magnitude of the legislatively prescribed terms for offenders sentenced presumptively. The second concerns the fact that a great proportion of presumptively sentenced cases result in a sentence aggravated above the presumptive term.

Sentence length increased by 13.3 months if the defendant was jailed pending disposition of his case (i.e., he/she did not make bail or release on his/her own recognizance). While one would expect such cases to involve more serious offenses, it must be remembered that the contribution of this factor to sentence length is independent of the effects of such other (including offense-severity) factors.

Finally, convictions after jury trial resulted in sentences 10.5 months longer than those imposed for pleas of guilty. This is a finding that has been observed in prior Judicial Council studies. Due to the problematical nature of this plea-trial sentence differential and the possible constitutional issues it raises it will be more fully discussed, *infra*.

(2) Class 3: Property Offenses: Burglary and Theft*

Table II-5 (Appendix) reflects the charge at final disposition of the n=199 offenses originally charged as a Class 3 offense. In comparison with Class 2 sentences the Class 3 offense and sentence distribution table indicates a higher concentration of sentences at the lower end of the scale. Over 27% of all Class 3 convictions resulted in straight probation (no active prison time) while an additional 38% received jail sentences less than six months.

Sentence length varied widely among the offenses that constitute Class 3. Convictions for burglary I resulted in both the longest average sentence (30.4 months) and evidenced the greatest variability (from 28.9% receiving probation to 10.5% receiving a sentence of over 60 months). Burglary I and II and Theft II were the most typical Class 3 offenses at final disposition (n=38, 39 and 49 cases, respectively).

* Class 3 comprises 199 charges including burglary I and II (AS 11.46.300/310), theft I and II (AS 11.46.120/130), theft by receiving I and II (AS 11.46.190) and criminal trespass I and II (AS 11.46.320/330).

Comparison and Explanation of Most Significant Factors In The
Class 3 Sentencing Model

Eight factors survived the statistical screening and were identified by stepwise multiple regression as having the most significant impact on sentencing variation. The results of the multiple regression analysis including the unique contribution of each factor to sentence length are provided in Table II-7 while Table II-6 (both in Appendix A) provides a descriptive summary of the sentencing outcomes (mean active period of incarceration and proportionate likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence) for each of the categories of eight variables identified as most significant. The eight factors include:

1. Imposition of a presumptive sentence;
2. Defendant was jailed pending disposition of his/her case (i.e., defendant did not make bail or release on own recognizance);
3. Physical injury of some form to the victim was occasioned by the offense;
4. A pre-sentence report characterization of the defendant as a professional or habitual criminal;
5. The offense at final disposition was reduced to a Class A or B misdemeanor;
6. The pre-sentence report recommended probation or probation and a "taste of jail";

7. The court ordered a psychological examination of the defendant; and
8. The defendant was employed at the time of arrest.

The most significant factor identified by the multiple regression analysis in "explaining" sentence length variation was the imposition of a presumptive sentence. Cases subject to presumptive sentencing resulted in a sentence 22.2 months longer than those not sentenced presumptively, other things being equal. The descriptive outcomes noted in Table II-6 indicate that the 25 presumptively sentenced Class 3 cases resulted in a mean active sentence of 41.3 months and zero percent likelihood of straight probation compared with outcomes of 8.9 months and 31.6% probation among the 174 non-presumptively sentenced cases. As noted in the discussion of Class 2 sentencing, above, this phenomenon will be more fully discussed, *infra*.

Cases in which the defendant was jailed prior to final disposition of his/her case were associated with an estimated increase of 5.5 months to sentence length. These 79 cases involved situations in which the defendant did not make bail or release on his/her own recognizance. Table II-6 further indicates, that such offenders were least likely to receive a probationary sentence. The very few cases in which some physical harm to the victim was occasioned by the offense

resulted in a sentence length increase estimated to be 29.9 months.

Two pre-sentence report factors were identified as significant in the Class 3 sentencing model. A pre-sentence report that characterized the defendant as a professional or habitual criminal resulted in a sentence nearly 12 months longer than other characterizations. In addition, a favorable pre-sentence report recommendation (probation or probation and a "taste of jail") resulted in an estimated decrease of 4.7 months to sentence length. (A more complete discussion of the effects of the pre-sentence report variables on variation in sentence outcomes is presented in a later section of the report.)

Cases reduced from the original felony charge to Class A or B misdemeanors were associated with decreases of 7.5 months to typical sentence length, a finding whose direction, if not magnitude, would be anticipated. Comparison of mean active sentences imposed according to class of the offense at final disposition (Table II-6) would suggest a greater magnitude of impact. The variance is likely explained by the interaction of other factors in the model.

Sentence length increased by an estimated 4.3 months for cases, in which a psychological exam was ordered by the court. Finally, cases in which the defendant was employed at the time of arrest were identified as resulting in a decrease

of 4.3 months to sentence length. The descriptive statistics provided in Table II-6 indicate that these offenders were substantially more likely than those unemployed to receive a probationary sentence.

(3) Class 5: Drug Offenses*

Table II-9 (Appendix A) summarizes the offenses and sentence distributions for the 82 offenses initially charged as felony drug offenses. Convictions for sale of a narcotic were the most frequent offense at final disposition (n=42) followed by those for possession of narcotics (n=20). It is interesting to note that the sentence outcomes for the narcotic offenses were actually less severe than those imposed for HDS (hallucinogenic/depressant/stimulant) offenses. Thus, while the mean active sentence for possession and sale of narcotic offenses was 7.1 and 14.0 months, respectively, it was 30.0 and 17.8 months, respectively, for possession for sale and sale of HDS. Despite analysis of these differences we could find no statistical explanation for the result.

Overall, over 20% of all offenses resulted in a straight probationary sentence while a total of over 63% resulted in a sentence of less than 6 months. Only 3.7% (n=3)

* The offenses making up Class 5 included possession and sale of narcotics, possession for sale and sale of hallucinogenics, depressants and/or stimulants, fraud or deceit in obtaining a narcotic and disposal to a minor (AS 17.10.010;200(a),(b),(c)).

of the 82 Class 5 offenses resulted in a sentence greater than sixty months. Active sentences showed much less internal variability within specific offenses than was documented for offenses in other classes. Further, as noted in our 1976-1979 felony study, there were no instances of conviction for possession of a narcotic for sale.

Before turning to a discussion of the Class 5 sentencing model we should point out that Title 17 criminal drug offenses were not included in the otherwise comprehensive revision and classification of offenses accomplished by Alaska's new criminal code. The offenses represented in this analysis are predicated upon the same substantive laws and sentencing procedures as earlier studies. Accordingly, offenses are not classified according to level of severity and presumptive sentencing of repeat offenders is not applicable. In the spring of 1982, however, Alaska's legislature passed and Governor Hammond signed into law a revision and classification of Title 17 drug offenses that parallels the classification and sentencing structure of the new criminal code.

Most Significant Factors Affecting Sentence Length

Tables II-10 and II-11 (Appendix A) include seven factors which survived screening and were analytically identified as contributing most significantly to the length of drug sentences. These factors include:

1. Defendant was jailed pending disposition of his/her case (i.e., defendant did not make bail or release on own recognizance);
2. Defendant was on formal probation or parole at the time of commission of the present offense;
3. The number of prior juvenile misdemeanor convictions of the defendant;
4. The judge at sentencing was "lenient";
5. Defendant's formal probation or parole was revoked as a result of the current offense;
6. The defendant used an alias in the commission of the offense; and
7. The pre-sentence report characterized the defendant as cooperative.

Table II-11 provides the estimated independent contribution of each factor to sentence length while Table II-10 represents a descriptive summary of sentence outcomes--proportionate likelihood of receiving a straight probationary sentence and mean active period of incarceration--for each of the categories of variables identified as most significant in Class 5 sentencing.

As found in our analysis of Class 2 and Class 3 sentencing, cases in which the defendant remained in custody pending disposition of the case were associated with an

estimated increase (13.2 months) in sentence length. Table II-10 further indicates that none of the 13 cases in which the defendant remained jailed resulted in a probationary sentence.

Two of the seven factors identified as most significantly associated with sentence variation concern the probation/parole status of the defendant. Cases in which the offender was on formal probation or parole at the time of the offense resulted in an additional 19.6 months to sentence length. Moreover, where probation or parole were revoked because of the (current) offense, sentence length increased by an additional 33.1 months. The descriptive statistics provided in Table II-10 indicate that 8 cases included defendants who were on probation/parole at the time of the offense. Probation/parole were revoked in 2 of these 38 cases.

* Sentence length increased an estimated 6.0 months for each prior juvenile misdemeanor conviction. A comparison of sentence outcomes for this variable in Table II-10 empirically confirms this finding.

Judges were categorized as "strict", "lenient", or "other" following the analytic procedure we used in two earlier studies. The sentencing patterns of individual judges cannot be determined because most sentenced too few cases of any specific offense to provide meaningful, valid and reliable comparisons. However, this does not prevent a consideration of the effect of a group of judges in the offense class as a whole.

Those judges that imposed sentences in the 82 Class 5 cases whose mean sentences were 50% or more above the overall mean sentence for the class were termed "strict". If a judge's mean sentence length was 50% or more below the typical mean, he was termed "lenient". All others, including those whose sentences were closer to the overall mean, were designated "other". Only judges who had imposed sentences in at least five cases were considered.

Our model of Class 5 sentencing reveals that the effect on sentence length was significant among judges categorized as "lenient". Cases sentenced by "lenient" judges received sentences 7.5 months shorter than those sentenced by either "strict" or "other" judges, independent of any other factors significantly associated with sentence. (We must stress that these judges were "lenient" only in the sense that their combined sentences were relatively shorter than those of other judges sentencing Class 5 cases.)

Cases in which the defendant used an alias in commission of the offense resulted in an estimated 17.3 month increase in sentence. Four of the five cases fitting this pattern involved fraud in obtaining offenses. None of the cases resulted in a probationary sentence.

Finally, a pre-sentence report characterization of the defendant as cooperative resulted in a 7.7 month decrease in

typical sentence length. Table II-10 indicates that 55 of the 82 Class 5 offenses received a cooperative characterization and empirically confirms this finding.

(4) Class 1: Murder and Kidnapping; * Class 4: Fraud Offenses, and Class 6: "Other" Offenses*

Class 1 consists of 14 cases originally charged as murder or kidnapping, Class 4 includes 26 offenses originally charged as fraud offenses and Class 6 includes 9 offenses originally charged as "Other" offenses. As noted in the introduction, none of these offense classes has a sufficient number of cases for a multivariate analysis such as that conducted for the other classes. Consequently, our analysis relies on detailed descriptive statistics concerning offenses and sentence distributions and notation of those factors and variables identified by one-way analysis of variance as most significantly associated with sentence variation. The limited

* Class 1 includes offenses originally charged as murder in the first degree (AS 11.41.100), murder in the second degree (AS 11.41.110) and kidnapping (AS 11.41.300).

Class 4 includes cases originally charged as issuing a bad check I and II (AS 11.46.280(d)(1)/(2)), forgery I and II (AS 11.46.500/505), scheme to defraud (AS 11.46.600), bribery and receiving a bribe (AS 11.56.100/110) and fraudulent use of a credit card (AS 11.46.285(b)(1)).

Class 6 includes cases charged as sexual abuse of a minor (AS 11.41.440), incest (AS 11.41.450) and prostitution offenses (AS 11.66.110/120). Class 6 offenses in past studies were referred to as "morals" offenses. Due to changes in the constitution of specific offenses comprising this class occasioned by the new criminal code and in an effort to avoid possible qualitative interpretations as to the relative severity of these offenses, they are simply referred to as "other" in the present study.

analysis conducted for these offenses classes does not consider the possible effects of other factors on outcomes.

Accordingly, statistics presented in this section should be interpreted with these analytical caveats in mind.

(a) Class 1: Murder and Kidnapping

Table II-1 provides offense and sentence distribution information on the final dispositions of n=14 Class 1 offenses. Five of these cases were reduced to lesser severity (Class 2) offenses upon final disposition. The sentence outcomes for murder in the first and second degrees and kidnapping correspond to what one would intuitively expect. All but one of the eight murder/kidnapping offenses resulted in sentences of over 60 months. No cases, including those resulting in reduced offense convictions, resulted in a probationary sentence although the single conviction of coercion resulted in a sentence of only 1.6 months.

Due to the very high crystallization of sentences at the high end of the spectrum for the murder/kidnapping convictions and the few numbers of cases, analysis of variance was not performed.

(b) Class 4: Fraud Offenses

Table II-8 (Appendix A) represents offense and sentence distribution statistics for 26 Class 4 offenses. While many of these offenses at final disposition represent reductions from the offense charged, all remain Class 4

offenses. Three of the twenty-six total cases were reduced to misdemeanors. By far the most typical specific offense was forgery II (n=18 cases).

Overall, 30.8% of the Class 4 cases resulted in a probationary sentence while a total of over 65% of the cases resulted in sentences of less than six months. Factors identified as most significantly associated with sentence variation, while not controlling for the effects of other factors, included: the defendant's prior criminal history, the defendant was on formal probation or parole at the time of the (current) offense, the pre-sentence report characterization of the defendant and the categorization of the judge as "strict" or "lenient".

(c) Class 6: "Other" Offenses

The distribution of offenses and sentence outcomes for the nine cases originally charged as Class 6 offenses are presented in Table II-12 (Appendix A). Sexual abuse of a minor was the most common offense (n=5) and only one case resulted in a reduced misdemeanor conviction.

Overall, 66.7% of the cases (including 80% of the sexual abuse of minor offenses) resulted in straight probation, while nearly 90% of all cases resulted in a sentence of one year or less.

D: Significant Relationships and Effects Among Urban 1980
Felony Sentencing Practices

The statistical sentencing models presented and discussed in the last section reveal systematic patterns in the types of factors affecting sentence variation that deserve further discussion. Perhaps the most significant overall result of the models is the lack of statistically independent impact of defendant and offense related factors. The majority of factors identified as most significantly associated with sentence outcomes included the impact of the pre-sentence report, the defendant's custodial status pending disposition of the case, the class of offense and type of sentence (presumptive or non-presumptive) imposed. A more detailed descriptive analysis of the association of these variables with sentence outcomes follows.

(1) Impact of Pre-Sentence Report Factors

In addition to the facts about the offender, offense and processing of cases, we collected two items of information uniquely available from the pre-sentence report: (1) the report writer's sentence recommendation, and (2) the report's characterization of the defendant. Recommendations for sentences were summarized as "probation", "taste of jail" (60 days or less), "time to serve" and "substantial time to serve" (2 years or more). Characterizations were summarized by terms

we found to be frequently used in pre-sentence reports, including "cooperative", "anti-social", "hostile", "apathetic/indifferent", "disturbed/unable to control behavior", and "professional or habitual criminal". This information was captured in the Judicial Council's last felony study (1976-1979 convictions) where it was found to be strongly associated with sentencing outcomes and was thus included in the present study.

The present analysis reveals that these factors again had a significant and substantial independent effect on length of sentence and likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence. An adverse characterization of the defendant by the pre-sentence report writer was associated with increases in a typical sentence, other things being equal, among violent felony and property offenses (Classes 2 and 3, respectively). A positive characterization was associated with decreased sentence length among drug offenses (Class 5). Similarly, an "adverse" recommendation by the reporter independently contributed to increased sentence length among violent felony offenses (Class 2) while a "positive" recommendation was associated with decreased sentence length among property offenses (Class 3). Moreover, these pre-sentence report factors demonstrated significant (one-way) relationships with sentence length even among those offense classes not subjected to multivariate analysis (Class 4 fraud offenses and Class 6 "other" offenses).

These findings indicate that the pre-sentence report, apart from the objective information that it conveys, plays a very significant role in affecting sentence outcomes. Moreover, the magnitude of the impact of its characterization of the defendant and sentence recommendation is quite substantial in comparison with other relevant factors. For example, among violent felony offenses (Class 2) the impact of an adverse characterization is greater than nearly all other factors found to be most significantly associated with sentence length, including the class of offense. A similar outcome was discerned in the context of our property offense (Class 3) sentencing model.

Unlike the findings of our earlier (1976-1979) study, however, favorable pre-sentence report characterizations and recommendations appear to mitigate sentence length in some contexts. Thus, a favorable recommendation among property offense cases and a positive characterization among drug cases were found to be associated with decreased sentence length. Nevertheless, these findings demonstrate that the overall impact of the report writer's perception of the defendant and sentence recommendation account for more independent outcome variation than any other single variable considered in the study.

(2) Impact of Presumptive Sentencing And Its
Relationship to Prior Criminal Record

Cases resulting in a presumptive sentence were identified as strongly associated with increases in typical sentences among violent felonies and property offenses (Classes 2 and 3). This result appears to confirm intuitive expectations given the definition of cases subject to presumptive sentencing, which include offenders with a prior felony conviction less than seven years old and some Class A felony first offenders. In large measure the imposition of a presumptive sentence is a proxy for a prior felony record, which also explains the absence of this (later) factor from the models presented in the earlier analysis. In other words, there is a very significant intercorrelation between prior felony record and presumptively sentenced cases.

Further analysis of this relationship strongly suggests, however, that the application of the presumptive sentencing provisions of the new code had a further independent effect on sentence outcomes over and above the impact of prior felonies. Thus, when both factors were "forced" into our multiple regression models, presumptive sentencing prevailed as a factor explaining considerably more sentence variation than prior felony record.

Tables IV and V, which follow, are included to facilitate an empirically meaningful description of differences in presumptive and non-presumptive outcomes. Table IV represents the proportionate number of cases subject to presumptive sentencing in each offense class, while Table V indicates the likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence and mean active sentence imposed upon presumptive and non-presumptive cases for three offense classes (violent, property and fraud offenses, Classes 2, 3 and 4, respectively).

TABLE IV
Type of Sentence for
Six Classes of Offense
(In Percent)

Class of Offense:	Presumptively Sentenced		Non-Presumptively Sentenced	
	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>
(1) Murder/Kidnapping	7.0%	(1)	93.0%	(13)
(2) Violent Felonies	19.9%	(30)	79.1%	(121)
(3) Property Offenses	12.6%	(25)	87.3%	(174)
(4) Fraud Offenses	34.6%	(9)	65.4%	(17)
(5) Drug Offenses	0%	(0)	100.0%	(82)
(6) "Other" Offenses	0%	(0)	100.0%	(9)

TABLE V

Comparison of Sentence
Outcomes For Presumptive
And Non-Presumptive Sentences
For Three Classes of Offense

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>Presumptive</u>		<u>Non-Presumptive</u>	
	<u>% prob</u>	<u>Mean Sentence</u>	<u>% prob</u>	<u>Mean Sentence</u>
Violent Felonies Class 2	3.3%	67.7	25.6%	16.8
Property Offenses Class 3	0%	41.3	31.6%	8.9
Fraud Offenses Class 4	0%	33.3	47.1%	1.9

Table IV demonstrates that fraud offense convictions were proportionately most likely to be sentenced presumptively (34.6%), followed by violent felonies (19.9%) and property offenses (12.6%). Murder/kidnapping (n=13) and "morals" offenses (n=9) had extremely small percentages of presumptively sentenced cases (7% and 0%, respectively). Title 17 drug offenses, as noted in our discussion of Class 5 sentencing supra, were not subject to the revision and classification of offenses in the new criminal code and presumptive sentencing in 1980.

Table V compares sentence outcomes for presumptive and non-presumptive Class 2, 3 and 4 offenses. The table confirms that presumptively sentenced cases received substantially longer periods of active incarceration and less likelihood of a probationary sentence than non-presumptively sentenced cases.

Further analysis conducted upon the presumptively sentenced cases revealed that a very significant proportion received a sentenced aggravated above the applicable presumptive term. It would appear that this fact helps explain the significant contribution of presumptive sentencing (over and above the effect of prior criminal record) in our sentencing models.

(3) Effect of Defendant's Custodial Status Pending
Disposition of the Case

One of the most consistent factors present in the sentencing models discussed earlier concerns the impact on sentence outcomes of cases in which the offender was jailed pending final disposition of the case. In these cases the offender was not released on monetary bail or his/her own recognizance pending disposition of the charge against them. Table VI, below, descriptively summarizes the sentence outcomes--both proportionate likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence and mean active sentence for those offenders going to jail--by the different categories of pre-trial custodial status of the defendant. The analysis includes outcomes for the three major classes of offense; violent felonies (Class 2), property offenses (Class 3) and drug offenses (Class 5).

Table VI
Comparison of Sentence Outcomes
By Pre-Trial Custodial Status
Of Defendant For Three Classes Of
Offense
(Classes 2, 3 and 5)
(1980 Urban Offenses)

<u>Def.'s Custodial Status</u>	Violent Felonies (Class 2)		Property Offenses (Class 3)		Drug Offenses (Class 5)	
	% Prob.	Mean Sent.	% Prob.	Mean Sent.	% Prob.	Mean Sent.
Own Recognizance	32.4%	7.5	37.8%	5.6	17.4%	4.6
Bail Release	27.7%	15.2	23.5%	7.9	28.9%	10.7
Jailed	8.3%	49.3	12.7%	23.4	0%	40.2
Other Custody	30.0%	11.0	72.7%	6.5	33.3%	60.0
Statistical Significance p=.01 p=.000 p=.000 p=.000 p=.15 p=.000						

* This table confirms the multiple regression results discussed earlier for each of the three offense classes. Offenders who were incarcerated pending disposition of their cases consistently received the longest mean sentences and were least likely to receive a straight probationary sentence in comparison with those released on bail or their own recognizance. The magnitude of the differences in both outcomes is quite substantial. For example, among violent felony offenses, cases in which the offender was jailed resulted in a mean sentence of 49.3 months compared to 7.5 and 15.2 months, respectively, for those released on their own

recognizance or bail. Similarly, only 8.3% of the cases in which the offender was jailed resulted in a probationary sentence compared with 32.4% and 27.7%, respectively, of those released on their own recognizance and bail.

While it would be easy to hypothesize that jailed offenders had the worst criminal backgrounds or cases against them, the multiple regression results control for differences among many such variables and represent the independent effect of having been incarcerated on sentence length. Outcomes such as these have been noted in the analysis of some offense classes in prior studies. However, these findings represent the most consistent pattern of effect ever noted.

(4) Impact of Trials Compared With Guilty Pleas

The multiple regression analysis model of violent felony offenses (Class 2) indicated that conviction after trial resulted in a sentence 10.5 months longer than those based upon a plea of guilty. In addition, during the first step of analytic screening a significant relationship between going to trial and longer sentences appeared among many offense classes. The effect of going to trial apparently dropped out of significance in these other classes during stepwise multiple regression analysis, suggesting that among those offense classes the variation in sentence length was better explained by other factors. Nevertheless, this original finding

encouraged us to more closely consider empirical differences in sentence outcomes between guilty pleas and trials. Table VII summarizes overall mean sentences for cases disposed of by guilty pleas and convictions after trial for all classes of offense.

TABLE VII
Mean Sentences For Six Offense Classes
For Pleas And Trials
(Urban Courts--1980)
(In Months)¹

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	PLEAS	TRIALS	<u>Signif- icance</u>
	<u>Mean Sent. (n)</u>	<u>Mean Sent. (n)</u>	
1. Murder/Kidnapping ²	52.5 (3)	589.2 (10)	None
2. Violent Felonies ³	17.4(113)	40.6 (34)	.01
3. Property Offenses ⁴	9.7(181)	19.8 (15)	.05
4. Fraud Offenses	13.2 (24)	0.6 (2)	None
5. Drug Offenses ⁵	10.1 (68)	29.1 (13)	.01
6. "Other" Offenses ⁶	0.0 (5)	24.0 (2)	.05

1 Probationary (zero) sentences are included in this analysis.

2 (1 missing case)

3 (4 missing cases)

4 (3 missing cases)

5 (1 missing cases)

6 (2 missing cases)

As this table reveals, a substantial differential exists between (mean) sentence outcomes based on pleas of guilty and those resulting from cases that went to trial. The differences indicated in this table may, however, be explained by other legally relevant factors such as the criminal history of the defendant or specific offense(s) involved. That is, more serious offenses or worse offenders may have gone to trial which would help explain the apparent overall differential. However, the regression analysis results for Class 2 violent felony offenses adjusted for differences in such other factors, indicating that even if other factors explain the plea-trial sentence outcome differentials among other offense classes, they are not so explained in the context of violent felony sentencing.

(5) Relationship of Alcohol and Drug Use to Criminal Behavior

Although its impact on sentence outcomes did not survive the multiple regression analysis performed for offense Classes 2, 3 and 5, one further area worthy of discussion concerns the relationship of alcohol/or drug use to crime. The variables we collected and considered concerning alcohol/drug use in this analysis revealed a strong relationship to criminal behavior itself (as opposed to sentence outcomes) among most offense classes.

As found in the Judicial Council's last felony sentencing study, use of alcohol and/or drugs and criminal behavior are closely associated in two distinct ways. Many offenses (including most murder/kidnapping, violent felonies and property offenses) are committed under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. Additionally, known alcohol/drug histories are strongly associated with prior criminal histories.

Table VIII compares the proportion of cases within each offense class that were known to be committed under the influence of alcohol, drugs or both in combination.

TABLE VIII

Frequency Of Use Of Drugs And/OR Alcohol
At Time Of Offense For Five Offense Classes*
(Urban Courts--1980)

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>	<u>Used Drugs</u>	<u>Used Drugs & Alcohol</u>	<u>Used Alcohol</u>
1. Murder/Kidnapping	(n=14)	----- (3)	21.4% (3)	78.6% (11)
2. Violent Felonies ¹	(n=142)	2.1% (3)	4.2% (6)	65.5% (93)
3. Property Offenses ²	(n=195)	2.6% (5)	2.6% (5)	46.2% (90)
4. Fraud Offenses ³	(n=24)	----- (3)	12.5% (3)	12.5% (3)
6. "Other" Offenses	(n=9)	11.1% (1)	----- (2)	22.2% (2)

* Percents indicate proportion of all cases within class.

- 1 (9 missing cases)
- 2 (4 missing cases)
- 3 (2 missing cases)

*No Reliable
Info on
Drug offenses*

As the distributions in the above table reveal, alcohol use is substantially more closely associated with criminal behavior than is drug use. The magnitude of offenses committed under the influence of alcohol is staggering. Thus, 78.6% of murder/kidnapping offenses, 65.5% of violent felonies and 46.2% of property offenses were known to have been committed under the influence of alcohol. Additional cases in all these groups were committed under the combined use of alcohol and drugs. Very few cases were known to be committed under the influence of drugs (2.1% of violent felonies and 2.6% of property offenses). However, the relative difficulty of detecting drug intoxication vis-a-vis alcohol use most likely accounts for at least some portion of the difference.

Table IX summarizes the relationship between severity of offenders' criminal records and known alcohol/drug histories. Offenders with no known chemical histories and offenders with known drug addiction histories were quite likely to be first offenders. Slightly over 50% of offenders with no substance histories were first offenders, while 32% and 18%, respectively, had misdemeanor and felony records. Nearly 40% of the offenders with drug addiction histories were first offenders, 32% had misdemeanor records and the remaining 28% had felony records. Finally, only 16% of those with known alcohol addiction histories were first offenders while 36% had misdemeanor records and 48% felony records. These findings very strongly suggest that alcohol addiction problems are closely associated with criminal recidivism.

TABLE IX

Severity Of Prior Criminal Record
By Drug/Alcohol History
(Urban Courts--1980)

<u>Severity of Prior Record</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Alcohol Addiction History</u>	<u>Drug Addiction History</u>
No Priors	50.3% (86)	15.8% (34)	39.6% (21)
Misdemeanors Only	31.6% (54)	36.3% (78)	32.1% (17)
One Prior Felony	13.5% (23)	34.0% (73)	20.8% (11)
Two/More Prior Felonies	4.7% (8)	14.0% (30)	7.5% (4)
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
TOTALS	(171)	(215)	(53)

E: Comparison of Major 1980 Offense
Outcomes With Past Study Periods

This section of our report compares major outcomes of 1980 offenses with those studied by the Judicial Council in its two prior felony sentencing studies, including the plea bargaining study (covering offense convictions rendered between August, 1974 and August, 1976) and the follow-up to this study (covering offenses during the August, 1976 to August, 1979 period). Since the first (plea bargaining) study included convictions only for the major urban centers of Alaska--Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau--the present comparison is limited to cases among these courts. The data used in this analysis includes 1,443 convictions during the 1974-1976 study, 1,346 convictions from the 1976-1979 study and the 481 1980 offense convictions.

As discussed earlier in the report, comparisons of this data base with those of prior studies are subject to limitations occasioned by a shift in the parameter definition of the 1980 data base. Unlike prior studies, whose data bases were defined by conviction dates from August to August, the 1980 data was based upon offense commission dates falling within calendar year 1980. Despite these discrepancies we are confident, that the patterns and trends represented in this section facilitate valid general comparisons of empirical distributions, effects and sentence outcomes over the six years represented in the Judicial Council's aggregate data base.

(1) Offense Classes

The number and proportion of convicted cases within each class of offense for each of the six years is represented in Table X. The 1974-1976 period includes data collected for the plea bargaining study, the 1976-1979 period includes data from the follow-up study and the 1980 data represents the data presented in this study. Since this data represents the great proportion of all cases that began as felonies and resulted in a conviction (with the exception of cases from August-December, 1979), it constitutes a very reliable sample of felony convictions for the six year period.

TABLE X

Distribution of Convicted Offenses
By Six Classes of Offense
For Three Study Periods

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>1974-76</u> <u>Period</u>		<u>1976-79</u> <u>Period</u>		<u>1980</u> <u>Study</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
Murder Kidnapping Class 1	1.7%	(25)	3.6%	(49)	2.9%	(14)
Violent Felonies Class 2	29.4%	(420)	27.1%	(365)	31.4%	(151)
Property Offenses Class 3	34.8%	(499)	35.7%	(481)	41.4%	(199)
Fraud Offenses Class 4	13.6%	(195)	15.2%	(204)	5.4%	(26)
Drug Offenses Class 5	17.8%	(255)	14.3%	(192)	17.0%	(82)
"Other" Offenses Class 6	2.7%	(39)	4.1%	(55)	1.7%	(9)
Totals	100.0%	(1433)	100.0%	(1366)	100.0%	(481)

The most notable changes among the proportion of cases within each class of offense over this period concerns the very substantial decrease in Class 4 fraud offenses and increase among Class 3 property offenses in the 1980 period. The proportion of fraud offenses among the 1980 data represents a decrease of nearly 10% from the last study period (1976-1979). This decrease may be due to the Department of Law's Pre-Trial Intervention Project begun in mid 1978 which allows district attorneys to divert "appropriate" cases into a diversionary system that functions as an alternative to traditional case disposition. Bad check and forgery offenses are typical examples of offenses diverted through the program. Conversely, property offenses (Class 3) increased from approximately 35% of all cases in the preceding study periods to over 41% of 1980 offenses. Finally, the proportion of "other" offenses (Class 6) dropped among 1980 offenses as compared with prior study periods. In general, the distributions among the other felony classes have remained relatively stable over the three study periods.

(2) Sentence Outcomes

The findings of our 1976-1979 felony study revealed that the average length of active sentences for that period represented a dramatic increase over those discerned from the earlier plea bargaining (1974-76) study. Mean active sentences imposed for violent felonies and property offenses had nearly doubled while all offense classes--with the exception of drug.

felonies--demonstrated significant and substantial increases. In addition, the 1976-79 study findings indicated that a defendant's chances of receiving a probationary sentence decreased in comparison with findings from the earlier plea bargaining study.

Table XI represents mean active sentences for each offense class over the Judicial Council's three felony study periods.

TABLE XI
MEAN ACTIVE SENTENCES FOR
SIX OFFENSE CLASSES FOR THREE
STUDY PERIODS
(IN MONTHS)
(n of cases in parenthesis)

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>1974-76 Period</u>	<u>1976-79 Period</u>	<u>1980 Study</u>
Murder/Kidnapping Class 1	231.4 (22)	356.1 (49)	434.7 (14)
Violent Felonies Class 2	36.5 (274)	66.3 (293)	29.2 (119)
Property Offenses Class 3	10.4 (257)	20.0 (283)	14.6 (144)
Fraud Offenses Class 4	16.4 (99)	19.9 (136)	17.6 (18)
Drug Offenses Class 5	33.1 (120)	27.3 (110)	16.3 (65)
"Other" Offenses Class 6	38.4 (22)	44.0 (37)	16.7 (3)

Table XI reveals that 1980 mean active sentence lengths have decreased substantially from the 1976-1979 study period. The decrease is greatest among "other" offenses (62% decrease), violent felonies (56% decrease) and drug offenses (40% decrease). In fact, the average sentences for many 1980 offense classes are lower than those discerned from the 1974-76 period. Only sentences for Class 1 (Murder/Kidnapping), which are largely a function of the number of reduced charges among these offenses, exhibited an increase over the 1976-1979 period.

Table XII represents the proportionate likelihood of receiving a straight probationary sentence for each class of offense over the three study periods.

TABLE XII
Proportion of Cases Receiving
Probation for Six Offense Classes
For Three Study Periods
(In Percent)*

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>1974-76 Period</u>	<u>1976-79 Period</u>	<u>1980 Study</u>
Murder/Kidnapping Class 1	12%	0%	0%
Violent Felonies Class 2	35%	20%	21%
Property Offenses Class 3	48%	41%	28%
Fraud Offenses Class 4	49%	33%	31%
Drug Offenses Class 5	53%	43%	21%
"Other" Offenses Class 6	44%	33%	67%

*Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

These distributions reveal that the proportion of cases resulting in a straight probationary sentence has decreased among most 1980 offense classes. Thus, the proportion of Class 3 property offenses resulting in probation decreased from 41% in the 1976-1979 period to 28% in the 1980 period. Drug offenses resulting in straight probation decreased from 43% to 21% over this same period. Only "other" offense convictions--which included only 9 1980 cases--exhibited an increase in the likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence.

An overall pattern in comparing the figures provided in these two tables emerges: proportionately more offenders are being sentenced to periods of incarceration while average incarceration terms have decreased substantially.

(3) Trials

The Judicial Council's 1976-1979 felony study indicated that the proportion of cases resulting in conviction that went to trial increased substantially over the 1974-1976 study period. Overall, the proportion of cases that went to trial during the 1974-1976 period was 11.8% compared with 21.9% for the later study period. The Judicial Council's 1976-1979 felony sentencing study final report suggested that this substantial increase may have been associated with the Attorney General's August, 1975 ban on plea bargaining.

As Table XIII, below, indicates, the overall proportion of 1980 convicted offenses that went to trial has decreased significantly to 15.8%. In fact, the 1980 trial rate for convicted offenses nearly approximates that for the 1974-1976 study period.

TABLE XIII

Proportion of Convicted Cases
That Went to Trial By Class
Of Offense* For Three
Study Periods

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>1974-76 Period</u>	<u>1976-79 Period</u>	<u>1980 Study</u>
Violent Felonies Class 2	20.7%	33.7%	22.5%
Property Offenses Class 3	6.8%	13.5%	7.5%
Fraud Offenses Class 4	5.7%	16.2%	7.7%
Drug Offenses Class 5	11.8%	26.6%	15.8%
All Cases	11.8%	21.9%	15.8%

*Classes 1 and 6 excluded due to small number of cases.

This pattern of marked reduction in the number of cases that went to trial exists among all classes of offense. The decrease was most substantially among fraud offenses (Class

4) and property offenses (Class 3). Whether this change is due to the changing policies of district attorneys, defense counsel or the new criminal code is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, the findings are significant and substantial.

(4) Elimination of Earlier Problematical Outcomes

(a) Racial Disparity Eliminated

Our analysis of the 1974-1976 plea bargaining data found that Blacks and Natives convicted of property offenses (Class 3) and fraud offenses (Class 4) as well as Blacks convicted of drug offenses (Class 5) received sentences disproportionate to those of Whites convicted of the same offenses. Analysis of the 1976-1979 data indicated dramatic reduction in sentencing disparity by race. That study found that the disparate sentences of Blacks convicted of drug offenses persisted and its magnitude remained unchanged. These findings persisted even when severity of the offender's prior criminal history, severity of the offense and other legally relevant factors were statistically controlled.

The present analysis of 1980 offenses reveals that racially disproportionate sentencing outcomes have been totally eliminated. Many factors likely played a role in the reduction and subsequent elimination of these problematical outcomes. First and foremost among these would have to be the identification of the problem by the Judicial Council's plea

bargaining study. In addition, the efforts of the Sentencing Guidelines Committee established by Alaska's Supreme Court and other court system action, including critical and conscious attention by Alaska's judges, all worked to eliminate this invidious problem.

(b) Elimination of Sentence Outcomes by
Type of Defense Attorney

Our analysis of 1976-1979 felony sentencing outcomes revealed substantial and significant differences in sentence outcomes according to the type of defense attorney representing defendants. Cases represented by court-appointed attorneys resulted in substantially longer mean sentences among all classes of offense. After exhaustive analysis of these differences we could not identify any factor or set of factors that would account for the differential outcomes.

Largely as a result of these findings the Alaska Court System established a new contract procedure for court-appointed counsel. This system was based on the premise that experienced defense counsel could better represent public defender conflict cases (which constitute the majority of court-appointed cases) and do so at an overall lesser cost to the state,

Our analysis of 1980 felony sentencing reveals that the earlier attorney-type outcome differences have been completely eliminated. Differences in sentence outcomes according to type of defense attorney did not survive screening in any class of offense, strongly suggesting that the Court System's response eliminated the problem.

PART III

RURAL ALASKA SENTENCING PATTERNS

A. Introduction

The Judicial Council's 1980 data base includes cases rendered in all eleven Alaska Superior Court locations. The purpose of this section of the report is to summarize findings of sentencing patterns among the eight "rural" locations not discussed in Part II. These eight court locations include Barrow, Nome, Bethel, Kodiak, Kenai, Sitka, Ketchikan and Kotzebue, which became a Superior Court location in late 1979.

There were a total of 372 rural cases originally charged as a felony that resulted in conviction (either misdemeanor or felony). Tables XIV and XV, below, represent a frequency distribution of these cases by court location and the offense classification scheme discussed earlier.

TABLE XIV

Distribution of 1980 Rural Convictions
By Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>n of Cases</u>	<u>% of N</u>
Barrow	17	4.6
Nome	33	8.9
Bethel	97	26.1
Kodiak	47	12.6
Kenai	78	21.0
Sitka	36	9.7
Ketchikan	47	12.6
Kotzebue	<u>17</u>	<u>4.6</u>
TOTALS	N=372	= 100%

TABLE XV

Distribution of 1980 Rural Convictions
By Class of Offense

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>n of Cases</u>	<u>% of N</u>
1. Murder/Kidnapping	4	1.1
2. Violent Felonies	146	39.3
3. Property Offenses	155	41.7
4. Fraud Offenses	17	4.6
5. Drug Offenses	37	10.0
6. "Other" Offenses	<u>13</u>	<u>3.5</u>
TOTALS	N=372	= 100%

The majority of rural convictions were rendered in Bethel (n=97), Kenai (n=78), Kodiak and Ketchikan (n=47 each). Nearly three quarters (72.3%) of all rural cases are represented by these four locations. The number of Kenai, Bethel and Sitka cases is surprisingly high in comparison with past distributions and their relative population sizes, suggesting a substantial increase in criminal activity or charging practices in these locations.

Table XV reveals that property offenses (Class 2) constitute the most typical rural offenses (41.7% and 39.3%, respectively). A comparison of these distributions with those discerned in the Judicial Council's first rural sentencing analysis (covering the 1976-1979 period) indicates that the proportion of violent felonies have increased substantially (from 28.7% in the earlier study to 39.3%).

B: Analysis of Sentence Outcomes By Class

The statistical methods employed in analyzing sentencing outcomes among these rural offenses is essentially identical to those used in Part II of the report. Analysis of variance screening was conducted for all groups of variables within each offense class in an effort to identify the total pool of factors exhibiting a significant association with sentence variation. Multiple regression screening and subsequent stepwise modeling was conducted for violent felonies (Class 2) and property offenses (Class 3) in order to determine the most significant set of explanatory factors associated with sentence length. Due to the very small numbers of murder/kidnapping (Class 1), fraud (Class 4), drug (Class 5) and "other" (Class 6) offenses, very little statistical analysis of these offense classes was possible. Nevertheless, descriptive summaries of offense and sentence outcomes were prepared for these offense classes.

(1) Class 2: Violent Felonies

Table III-2 (Appendix B) represents the offense at final disposition and sentence outcomes for the 146 rural offenses originally charged as Class 2 violent felonies. As this table reveals, assault IV (n=36) was the single most common final disposition among Class 2 offenses, followed by assault III (n=21), assault II (n=17), sexual assault I (n=12)

and misconduct involving a weapon II (n=15). Nearly half (46% or n=68) of the 146 Class 2 offenses resulted in a misdemeanor conviction at final disposition. This constitutes a substantial and dramatic increase in the number of offenses reduced to misdemeanors in comparison with the findings of the last (1976-1979) study, where 33.8% of Class 2 offenses were reduced to misdemeanors.

Sexual assault I and II convictions resulted in the most severe sentence outcomes--47.5 and 39.6 (mean) months, respectively, with zero likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence for either offense--while the sentence distributions among most offenses reveals wide variability in outcomes.

Identification and Discussion of Factors Most
Significantly Associated With Sentence Outcomes

Five factors survived initial screening and were subsequently identified by multiple regression analysis as most significantly associated with sentence variation. They include:

1. An adverse pre-sentence report recommendation;
2. Reduction of the initial charge to a misdemeanor at final disposition;
3. The number of prior adult felony convictions;
4. Conviction of Sexual Assault I; and
5. , The number of contemporaneous convictions.

Table III-4 indicates the estimated independent contribution of each of these factors to sentence length in the .

order of their ability to explain variation in sentence length and Table III-3 (both in Appendix B) descriptively summarizes the number of cases, likelihood of receiving probation and mean active sentence for each category of the variables represented by the factors in Table III-4.

A pre-sentence report recommendation of substantial time to serve, independent of the effects of other offender and offense factors, had the single greatest impact on sentence length, adding as estimated 34.6 months to typical sentence length. The descriptive statistics provided in Table III-3 facilitate a better empirical understanding of this outcome. None of the fifteen offenders receiving this recommendation received probation while their mean active sentence was 54.4 months, many times greater than those with other recommendations.

Reduction of the original felony charge to a misdemeanor at final disposition was associated with an 8.6 month decrease in typical sentence length. As noted above, 68 cases or 46.6% of all Class 2 offenses were reduced to misdemeanors. If the offense at final disposition was sexual assault I, however, the model estimates a 16.7 month addition to sentence length.

The severity of an offender's prior felony record increased sentence length. The magnitude of the contribution of each prior adult felony conviction was 15.3 months. Thus,

cases in which the offender had three prior adult felonies would result in an estimated 45.9 months addition to sentence length. The descriptive outcome summaries in Table III-3 reveal a strong positive linear relationship between severity of prior record and sentence length. Thus, cases in which the defendant was a first offender had the lowest mean sentence (12.02 months) followed by those in which the offender had one prior felony (25.26 months) and cases in which they had two prior felony convictions (54 months).

Finally, each contemporaneous conviction increased sentence length by 4.6 months. Table III-3 indicates that this variable also has a strong positive linear relationship with sentence length. Thus, (mean) sentence length increases according to increases in the number of contemporaneous convictions.

(2) Class 3: Property Offenses

Table III-5 (Appendix B) summarizes offense and sentence outcome information regarding the final disposition of 155 rural Class 3 property offenses. The burglary offenses (burglary I and II) were the most common offenses at final disposition (n=25 and n=50, respectively), followed by theft II (n=18). Nearly a third (n=50 or 32%) of all Class 3 cases were reduced to misdemeanors at conviction, with theft III the most common (misdemeanor) disposition.

The sentences imposed on these offenses exhibit less variability than those of other offense classes, with the majority of all cases (72.3%) resulting in a sentence of six months or less. Only two of the 50 misdemeanor dispositions resulted in a sentence over six months. Convictions for burglary I resulted in the highest (mean) active sentence (21.7 months), followed by theft receiving II and burglary II (12 months each).

Identification And Discussion of Factors Most
Significantly Associated With Sentence Outcomes

Seven factors survived screening and were identified by multiple regression as having the most significant independent impact on sentence variation. They include:

1. The imposition of a presumptive sentence;
2. The number of contemporaneous convictions;
3. The number of prior juvenile felony convictions;
4. Release of the offender on his/her own recognizance pending final disposition of the case;
5. An alcohol (or combined alcohol and drug) addiction history of the offender;
6. An employment history indicating frequent change of jobs and/or employers; and
7. Reduction of the original felony charge to a misdemeanor at final disposition.

Table III-7 provides the estimated independent contribution of each factor to sentence length while Table III-6 (both in Appendix B) provides a descriptive summary of sentence outcomes--likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence and mean active sentence--for all categories of the variables for factors identified in Table III-7.

Imposition of a presumptive (vis-a-vis a non-presumptive) sentence was associated with a 19.5 month increase in typical sentence length, other factors being equal. Table III-6 indicates that only 5.3% of the n=19 presumptively sentenced cases resulted in a probationary sentence compared to 26.5% of the 136 non-presumptively sentenced cases. In addition, comparison of mean active sentence outcomes reveals that the presumptively sentenced cases resulted in an average sentence many times greater than non-presumptively sentences (34.7 months and 5.6 months, respectively).

Sentence length was estimated to increase by 3.6 months for each contemporaneous conviction and 2.3 months for each prior juvenile felony conviction. The summary outcome statistics provided in Table III-6 reveal strong positive linear associations between both of the variables and sentence outcomes such that likelihood of probation decreases and (mean) sentence length increases as number of companion convictions and juvenile felonies increase.

Cases in which the offender had a known alcohol (or combined alcohol and drug) addiction history resulted in a 2.9 month increase to sentence length. This represents the only context in which the offender's alcohol or drug addiction history was found significantly associated with sentence outcomes in analysis of the 1980 offenses.

Finally, the three remaining factors in the rural Class 3 sentencing model were associated with decreases in typical sentence length. Cases in which the offender was released on his/her own recognizance pending final disposition of the case were associated with a 4.4 month decrease in typical sentence length. Reference to the summary outcome statistics provided in Table III-6 empirically confirms this finding and reveals that these offenders were substantially more likely than those with other pre-disposition custodial statuses to receive a probationary sentence. An employment history indicating frequent change in jobs and/or employers ("oddjobbers" and "jobhoppers" in the terminology of the study) was also associated with a decrease in sentence length (2.8 months). Cases reduced to misdemeanors at final disposition resulted in a sentence 3.2 months shorter, other things being equal, than those resulting in a felony conviction.

(3) Class 1, Murder/Kidnapping, Class 4,
Fraud Offenses, Class 5, Drug Offenses
and Class 6, "Other" Offenses

As discussed in the introduction to this section of the report, rigorous multivariate statistical analysis of rural offense Classes 1, 4, 5 and 6 were not possible owing to the very few numbers of offenses in each class (n=4, n=17, n=37 and n=13 cases each, respectively). However, detailed descriptive offense and sentence outcome information was prepared for each of these four offense classes and will be discussed below.

Offense and sentence outcomes for the four rural Class 1 murder/kidnapping offenses is provided in Table III-1 (Appendix B). All cases resulted in a sentence of over sixty months. There were no convictions for murder in the first degree, two for murder in the second degree and one each for kidnapping and manslaughter.

Table III-8 (Appendix B) provides offense and sentence distribution information for the 17 rural Class 4 fraud offenses. The most common offenses at final disposition were bad check II (a misdemeanor) and forgery II (a felony) with frequencies of n=6 and n=5, respectively. Nearly half (47%) of the 17 cases were reduced to misdemeanors. Overall, 41.2% of all rural Class 4 offenses resulted in straight probation while a total of 94.1% received a sentence of six months or less. In fact, only one of the seventeen cases resulted in a sentence over six months.

(1) Increased Numbers of Rural Cases

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, perhaps the most significant overall finding discerned in our analysis of rural 1980 felony offenses concerns the rather dramatic increase in the numbers of cases processed by these court locations in comparison with our last study covering the 1976-1979 period. The earlier study, which included data from seven "rural" court locations, included 537 cases resulting in conviction between August, 1976 and August, 1979. While the 1980 data base is not strictly comparable due to changes in the definition and parameters of its data base, the number of 1980 offenses resulting in a conviction strongly suggests an increase in either criminal activity, charging practices or conviction rates since the last study period. Table XVI, below, compares the number of cases included in the data base of both the 1976-1979 and 1980 studies.

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TABLE XVI
Distribution of Rural Convictions
By Location For Two
Study Periods
(1976-1979 and 1980 Offenses)

<u>Location:</u>	<u>1976-1979 Period</u>		<u>1980 Period</u>	
	<u>n of cases</u>	<u>% of n</u>	<u>n of cases</u>	<u>% of n</u>
Barrow	42	7.8%	17	4.6%
Nome	69	12.8%	33	8.9%
Bethel	116	21.6%	97	26.1%
Kodiak	95	17.7%	47	12.6%
Kenai	77	14.3%	78	21.0%
Sitka	36	6.7%	36	9.7%
Ketchikan	102	19.0%	47	12.6%
Kotzebue*	---	----	--	----
	n=537	n=100%	n=372	n=100%

* Became a superior court location in late 1979.

As the above distributions reveal, the actual number of Kenai and Sitka cases included in the 1980 data base equal or surpass those included in the 1976-1979 period, despite the substantial difference in temporal parameters between the two study periods. The relative proportion of all cases represented by these two court locations is greater in the 1980 study period. In addition, both the actual number of cases and relative proportion of Bethel offenses suggests substantial increases in the Superior Court criminal caseload for these court locations.

Barrow and Nome court cases reflect a decrease in relative proportionality of total cases in the 1980 period. However, the additional cases handled by the new Superior Court in Kotzebue probably account for this decrease.

(2) Factors in Sentencing Models

Many of the factors identified in the sentencing models presented for rural Class 2 and 3 offenses were also identified as significant among urban offense classes. A notable exception concerns the impact of contemporaneous convictions, which were associated with increased sentence length among violent felony (Class 2) and property offense (Class 3) outcomes. Each contemporaneous conviction increased a Class 2 sentence by 4.6 months and a Class 3 sentence by 3.6 months.

Reduction of the original felony charge to a misdemeanor at final disposition was associated with a decrease in typical sentence length among both (Class 2 and 3) rural multivariate sentencing models. A misdemeanor disposition was associated with an 8.6 month decrease in a typical Class 2 sentence and a 3.2 month decrease in a typical Class 3 sentence. We will examine the numbers of cases reduced to misdemeanors in more detail, infra.

(3) Relationship of Alcohol and Drugs to Criminal Behavior

We noted the same strong association between alcohol/drug use and crime in our analysis of the 1980 rural offenses as reported for urban 1980 offenses in Part II. First, the vast majority of rural offenses were found to have been committed under the influence of alcohol, drugs or both in combination. In addition, we found a significant and substantial association between offenders' known alcohol and drug addiction histories and their prior criminal records.

Table XVII represents the frequency of rural offenses known to have been committed under the influence of alcohol, drugs or both in combination for each class of offense.

TABLE XVII

Frequency Of Use Of Drugs And Alcohol
At Time Of Offense For Five Offense Classes*
(Rural Courts--1980)

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>	<u>Used Drugs</u>	<u>Used Drugs & Alcohol</u>	<u>Used Alcohol</u>
1. Murder/Kidnapping	(n=4)	----- -----	----- -----	100.0% (4)
2. Violent Felonies ¹	(n=142)	1.4% (2)	4.9% (7)	80.1% (113)
3. Property Offenses ²	(n=151)	2.6% (4)	5.3% (8)	55.6% (84)
4. Fraud Offenses ³	(n=16)	----- -----	----- -----	6.3% (1)
6. "Other" Offenses	(n=13)	----- -----	15.4% (2)	46.2% (6)

* Percents indicate proportion of all cases within class.
Drug offenses omitted from this analysis.

- 1 (4 missing cases)
2 (4 missing cases)
3 (1 missing case)

As these distributions reveal, alcohol was associated with the commission of all Class 1 offenses, 85% of Class 2 offenses and over 60% of Class 3 and Class 4 offenses. Thus, the proportion of cases known to have been committed under the influence of alcohol is considerably more substantial among rural than urban offenses.

Table XVIII summarizes the relationship between alcohol/drug addiction histories of offenders and the level of severity of their prior criminal records.

TABLE XVIII
Severity Of Prior Criminal Record
By Drug/Alcohol History
(Rural Courts--1980)

<u>Severity of Prior Record</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Alcohol Addiction History</u>	<u>Drug Addiction History</u>
No Priors	61.7% (58)	26.9% (54)	18.2% (2)
Misdemeanors Only	23.4% (22)	52.2% (105)	27.3% (3)
One Prior Felony	10.6% (10)	14.4% (29)	54.5% (6)
Two/More Prior Felonies	4.3% (4)	6.5% (13)	----- -----
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Totals	(94)	(201)	(11)

While nearly 62% of those offenders with no known substance addiction histories were first offenders, this was the case for only 27% and 18%, respectively, of those with known alcohol and drug addiction histories. The majority (52.2%) of offenders with past alcohol histories had a misdemeanor record while the majority of offenders with drug addiction histories had a felony record. By comparison, only 23.4% of those with no substance histories had misdemeanor records while slightly less than 15% had felony records. The magnitude of these findings suggest that alcohol abuse is among the most significant problems in Alaska's criminal justice system.

(4) Comparison of Major Urban-Rural Outcome Differences

(a) Proportion of Cases Reduced to Misdemeanors

As noted earlier, the impact of a reduction of the original felony charge to a misdemeanor at final disposition was identified in both (Classes 2 and 3) rural sentencing models as associated with decreased sentence length. Our report of 1976-1979 felony sentencing patterns indicated that rural convictions were consistently more likely to be reduced to misdemeanors than urban cases. Table XIX, below, compares this outcome for urban and rural 1980 offenses.

TABLE XIX

Proportion Of Urban And Rural Cases
Reduced To Misdemeanors For Six
Classes Of Offense*

<u>Class of Offense:</u>	<u>Urban Locations</u>	<u>Rural Locations</u>
2. Violent Felonies	33.8%	46.6%
3. Property Offenses	26.6%	32.3%
4. Fraud Offenses	11.5%	47.1%
5. Drug Offenses	2.4%	13.5%
6. "Other" Offenses	11.1%	30.8%

* Class 1 omitted (no cases reduced to misdemeanors).

As the above table reveals, rural felony offense cases were substantially more likely to result in a misdemeanor conviction than urban cases among every class of offense. Moreover, the proportion of rural Class 2, 4 and 6 cases reduced to misdemeanors is greater than the proportion comparably identified in the 1976-1979 study while the proportion of Class 3 and 5 cases thus reduced is lower than the last study period.

(b) Urban-Rural Sentence Length Differences

Table XX compares the two major sentence outcomes which were the focus of this study--likelihood of receiving a probationary sentence and mean active sentence length--for urban and rural courts for each class of offense.

TABLE XX

Comparison of Mean Active Sentences
And Likelihood of Receiving Probation
For Urban and Rural Courts
By Six Offense Classes*

<u>Class Of Offense:</u>	<u>Urban Courts</u>		<u>Rural Courts</u>	
	<u>% Probation</u>	<u>Mean Sentence</u>	<u>% Probation</u>	<u>Mean Sentence</u>
1. Murder/Kidnapping	0.0%	434.7	0.0%	144.0
2. Violent Felonies	21.2%	29.2	15.8%	13.2
3. Property Offenses	27.6%	14.6	23.9%	10.0
4. Fraud Offenses	30.8%	17.6	41.2%	4.7
5. Drug Offenses	20.7%	16.3	45.9%	8.9
6. "Other" Offenses	66.7%	16.7	38.5%	13.8

* Mean Sentences expressed in months.

As these figures indicate, average (mean) urban sentence lengths were substantially longer than rural sentences among all offense classes. Class 2 urban (mean) sentences were more than twice as long as comparable rural offense sentences while urban fraud sentences were many times longer than the rural cases. We should note, however, that the greater proportion of rural cases reduced to misdemeanors--and the corresponding lower sentence lengths imposed on misdemeanor convictions--undoubtedly accounts for some proportion of these differences.

Urban cases, however, were more likely to have resulted in a probationary outcome among Class 2 violent felonies, Class 3 property offenses and Class 6 "other" offenses. Conversely, rural Class 4 and Class 5 (fraud and drug offenses, respectively) were proportionately more likely to receive a probationary sentence than comparable urban cases.

These findings indicate a marked change in the outcome patterns discerned in our 1976-1979 study in which rural cases were consistently more likely to result in a probationary outcome than urban cases. Urban offenses continue to receive longer (mean) sentence lengths among offenders sentenced to a period of incarceration.

APPENDIX I

TABLE II-1

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 1, Murder Kidnapping--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Murder 1	5	35.7	1046.4	(5)	1099.5	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(5)
Murder 2	3	21.4	92.0	(3)	96.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	33.3	(1)	66.7	(2)
Kidnapping	1	7.1	360.0	(1)	360.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)
Manslaughter	3	21.4	64.0	(3)	57.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	66.7	(2)	33.3	(1)
Coercion	1	7.1	1.6	(1)	1.6	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Assault 3	1	7.1	24.0	(1)	24.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	14	100%		(14)				7.1	(1)			7.1	(1)	21.4	(3)	64.3	(3)

p=.002

p=.004

TABLE 11-2

Offenses And Sentence Distribution
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	%	X Act of N	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Assault 1	6	4.0	36.1	(5)	14.9	16.7	(1)	16.7	(1)	33.3	(2)	----	----	----	----	33.3	(2)
Sexual Assault 1	10	6.6	106.0	(9)	60.0	10.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	20.0	(2)	30.0	(3)	40.0	(4)
Attempt Sex. Assault 1	2	1.3	21.0	(2)	21.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(2)	----	----	----	----
Robbery 1	13	8.6	70.0	(12)	63.0	7.7	(1)	7.7	(1)	----	----	7.7	(1)	30.8	(4)	46.2	(6)
Attempt Robbery 1	1	0.7	30.0	(1)	30.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----
Assault 2	23	15.2	25.5	(19)	12.0	17.4	(4)	30.4	(7)	13.0	(3)	8.7	(2)	26.1	(6)	4.3	(1)
Sexual Assault 2	1	0.7	12.0	(1)	12.0	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
Robbery 2	8	5.3	36.0	(7)	33.0	12.5	(1)	----	----	12.5	(1)	25.0	(2)	37.5	(3)	12.5	(1)
Crim.Negligent Homicide	1	0.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Arson 1	1	0.7	4.0	(1)	4.0	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Attempt Arson 2	1	0.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Escape 2	5	3.3	33.6	(5)	42.0	----	----	20.0	(1)	----	----	20.0	(1)	60.0	(3)	----	----

Offenses And Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

[illegible]

TABLE II-2

Offenses And Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	Σ % of N	X̄ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Disorderly Conduct	1	0.7	0.2	(1)	0.2	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Misconduct Weapon 3	1	0.7	0.03	(1)	0.03	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Assault 4*	31	20.5	2.9	(23)	0.9	25.8	(8)	64.5	(20)	9.7	(3)	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	151	100%		(119)		21.2	(32)	34.4	(52)	8.6	(13)	10.6	(16)	15.9	(24)	9.3	(1)

p=.000

p=.000

* Includes n=10 Assault in the third degree convictions prior to June, 1980 when Assault 3 was a misdemeanor.

TABLE II-3

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Factors
--Class 2, Violent Felonies--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n (%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>(In Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
1. <u>Presentence Report</u> <u>Recommendation</u>					
No Recommendation	14	9.3	2 (14.3)	38.75	(12)
Probation	13	8.6	9 (69.2)	6.75	(12)
Probation + taste of Jail	9	6.0	4 (44.4)	4.97	(5)
Time to Serve	39	25.8	3 (7.7)	24.15	(36)
Substantial Time to Serve*	30	19.9	2 (6.7)	71.25	(28)
No PSR	46	30.5	12 (26.1)	2.78	(34)
			p=.000	p=.000	
2. <u>Class of Offense:</u>					
A Felony*	30	19.9	3 (10.0)	73.27	(27)
B Felony	41	27.2	6 (14.6)	28.23	(35)
C Felony	31	20.5	8 (25.8)	18.04	(23)
A Misdmr.	46	30.5	15 (32.6)	3.01	(31)
B Misdmr.	3	2.0	0 (0.0)	0.40	(3)
			p=.088	p=.000	
3. <u>Sentence Type:</u>					
Presumptive*	30	19.9	1 (3.3)	67.66	(29)
Traditional	121	80.1	31 (25.6)	16.82	(90)
			p=.015	p=.000	
4. <u>Specific Offense</u> <u>at Conviction:</u>					
Assault 1	6	4.0	1 (16.7)	36.05	(5)
Sex. Assault 1*	10	6.6	1 (10.0)	106.00	(9)
Att. Sex. Asslt 1	2	1.3	0 (0.0)	21.00	(2)
Robbery 1	13	8.6	1 (7.7)	70.00	(12)
Att. Robbery 1	1	0.7	0 (0.0)	30.00	(1)
Assault 2	23	15.2	4 (17.4)	25.48	(19)
Sex. Asslt 2	1	0.7	0 (0.0)	12.00	(1)
Robbery 2	8	5.3	1 (12.5)	36.00	(7)
Crim. Neg. Hom.	1	0.7	1 (100.0)	-----	(0)
Arson 1	1	0.7	0 (0.0)	4.00	(1)
Att. Arson 2	1	0.7	1 (100.0)	-----	(0)
Escape 2	5	3.3	0 (0.0)	33.60	(5)

*Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

TABLE II-3

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
 Probation And Mean Sentence
 Length By Significant Factors
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --Urban--
 (CONT'D)

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n (%)</u>	<u>Mean Act</u> <u>Sentence</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
Fail to Aid In- jured Person	1	0.7	1 (100.0)	-----	(0)
Misconduct					
Weapon 1	5	3.3	1 (20.0)	27.00	(4)
Assault 3 (Fel.)	22	14.6	5 (22.7)	17.35	(17)
Misdemeanors	51	33.8	15 (29.4)	2.96	(36)
			p=.225	p=.000	
5. <u>PSR Characterization¹</u> <u>of Defendant:</u>					
Cooperative	46	30.5	12 (26.1)	30.86	(34)
Antisocial/Hositle	4	2.6	0 (0.0)	23.26	(4)
Apathetic/Indif.	6	4.0	0 (0.0)	46.00	(6)
Disturbed	27	17.9	5 (18.5)	46.36	(22)
Prof/Hab. Criminal*	8	5.3	0 (0.0)	91.50	(8)
Immature	14	9.3	3 (21.4)	19.18	(11)
			p=.329	p=.010	
6. <u>Custodial Status</u> <u>of Defendant:</u>					
Own Recognizance	34	22.5	11 (32.4)	7.50	(23)
Bail	47	31.1	13 (27.7)	15.21	(34)
Jailed*	60	39.7	5 (8.3)	49.26	(55)
Other Custody	10	6.6	3 (30.0)	10.99	(7)
			p=.018	p=.000	
7. <u>Type of Disposition:</u>					
Guilty Plea	113	74.8	30 (26.5)	23.63	(83)
Plea Bargain	4	2.6	0 (0.0)	33.00	(4)
Jury Trial*	34	22.5	2 (5.9)	43.19	(32)
			p=.020	p=.087	

*Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

¹ (46 missing cases)

TABLE II-4

Estimated Contribution Of Factors
To Sentence Length
--Class 2, Violent Felonies--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>Estimated Increase/Decrease In Typical Sentence (In Months) When Factor Present:¹</u>	
1. Presentence Report Recommendation	+14.1	If Substantial Time to Serve
2. Class of Offense	+17.9	If "A" Felony
3. Sentence Type	+28.1	If Presumptive
4. Specific Offense at Conviction	+52.0	If Sexual Assault 1
5. PSR Characterization of Defendant	+29.6	If Professional or Habitual Criminal
6. Custodial Status of Defendant	+13.3	If Jailed
7. Type of Disposition	+10.5	If Jury Trial

R²=65%

¹ All numbers with plus or minus signs are multiple regression coefficients significant at (at least) the .05 level.

TABLE II-5

[illegible]

TABLE II-5

Offenses and Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)
 --Class 3, Property Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	%	of N	X Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
							Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
							%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																		
Criminal Mischief 2	1	0.5	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Theft 3	19	9.5	2.7	(14)	1.0	26.3	(5)	63.2	(12)	10.5	(2)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Theft Receiv- ing 3	1	0.5	1.0	(1)	1.0	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Concealing Merchandise	1	0.5	0.3	(1)	0.3	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Criminal Trespass 1	13	6.5	3.4	(9)	2.1	30.8	(4)	61.5	(8)	7.7	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Criminal Mischief 3	7	3.5	2.1	(6)	0.9	14.3	(1)	85.7	(6)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Theft 4	2	1.0	0.2	(1)	0.2	50.0	(1)	50.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Criminal Trespass 2	6	3.0	1.9	(6)	1.8	----	----	100.0	(6)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Criminal Mischief 4	3	1.5	0.3	(1)	0.3	66.7	(2)	33.3	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	199	100%		(144)		27.6	(55)	38.2	(76)	8.0	(16)	17.6	(35)	6.0	(12)	2.5	(5)	

p=.000

p=.193

TABLE II-6

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation n (%)</u>	<u>Mean Active Sentence (In Months)</u>	<u>(n) Active</u>
1. <u>Sentence Type:</u>					
Presumptive*	25	12.6	0 (0.0)	41.28	(25)
Non-Presumptive	174	87.4	55 (31.6)	8.97	(119)
			p=.002	p=.000	
2. <u>Custodial Status¹ of Defendant:</u>					
Own Recognizance	74	37.2	28 (37.8)	5.59	(46)
Bail	34	17.1	8 (23.5)	7.88	(26)
Jailed*	79	39.7	10 (12.7)	23.44	(69)
Other Custody	11	5.5	8 (72.7)	6.51	(3)
			p=.000	p=.000	
3. <u>Victim Harm:</u>					
Property Loss Only	186	93.5	53 (28.5)	13.23	(133)
Other Injury*	3	1.5	1 (33.3)	84.00	(2)
No Harm	10	5.0	1 (10.0)	18.99	(9)
			p=.433	p=.000	
4. <u>PSR Characterization:²</u>					
Cooperative	67	33.7	29 (43.3)	12.60	(38)
Antisocial/Hostile	11	5.5	1 (9.1)	17.10	(10)
Apathetic/Indifferent	21	10.6	1 (4.8)	17.45	(20)
Disturbed	20	10.1	7 (35.0)	27.00	(13)
Professional/Habitual					
Criminal*	13	6.5	1 (7.7)	36.00	(12)
Immature	22	11.1	3 (13.6)	11.92	(19)
			p=.001	p=.001	
5. <u>Class of Offense:</u>					
B Felony	39	19.6	11 (28.2)	29.54	(28)
C Felon.	107	53.8	31 (29.0)	15.48	(76)
A/B Misdmr.*	53	26.6	13 (24.5)	2.39	(40)
			p=.836	p=.000	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

1 (1 missing case)

2 (55 missing cases)

TABLE II-6

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Urban--
(CONT'D)

Factor:	n	% of N	Probation n (%)	Mean Active Sentence (In Months)	(n) Active
6. <u>PSR Recommendation:</u>					
No Recommendation	6	3.0	0 (0.0)	35.50	(6)
Probat. or Probat. + Taste of Jail*	48	24.1	28 (58.3)	3.59	(20)
Time to Serve	76	38.2	12 (15.8)	16.15	(64)
Substantial Time to Serve	24	12.1	2 (8.3)	31.36	(22)
No PSR	45	22.6	13 (28.9)	2.83	(32)
			p=.000	p=.000	
7. <u>Psychiatric Exam:</u> ³					
No Exam Ordered	152	76.4	44 (28.9)	10.34	(108)
Exam Ordered*	46	23.1	11 (23.9)	26.41	(35)
			p=.660	p=.000	
8. <u>Unemployment Status:</u> ⁴					
Unemployed Due to Arrest	27	13.6	5 (18.5)	17.09	(22)
Unemployed 1 mon. or less Before Arrest	27	13.6	4 (14.8)	26.63	(23)
Unemployed 6 mon. or less Before Arrest	45	22.6	12 (26.7)	16.45	(33)
Unemployed More than 6 mon Before Arrest	33	16.6	9 (27.3)	16.45	(24)
Employed	40	20.1	19 (47.5)	6.28	(21)
			p=.027	p=.008	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

3 (1 missing case)

4 (27 missing cases)

TABLE II-7

Estimated Contribution Of Factors To
Sentence Length
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>Estimated Increase/Decrease¹ In Typical Sentence (In Months) When Factor Present:</u>	
1. Sentence Type	+22.2	If Presumptive
2. Custodial Status of Defendant	+ 5.5	If Jailed
3. Victim Harm	+29.9	If Injury
4. PSR Characterization of Defendant	+11.9	If Professional or Habitual Criminal
5. Class of Offense	- 7.5	If "A" or "B" Mis- meanor
6. PSR Recommendation	- 4.7	If Probation or Pro- bation Plus Taste of Jail
7. Psychiatric Exam	+ 4.3	If Exam Ordered
8. Unemployment Status	- 4.3	If Employed

R²=70%

¹ All numbers with plus or minus signs are multiple regression coefficients significant at at least the .05 level.

TABLE II-8

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 4, Fraud Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Bad Check 2	4	15.4	36.0	(1)	36.0	75.0	(3)	----	----	----	----	----	----	25.0	(1)	----	----
Forgery 2	18	69.2	20.0	(14)	24.0	22.2	(4)	33.3	(6)	----	----	11.1	(2)	33.3	(6)	----	----
Bribery	1	3.8	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																	
Fraudulent Use Credit Card 2	1	3.8	1.0	(1)	1.0	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Forgery 3	2	7.7	0.2	(2)	0.2	----	----	100.0	(2)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	26	100%		(18)		30.8	(8)	34.6	(9)			7.7	(2)	26.9	(7)		

p=.198

p=.359

TABLE 11-9

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 5, Drug Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Possession Narcotic	20	24.4	7.1	(12)	2.3	40.0	(8)	35.0	(7)	15.0	(3)	10.0	(2)	----	----	----	----
Sale Narcotic	42	51.2	14.0	(36)	6.2	14.3	(6)	52.4	(22)	9.5	(4)	9.5	(4)	9.5	(4)	4.8	(2)
Fraud/Deceit Obtain Narcotic	4	4.9	30.5	(4)	30.5	----	----	50.0	(2)	----	----	----	----	50.0	(2)	----	----
Possess for Sale HDS	3	3.7	30.0	(2)	30.0	33.3	(1)	----	----	33.3	(1)	----	----	33.3	(1)	----	----
Sale HDS	10	12.2	17.8	(9)	12.0	10.0	(1)	40.0	(4)	10.0	(1)	20.0	(2)	20.0	(2)	----	----
Disposal to Minor	1	1.2	120.0	(1)	120.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																	
Other Viola- tions 17.12	1	1.2	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Possession HDS	1	1.2	12.0	(1)	12.0	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	82	100%		(65)		(20.7)	(17)	42.7	(35)	12.2	(10)	9.8	(8)	11.0	(9)	3.7	(3)

p=.000

p=.004

TABLE II-10

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 5, Drug Offenses--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n (%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>(In Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
1. <u>Custodial Status</u> <u>of Defendant:</u>					
Own Recognizance	23	28.0	4 (17.4)	4.61	(19)
Bail	43	52.4	12 (27.9)	10.72	(31)
Jailed*	13	15.9	0 (0.0)	40.15	(13)
Other Custody	3	3.7	1 (33.3)	60.00	(2)
			p=.158	p=.000	
2. <u>Defendant on</u> <u>Probation/Parole:</u>					
Yes*	8	9.8	0 (0.0)	48.75	(8)
No	74	90.2	17 (23.0)	11.79	(57)
			p=.288	p=.000	
3. <u>Juvenile Misdmr¹</u> <u>Convictions:</u>					
0	71	87.7	16 (22.5)	13.40	(55)
1	2	2.5	0 (0.0)	12.50	(2)
2	6	7.4	0 (0.0)	28.00	(6)
4 or more	2	2.5	0 (0.0)	66.00	(2)
			p=.422	p=.005	
4. <u>Judge Rating:</u>					
Strict	32	39.0	1 (3.1)	22.46	(31)
Lenient*	32	39.0	11 (34.4)	5.67	(21)
Other	18	22.0	5 (27.8)	18.97	(13)
			p=.006	p=.026	
5. <u>Probation/Parole²</u> <u>Revoked:</u>					
Yes*	2	2.5	0 (0.0)	72.00	(2)
No	77	97.5	17 (22.1)	12.70	(60)
			p=.453	p=.000	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

1 (1 missing case)

2 (3 missing cases)

TABLE II-10

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
 Probation And Mean Sentence
 Length By Significant Variables
 --Class 5, Drug Offenses--
 --Urban--
 (CONT'D)

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> , <u>(In Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
6. <u>Defendant Used</u> <u>Alias:</u>					
Yes*	5	6.1	0 (0.0)	50.60	(5)
No	77	93.9	17 (22.1)	13.48	(60)
			p=.541	p=.000	
7. <u>Presentence Report</u> ³ <u>Characterization:</u>					
Cooperative*	55	67.9	14 (25.5)	9.17	(41)
Antisocial/Hostile	6	7.4	0 (0.0)	28.00	(6)
Apathetic/Indifferent	16	19.8	1 (6.3)	25.73	(15)
Disturbed	1	1.2	1 (100.0)	36.00	(0)
Prof/Hab Criminal	1	1.2	0 (0.0)	-----	(1)
Immature	2	2.5	0 (0.0)	48.00	(2)
			p=.100	p=.008	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

3 (1 missing case)

TABLE II-11

Estimated Contribution Of Factors
To Sentence Length
--Class 5, Drug Offenses--
--Urban--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>Estimated Increase/Decrease In Typical Sentence (In Months) When Factor Present:¹</u>	
1. Custodial Status of Defendant	+13.2	If Jailed
2. On Probation or Parole at Time of Offense	+19.6	
3. For Each Juvenile Misdemeanor Conviction	+ 6.0	
4. Judge Rating	- 7.5	If Lenient
5. Probation or Parole Revoked	+33.1	
6. Defendant Used Alias	+17.3	
7. PSR Characterization of Defendant	- 7.7	If Cooperative

R²=71%

¹ All numbers with plus or minus signs are multiple regression coefficients significant at at least the .05 level.

TABLE 11-12

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 6, Moral Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Urban Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Sex Abuse Minor	5	55.6	2.0	(1)	2.0	80.0	(4)	20.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Incest	1	11.1	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Promote Prostitution 1	1	11.1	36.0	(1)	36.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----
Promote Prostitution 2	1	11.1	12.0	(1)	12.0	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																	
Contribute to Delinquency of Minor	1	11.1	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	9	100%		(3)		66.7	(6)	11.1	(1)	11.1	(1)			11.1	(1)		

p=.099

APPENDIX II

TABLE 111-1

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 1, Murder Kidnapping--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Murder 2	2	50.0	150.0	(2)	150.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(2)
Kidnapping	1	25.0	180.0	(1)	180.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)
Manslaughter	1	25.0	96.0	(1)	96.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)
TOTALS	4	100%		(4)												100%	(4)

p=.574

(no test of significance)

TABLE III-2

[illegible]

Offenses and Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Rural Courts)

[illegible]

TABLE III-2

Offenses and Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	%	X̄ Act of N Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Misconduct Weapon 2	15	10.3	0.9	(10)	0.7	33.3	(5)	66.7	(10)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Harassment	1	0.7	0.3	(1)	0.3	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Misconduct Weapon 3	1	0.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Assault 4*	36	24.7	1.4	(34)	0.4	5.6	(2)	91.7	(33)	2.8	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	146	100%		(123)		15.8	(23)	53.4	(78)	9.6	(14)	8.9	(13)	10.3	(15)	2.1	(3)

p=.000

p=.000

* Includes n=11 Assault in the third degree convictions prior to June, 1980 when Assault 3 was a misdemeanor.

TABLE III-3

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 2, Violent Felonies--
-- Rural --

Factor:	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>(In Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
1. <u>Presentence Report</u> <u>Recommendation</u>						
No Recommendation	7	4.8	0	(0.0)	25.22	(7)
Probation	15	10.3	8	(53.3)	3.53	(7)
Probation + taste of Jail	6	4.1	2	(33.3)	2.00	(4)
Time to Serve	42	28.8	4	(9.5)	14.64	(38)
Substantial Time to Serve*	15	10.3	0	(0.0)	54.40	(15)
No PSR	61	41.8	9	(14.8)	0.75	(52)
				p=.000	p=.000	
2. <u>Specific Offense</u> <u>At Conviction:</u>						
Assault 1	1	0.7	1	(100.0)	-----	(0)
Att. Assault 1	1	0.7	0	(0.0)	12.00	(1)
Sex. Assault 1*	12	8.2	0	(0.0)	47.50	(12)
Att. Sex. Asslt 1	5	3.4	0	(0.0)	20.40	(5)
Robbery 1	1	0.7	0	(0.0)	12.00	(1)
Assault 2	17	11.6	6	(35.3)	30.49	(11)
Sex. Assault 2	5	3.4	0	(0.0)	39.60	(5)
Robbery 2	3	2.1	1	(33.3)	9.00	(2)
Criminally Neg. Homicide	1	0.7	0	(0.0)	6.00	(1)
Sex. Assault 3	2	1.4	0	(0.0)	6.00	(2)
Sex. Abuse-Minor	4	2.7	1	(25.0)	12.00	(3)
Theft 2	1	0.7	0	(0.0)	6.00	(1)
Att. Escape 2	1	0.7	0	(0.0)	24.00	(1)
Misconduct Weapon 1	3	2.1	1	(33.3)	19.50	(2)
Assault 3 (fel.)	21	14.4	3	(14.3)	10.21	(18)
Misdemeanors*	68	46.6	10	(14.7)	1.15	(58)
				p=.295	p=.000	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

TABLE III-3

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
 Probation And Mean Sentence
 Length By Significant Variables (Cont'd)
 --Class 2, Violent Felonies--
 -- Rural --

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>(In Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
3. <u>Prior Adult</u> <u>Felony Convictions:</u> ¹						
None	135	94.4	22	(16.3)	12.02	(113)
One	6	4.2	0	(0.0)	25.26	(6)
Two	2	1.4	0	(0.0)	54.00	(2)
				p=.463	p=.006	
4. <u>Total Other Offenses:</u>						
None	99	67.8	17	(17.2)	11.43	(82)
One	41	28.1	6	(14.6)	12.91	(35)
Two	6	4.1	0	(0.0)	38.50	(6)
				p=.519	p=.008	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

¹ (3 missing cases)

TABLE III-4

Estimated Contribution Of Factors
To Sentence Length
--Class 2, Violent Felonies--
--Rural--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>Estimated Increase/Decrease In Typical Sentence (In Months) When Factor Present:¹</u>	
1. PSR Recommendation	+34.6	If Substantial Time to Serve
2. Specific Offense at Conviction	- 8.6 +16.7	If Misdemeanor If Sexual Assault 1
3. For Each Prior Adult Felony Conviction	+15.3	
4. For Each Companion Conviction	+ 4.6	

R²=73%

- ¹ All numbers with plus or minus signs are multiple regression coefficients significant at at least the .05 level.

TABLE III-5

[illegible]

TABLE III-5

Offenses and Sentence Distribution (Cont'd)

--Class 3, Property Offenses--

--1980 Offenses--

(Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Criminal Trespass 2	7	4.5	2.0	(4)	1.6	42.9	(3)	57.1	(4)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Criminal Mischief 4	1	0.6	1.3	(1)	1.3	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	155	100%		(118)		23.9	(37)	48.4	(75)	10.3	(16)	9.7	(15)	7.1	(11)	0.6	(1)

p=.002

p=.311

TABLE III-6

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Rural--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of N</u>	<u>Probation</u> <u>n (%)</u>	<u>Mean Active</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>(In. Months)</u>	<u>(n)</u> <u>Active</u>
1. <u>Sentence Type:</u>					
Presumptive*	19	12.3	1 (5.3)	34.67	(18)
Traditional	136	87.7	36 (26.5)	5.59	(100)
			p=.081	p=.000	
2. <u>Total Other</u> <u>Offenses:</u>					
None	103	66.5	27 (26.2)	7.58	(76)
One	44	28.4	9 (20.5)	12.72	(35)
Two	8	5.2	1 (12.5)	23.14	(7)
			p=.559	p=.006	
3. <u>Juvenile Felony¹</u> <u>Convictions:</u>					
0	99	85.3	20 (20.2)	10.96	(79)
1	11	9.5	4 (34.6)	8.79	(7)
2	1	0.9	1 (100.0)	-----	(0)
3	2	1.7	-- -----	24.00	(2)
4 or more	3	2.6	-- -----	28.00	(3)
			p=.162	p=.031	
4. <u>Custodial Status²</u> <u>of Defendant:</u>					
Own Recognizance*	61	39.6	24 (39.3)	3.67	(37)
Bail	15	9.7	4 (26.7)	10.72	(11)
Jailed	73	47.4	8 (11.0)	13.68	(65)
Other Custody	5	3.2	-- -----	8.00	(5)
			p=.001	p=.005	
5. <u>Past Alcohol³</u> <u>and Drug Abuse:</u>					
No Evidence of					
Either	43	32.6	17 (39.5)	6.02	(26)
Alcohol Problem or					
Both Alc & Drugs*	84	63.6	17 (20.2)	14.13	(67)

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

1 (39 missing cases)

2 (1 missing case)

3 (23 missing cases)

TABLE III-6

Proportion Of Cases Receiving
Probation And Mean Sentence
Length By Significant Variables
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Rural--
(CONT'D)

Factor:	n	% of N	Probation n (%)	Mean Active Sentence (In Months)	(n) Active
Other Drug Addic.	2	1.5	-- -----	1.50	(2)
Heavy Drug Use	3	2.3	1 (33.3)	7.82	(2)
			p=.101	p=.064	
6. <u>Employment History:</u> ⁴					
Steady Work	7	6.1	5 (71.4)	3.17	(2)
Seasonal	27	23.7	12 (44.4)	12.62	(15)
Oddjobber or jobhopper*	44	38.6	11 (25.0)	10.19	(33)
Unemployed	3	2.6	-- -----	14.00	(3)
Public Assistance	11	9.6	-- -----	30.04	(11)
Supported by Family	18	15.8	2 (11.1)	9.09	(16)
Student	4	3.5	-- -----	1.65	(4)
			p=.002	p=.001	
7. <u>Specific Offense at Conviction:</u>					
Burglary 1	25	16.1	6 (24.0)	21.74	(19)
Theft 2	18	11.6	5 (27.8)	9.68	(13)
Theft-Receiving 2	1	0.6	-- -----	12.00	(1)
Remove Identific. 1	1	0.6	-- -----	6.00	(1)
Burglary 2	50	32.3	10 (20.0)	11.96	(40)
Criminal Mischeif 2	10	6.5	3 (30.0)	10.43	(7)
Misdemeanors*	50	32.3	13 (26.0)	2.03	(37)
			p=.958	p=.000	

* Denotes specific factors identified as most significantly associated with variation in sentence length.

⁴ (41 missing cases)

TABLE III-7

Estimated Contribution Of Factors
To Sentence Length
--Class 3, Property Offenses--
--Rural--

<u>Factor:</u>	<u>Estimated Increase/Decrease In Typical Sentence (In Months) When Factor Present:¹</u>	
1. Sentence Type	+19.5	If Presumptive
2. For Each Companion Conviction	+ 3.6	
3. For Each Juvenile Felony Conviction	+ 2.3	
4. Custodial Status of Defendant	- 4.4	If Placed On Own Recognizance
5. Past Alcohol and Drug Use	+ 2.9	If Alochol Problem or both alcohol and drug problem
6. Employment History	- 2.8	If oddjobber or jobhopper
7. Specific Offense at Conviction	- 3.2	If Misdemeanor

$R^2=73\%$

¹ All numbers with plus or minus signs are multiple regression coefficients significant at at least the .05 level.

TABLE III-8

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 4, Fraud Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Bad Check 2	2	11.8	0.1	(1)	0.1	50.0	(1)	50.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Forgery 2	5	29.4	7.7	(5)	3.1	----	----	80.0	(4)	----	----	20.0	(1)	----	----	----	----
Perjury	1	5.9	6.0	(1)	6.0	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Interfere offic- ial Proceedings	1	5.9	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																	
Bad Check 2	6	35.3	0.7	(3)	0.7	50.0	(3)	50.0	(3)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Tamper with Witness	1	5.9	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Hinder Pro- secution 2	1	5.9	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	17	100%		(10)		41.2	(7)	52.9	(9)			6.0	(1)				

p=.587

p=.594

TABLE III-9
Offenses and Sentence Distribution
--Class 5, Drug Offenses--
--1980 Offenses--
(Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	%	of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
							Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
							%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Possess Narcotic	8	21.6		4.8	(3)	2.0	62.5	(5)	25.0	(2)	12.5	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
Possess for Sale--Narc.	1	2.7		----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Sale Narcotic	7	18.9		6.5	(6)	6.0	14.3	(1)	71.4	(5)	14.3	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----
Possess for Sale--HDS	6	16.2		10.3	(4)	3.5	33.3	(2)	33.3	(2)	16.7	(1)	16.7	(1)	----	----	----	----
Sale of HDS	8	21.6		7.3	(5)	3.0	37.5	(3)	50.0	(4)	----	----	12.5	(1)	----	----	----	----
Disposal to Minor	2	5.4		24.0	(2)	24.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(2)	----	----	----	----
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																		
Possession HDS	2	5.4		----	----	----	100.0	(2)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
DWI	1	2.7		----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Other Viola- tions 17.12	2	5.4		----	----	----	100.0	(2)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	37	100%			(20)		45.9	(17)	35.1	(13)	8.1	(3)	10.8	(4)				

p=.075

p=.108

TABLE III-10

Offenses and Sentence Distribution
 --Class 6, Other Offenses--
 --1980 Offenses--
 (Rural Courts)

OFFENSE	n	% of N	$\bar{X}$ Act Sent	(n) Active	Med Active	Active Time.....											
						Prob.		1-6 Mo.		7-12		13-24		25-60		Over 60	
						%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Sexual Abuse Minor	7	53.8	16.8	(5)	22.0	28.6	(2)	14.3	(1)	14.3	(1)	42.9	(3)	----	----	----	----
Coercion	1	7.7	24.0	(1)	24.0	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----
Possess Gamble Records 1	1	7.7	0.03	(1)	0.03	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>																	
Attempt Sexual Abuse--Minor	1	7.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Contribute to Delinq. Minor	1	7.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Promote Con- traband 2	1	7.7	2.5	(1)	2.5	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Possess Gamble Records 2	1	7.7	----	----	----	100.0	(1)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
TOTALS	13	100%		(8)		38.5	(5)	23.1	(3)	7.7	(1)	30.8	(4)				

p=.337

p=.672

LAW ENFORCEMENT INCIDENTS, MID-KUSKOKWIM: 1981-1982

Submitted to: Susan Soule, Director
Community Counseling Center
Kuskokwim Native Association
P.O.Box 155
Aniak, AK 99557

Submitted by: David L. Marshall, President
Marshall & Associates
P.O.Box 71
Aniak, AK 99557

Submitted on: May 31, 1983

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Table A.1

Report form blank

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Appendix Table A.1 1981-1982 is the basis for this study. It is compiled from several sources: reports of Alaska State Troopers (Bethel, Juneau); legal case-files (Aniak, Bethel); discussions with troopers (Aniak, Bethel), and with a magistrate (Aniak). The data from these sources were first entered on the specimen blank form included in the Appendix and then used to compile Table A.1.

The study area consists of 11 communities of the mid-Kuskokwim area, south-west Alaska, which are served by the KNA Community Counseling Center. The incidents are from seven communities: no incidents were reported in four (Georgetown, Lime Village, Napaimiut, Red Devil).

The study period is from May, 1981 to April, 1982 inclusive. The full year was used as a basis for annual comparisons which may be undertaken in future. This particular period was used in order to permit comparison with the six-month period May-November, 1979, which was adopted in an earlier study when data on law enforcement incidents in the study area first became available. (This earlier study is henceforth referred to as "the 1979 study": Marshall, David, and Susan Soule. 1980. Law Enforcement Incidents, Mid-Kuskokwim. 1979. KNA, Aniak.)

Of the 61 incidents listed in Table A.1, this study includes 57: three are excluded from the analysis because the instigator is unknown; the fourth because it was a death from natural causes.

"Instigator" means the person reported by the Trooper as committing the offense, irrespective of whether or not the person was formally charged. In those cases (two incidents) where more than one instigator was charged, the principal instigator only is included in Table A.1. The word is not intended to impute blame. An instigator may, for example, have acted in self-defense in anticipation of an attack reasonably considered imminent. Such information is used by the Troopers and by the court system, but is ignored here. The instigator is who did it, regardless of motive or circumstance.

In a few incidents more than one charge was levelled at the instigator. In them the incident is reported in Table A.1 as the most serious charge on which a conviction was obtained. Thus, an even more serious charge dismissed by the judge, or on which the instigator was found not guilty by a jury, is not shown.

"Alcohol-related" refers both to cases where an instigator was intoxicated, and to cases where the instigator was not intoxicated, but where the incident involved alcohol in other ways (stealing it; furnishing it to a minor). Almost all the alcohol-related cases involve intoxicated instigators.

"Natives" means Eskimos and (Athabascan) Indians having

one-fourth or more of Eskimo or (Alaskan) Indian blood. (The cases include also one Aleut.) "Non-natives" means all others.

As in the 1979 study, felonies were tried before a Superior Court judge in Bethel, and misdemeanors before the Magistrate in Aniak. (Occasionally, when the defendant asks for a change of venue, the judge may come to Aniak.)

The single most significant change between the twelve-month study period examined in this study and the six-month period examined in the 1979 study is that the annual rate of incidents in 1981-1982 is half that of 1979. Table 1.0 (p. 3) shows 55 incidents in 1979, and 57 in 1981-1982. Thus, while the total is almost the same, the 1981-1982 study period is twice as long. Table 1.0 shows also a 37 percent drop comparing the two six-month periods May-November.

This study does not attempt to explain why the drop occurred, or why the 1981-1982 pattern is what it is. Such explanations may be of two kinds: non-statistical; statistical. Typical non-statistical explanations are that individuals who instigated incidents in 1979 did not do so in 1981-1982 because they no longer resided in the community, or that individuals resident in both periods instigated an incident in one period but not in another. Typical statistical explanations involve hypothesizing a reason (or reasons), and devising a statistical test that isolates the reason and establishes its significance (or otherwise). Funds and the time available for the study do not permit the detailed investigation that would be required for either kind of explanation.

Concerning the pattern in 1981-1982, the study does show that neither village size nor the ethnic composition of a village has explanatory value, and argues that proximity to alcohol also appears to have little if any explanatory value in comparing the differences among villages. In this respect, this study's conclusions differ from those of the 1979 study. That study concluded that size, ethnic composition, and the proximity or accessibility of a village to alcohol were helpful explanatory variables.

Concerning the drop, three changes occurred between the 1979 study period and the period of this study that the author believes may be potentially significant in explaining the halved annual incident rate: counseling; troopers; sentencing.

As regards counseling, the change is in the KNA Community Counseling Center. In 1979 it consisted of a non-native Director who had arrived in Aniak in early May, and who worked alone. By 1981-1982 it consisted of the (same) Director plus three full-time staff, all based in Aniak. Of them, one non-native professional ran a Youth Services Program, while the other two,

Table 1.0 Total incidents by category: 1979, 1981, 1981-1982

Category	May-Nov 1979	May-Nov 1981	May, 1981- Apr, 1982
Felonies	9	5	8
manslaughter	1	0	0
kidnapping	1	0	0
assault I	2	0	1
sexual assault II	0	1	1
unlawful exploitation of a minor	0	0	1
attempted sexual assault I	0	0	1
burglary I	4	3	3
burglary II	1	1	1
Misdemeanors	39	22	41
assault III	0	1	3
bootlegging	1	0	0
misconduct involving weapons	7	2	6
reckless endangerment	0	0	2
criminal trespass I	2	1	2
criminal mischief III	5	1	1
operation of a motor vehicle while intoxicated	1	0	0
custodial interference II	0	0	1
assault III	10	0	0
contributing to the delinquency of a minor	0	1	1
assault IV	0	10	17
theft IV	0	0	1
disorderly conduct	5	5	5
possession of marijuana in public	0	0	1
furnishing liquor to a minor	7	1	1
minor consuming alcohol	1	0	0
Other	7	8	8
suicide	0	1	1
accidental death	3	4	4
runaway	1	0	0
public accident	3	3	3
Total	55	35	57

SOURCE: Table A.1

native para-professionals, were trained by the Director with whom they then worked in the villages. As a result, the staff now visits the villages regularly and frequently, offering counseling in alcohol and substance abuse, mental health education programs, and youth programs. Their work includes both prevention and treatment.

As regards Troopers, enforcement coverage has increased. Aniak in 1979 had a full-time Constable. He covered the villages of the study area, plus some Yukon villages, with help as needed from Bethel regional headquarters. He resigned in 1980, and in May, 1980 two Alaska State Troopers were hired full-time. One, based in Aniak, covered the study area from the Kalskags to Crooked Creek, while the other, based in McGrath, covered the upriver villages. (In addition, both covered some Yukon villages.) This system was in force throughout the study period. In and of itself, this change means that the level of reporting is higher than in 1979. In turn, this means that the perceived drop in incidents is real, and not an artifact of reporting.

As regards sentencing, in 1980 the Alaska Criminal Code was revised and mandatory sentencing was introduced. For example, assault with a dangerous weapon (1979) became assault in the first degree --assault I--in 1980. Felonies were grouped into classes A, B, or C, and Misdemeanors into classes A or B. Violations (minor offenses) were established. Maximum and minimum terms of imprisonment and fines were set, the actual term or sum depending on the class of the offense and (for felonies) on whether or not it was a first, second, or third conviction. Increased deterrence is implicit.

These three obviously major changes relevant to the study area are suggested as possibly helpful in explaining the drop comparing the two periods, but their significance is not tested statistically.

Nevertheless, the raw data contained in this study on who, what, where, when, if alcohol was involved, and the disposition of the case, presented in this and the 1979 study, provide the basis for a more-extensive statistical study later, when an attempt at such explanation and testing may be included.

For now, this study has more modest purposes: to help the staff of the KNA Community Counseling Center and the Troopers perform their duties (needs assessment; strategies; other aspects of programming); to provide hard information to the two State agencies most directly involved. The agencies are: the Department of Health and Social Services, which funds programs dealing with alcohol and substance abuse; the Department of Public Safety, which funds troopers. In addition, it is hoped that these studies will help encourage similar reporting elsewhere in Alaska.

The study was funded by the Division of Alcohol and Drug Abuse of the Department of Health and Social Services.

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

Table 1.1 (p.6) shows that most of the law-enforcement incidents are alcohol-related, and are instigated by natives --in particular by adult male natives. It shows also that one village --Sleetmute-- stands out: it had 22 of the 57 incidents, while the other villages had fewer than 10 incidents each.

Table 1.2 (p.6) presents these results in terms of percentages: of the 57 incidents, 74 percent were alcohol-related, 95 percent were instigated by natives, and 70 percent by adult male natives. Sleetmute alone accounted for 39 percent of the incidents. In that village, native juvenile instigators are conspicuous: they account for half the incidents there.

These major conclusions --that most incidents are alcohol-related and instigated by adult male natives--are the same as in the 1979 study.

Several differences are apparent. The most striking is the halving of the incident rate on an annual basis. (This was noted in the Introduction, and is shown in more detail in Section 1.2, Village Summary.) The 57 incidents over the twelve-month period are to be compared with the 55 incidents over the six-month period in 1979. Other differences are that alcohol-related incidents account for a smaller proportion of the total than in 1979 (74 versus 84 percent) and that natives account for a higher proportion (95 versus 82 percent). In part, the higher proportion instigated by natives reflects the fact that two non-natives who accounted for half the non-native incidents in 1979 no longer reside in the study area. And, despite the importance of juvenile instigators in Sleetmute, adult male natives account for more of the incidents in 1981-1982 than in 1979 (70 versus 58 percent).

While Tables 1.1 and 1.2 show that the incidents are apt to be alcohol-related and to be instigated by natives, they do not show to what extent alcohol-related incidents and race are related. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 (p.7) do. They show that all the alcohol-related incidents were instigated by natives. This is a higher proportion than in 1979. Then, natives accounted for 87 percent.

Natives account for most of the incidents because they predominate in the population. Tables 1.5 and 1.6 (p.8) give the total population of the study area and its ethnic composition, in absolute numbers and by percent, in 1980. (1980 data are used because ethnic breakdown is available for that year --from the Census-- but not for 1981 or 1982. Population change over the two years is too slight to affect the results.)

Table 1.1 Total and alcohol-related incidents by village: 1981-1982

village	number	total incidents instigated by		alcohol-related incidents
		natives	adult male natives	
Aniak	6	5	3	2
Chuathbaluk	1	1	1	1
Crooked Creek	7	7	7	5
Kalskag, Lr.	7	7	6	4
Kalskag, Upr.	9	9	8	7
Sleetmute	22	21	11	20
Stony River	5	4	3	3
Total	57	54	40	42

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.2 Total and alcohol-related incidents by village: 1981-1982 (percent)

village	percent	total incidents instigated by		alcohol-related incidents
		natives	adult male natives	
Aniak	10.5	8.8	5.3	3.5
Chuathbaluk	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Crooked Creek	12.3	12.3	12.3	8.8
Kalskag, Lr.	12.3	12.3	10.5	7.0
Kalskag, Upr.	15.8	15.8	14.0	12.3
Sleetmute	38.6	36.8	21.1	35.1
Stony River	8.8	7.0	5.3	5.3
Total	100.0	94.7	70.2	73.7

SOURCE: Table 1.1

Table 1.3 Alcohol-related incidents: 1981-1982

village	incidents		
	number	instigated by	
		natives	non-natives
Aniak	2	2	0
Chuathbaluk	1	1	0
Crooked Creek	5	5	0
Kalskag, Lr.	4	4	0
Kalskag, Upr.	7	7	0
Sleetmute	20	20	0
Stony River	3	3	0
Total	42	42	0

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.4 Alcohol-related incidents: 1981-1982 (percent)

village	incidents		
	percent	instigated by	
		natives	non-natives
Aniak	4.8	4.8	0.0
Chuathbaluk	2.4	2.4	0.0
Crooked Creek	11.9	11.9	0.0
Kalskag, Lr.	9.5	9.5	0.0
Kalskag, Upr.	16.7	16.7	0.0
Sleetmute	47.6	47.6	0.0
Stony River	7.1	7.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	0.0

SOURCE: Table 1.3

Table 1.5 Population by village: 1980

village	total	population	
		native	non-native
Aniak	341	218	123
Chuathbaluk	105	93	12
Crooked Creek	108	91	17
Kalskag, Lr.	243	237	6
Kalskag, Upr.	129	108	21
Sleetmute	107	95	12
Stony River	62	56	6
Total	1,095	898	197

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census. 1980
Census of

Population and Housing

Population and Housing. Alaska. General

Population Characteristics,

Table 55

Table 1.6 Population by village: 1980 (percent)

village	total	population		percent native
		native	non-native	
Aniak	31.1	19.9	11.2	63.9
Chuathbaluk	9.6	8.5	1.1	88.6
Crooked Creek	9.9	8.3	1.6	84.3
Kalskag, Lr.	22.2	21.6	0.6	97.5
Kalskag, Upr.	11.8	9.9	1.9	83.7
Sleetmute	9.8	8.7	1.1	88.8
Stony River	5.7	5.1	0.6	90.3
Total	100.0	82.0	18.0	82.0

SOURCE: Table 1.5

Table 1.7 (p.10), based on the preceding tables, shows that natives account for a higher proportion of the incidents than they do of the population. That is, they are more likely to be instigators than are non-natives. This is shown best by the incidence (rate per 100). The incidence of total incidents is 6.0 for natives, versus 1.5 for non-natives; the incidence of alcohol-related incidents is 3.8 for natives, versus zero for non-natives. In short, the incidence of both total incidents and alcohol-related incidents is much higher among natives than among non-natives. This is a change from 1979. Then, the incidence was approximately the same for each group. For total incidents, it was 4.2 for natives and 5.0 for non-natives; for alcohol-related incidents it was 3.7 and 3.0.

(In addition, it appears that the incidence among natives rose considerably for total incidents --from 4.2 per 100 in 1979 to 6.0 in 1981-1982-- and appreciably for alcohol-related incidents --from 3.6 to 4.7. But most of this increase is spurious. It results from using 1979 native population estimates that were too high. That they were too high is seen from the firm 1980 population data from the Census. This is lower than that used in 1979. But no such population drop has occurred in the villages: if anything, there would have been a slight increase in population between 1979 and 1980. Table 1.8 (p.11) corrects for this by recalculating the 1979 rates using the lower 1980 population data. This causes the 1979 rates to be higher than the rates reported in the 1979 study. Thus, Table 1.8 shows a much smaller increase in incidence among natives comparing 1979 and 1981-1982: from 5.0 to 6.0 for total incidents; from 4.5 to 4.7 for alcohol-related incidents. These differences are so small that one could reasonably conclude that the incidence among natives is unchanged comparing the two periods. Here, it is important to note once again that the incidences being compared are for periods very different in length: six months in 1979; 12 months in 1981-1982. This fact overwhelms the minor differences resulting from recalculation. In short, incidents instigated by natives dropped by almost 50 percent when the two time periods are rendered comparable, even after recalculation with lower population numbers for 1979.)

Table 1.9 (p.12) shows that males accounted for 95 percent of the total incidents, and for 98 percent of the alcohol-related incidents. This is higher than in 1979. Then, males accounted for almost 90 percent of both. Thus, the proportion of incidents instigated by females fell.

Table 1.7 Total and alcohol-related incidents, and population,
by race: 1981-1982 (number, percent, incidence)

	number	percent	incidence(a)
total incidents (1)	57	100.0	5.2
by:			
natives	54	94.7	6.0
non-natives	3	5.3	1.5
alcohol-related incidents (1)	46	100.0	3.8
by:			
natives	42	100.0	4.7
non-natives	0	0.0	0.0
population (2)	1,095	100.0	
natives	898	82.0	
non-natives	197	18.0	

(a) number per 100 people

SOURCES: Table 1.1 (1)
Table 1.5 (2)

Table 1.8 Total and alcohol-related incidents: 1979; 1979
recalculated; 1981-1982 (number and incidence)

rate/100	1979		1979 recalculated		1981- 1982	
	#	rate/100	#	rate/100	#	
total incidents	55	4.3	55	5.0	57	5.2
by:						
natives	45	4.2	45	5.0	54	6.0
non-natives	10	5.0	10	5.1	3	1.5
alcohol-related incidents	46	3.6	46	4.2	42	3.8
by:						
natives	40	3.7	40	4.5	42	4.7
non-natives	6	3.0	6	3.0	0	0.0
population	1,278(1)		1,095(2)			
1,095(2)						
native	1,077(1)		898(2)			
898(2)						
non-native	201(1)		197(2)			
197(2)						

SOURCES: Table 1.7. 1979 (1)
Table 1.7 (2)

Table 1.9 Total and alcohol-related incidents, by sex: 1981-1982
(number and percent)

	number	percent
total incidents	57	100.0
by:		
males	54	94.7
females	3	5.3
alcohol-related incidents	42	100.0
by:		
males	41	97.7
females	1	2.3

SOURCE: Table A.1

Table 1.10 (p.14) shows that adults accounted for 75 percent of total incidents, and for 79 percent of alcohol-related incidents. Here, there is no change overall from 1979: juveniles account for one-quarter to one-fifth respectively of the two types of incidents in both periods. This general conclusion conceals the significance of Sleetmute in 1981-1982. There, six alcohol-related incidents were instigated by one juvenile. If these were deleted, juveniles would account for only one-tenth of the incidents in 1981-1982.

Table 1.10 Total and alcohol-related incidents, by age-group:
1981-1982 (number and percent)

	number	percent
total incidents	57	100.0
by:		
adults	43	75.4
juveniles(a)	14	24.6
alcohol-related incidents	42	100.0
by:		
adults	33	78.6
juveniles(a)	9	21.4

(a) ages 8-18 years

SOURCE: Table A.1

1.2 VILLAGE SUMMARY. RANK; TOTAL AND ALCOHOL-RELATED INCIDENTS; VILLAGE SIZE, ETHNIC COMPOSITION, TIMING, TYPE AND DISPOSITION OF INCIDENT

1.2.1 Rank

(p.16)
Table 1.11 shows the change in village rankings comparing 1979 and 1981-1982. Because the latter period is twice as long as the former, the total of 57 incidents in 1981-1982 means the incident rate has halved compared with the 55 incidents in 1979. For the same reason, a village with twice as many incidents in 1981-1982 as in 1979 --Lower Kalskag, for example-- has the same annual rate in the two periods. Similarly, a village with half as many incidents --Crooked Creek, for example-- has reduced its annual rate to one-quarter that of 1979.

The most striking changes are in Aniak, Sleetmute, and Upper Kalskag. Aniak ranked first in 1979, with 35 percent of total incidents. In 1981-1982, with only six incidents, it dropped to fourth place. Sleetmute's increase from 6 to 22 incidents places it first in 1981-1982, as compared with third in 1979. Upper Kalskag ranked last in 1979, but rose to second position in 1981-1982, with nine incidents as compared with only one in 1979.

1.2.2 Village size

Section 1.1 showed that natives account for most of the incidents (95 percent) because they constitute most of the population (82 percent). This is intuitively plausible. Similarly, one would expect incidents and village size to be positively related: the bigger the village, the more numerous the incidents.

Figure 1.1 (p.17), based on Table 1.12 (p.18) shows that this is not so. Total incidents do not increase with village size. If they did, a curve joining the tops of the lines would slope upwards from left to right. While three villages (Stony River, Crooked Creek, and Upper Kalskag) suggest such a curve, three villages (Upper Kalskag, Lower Kalskag, and Aniak) suggest the opposite: a curve declining from left to right, indicating that incidents decrease with village size. That is, the number of incidents and the size of a village are unrelated.

Whatever the influence (if any) of village size, it is removed completely by calculating the incidence --rate per 100 people. Then, differences among villages must be explained (if at all) by things other than village size.

Figure 1.2 (p.19), also based on Table 1.12, shows considerable variation among the villages. This confirms that village size is

Table 1.11 Total incidents by village: 1979; 1981-1982
(number, percent, and rank)

village	1979 (six months)(1)			1981-1982 (12 months)(2)		
	number	percent	rank	number	percent	rank
Aniak	19	34.5	1	6	10.5	4
Chuathbaluk	2	3.6	6	1	1.8	6
Crooked Creek	15	27.3	2	7	12.3	3
Kalskag, Lr.	4	7.3	4	7	12.3	3
Kalskag, Upr.	1	1.8	7	9	15.8	2
Red Devil	1	1.8	7	0	0.0	-
Sleetmute	6	10.9	3	22	38.6	1
Stony River	4	7.3	4	5	8.8	5
between villages	3	5.5	5	0	0.0	-

SOURCE: Tables 1.1 and 1.2. 1979 (1)
Tables 1.1 and 1.2 (2)

Figure 1.1 total incidents by village size

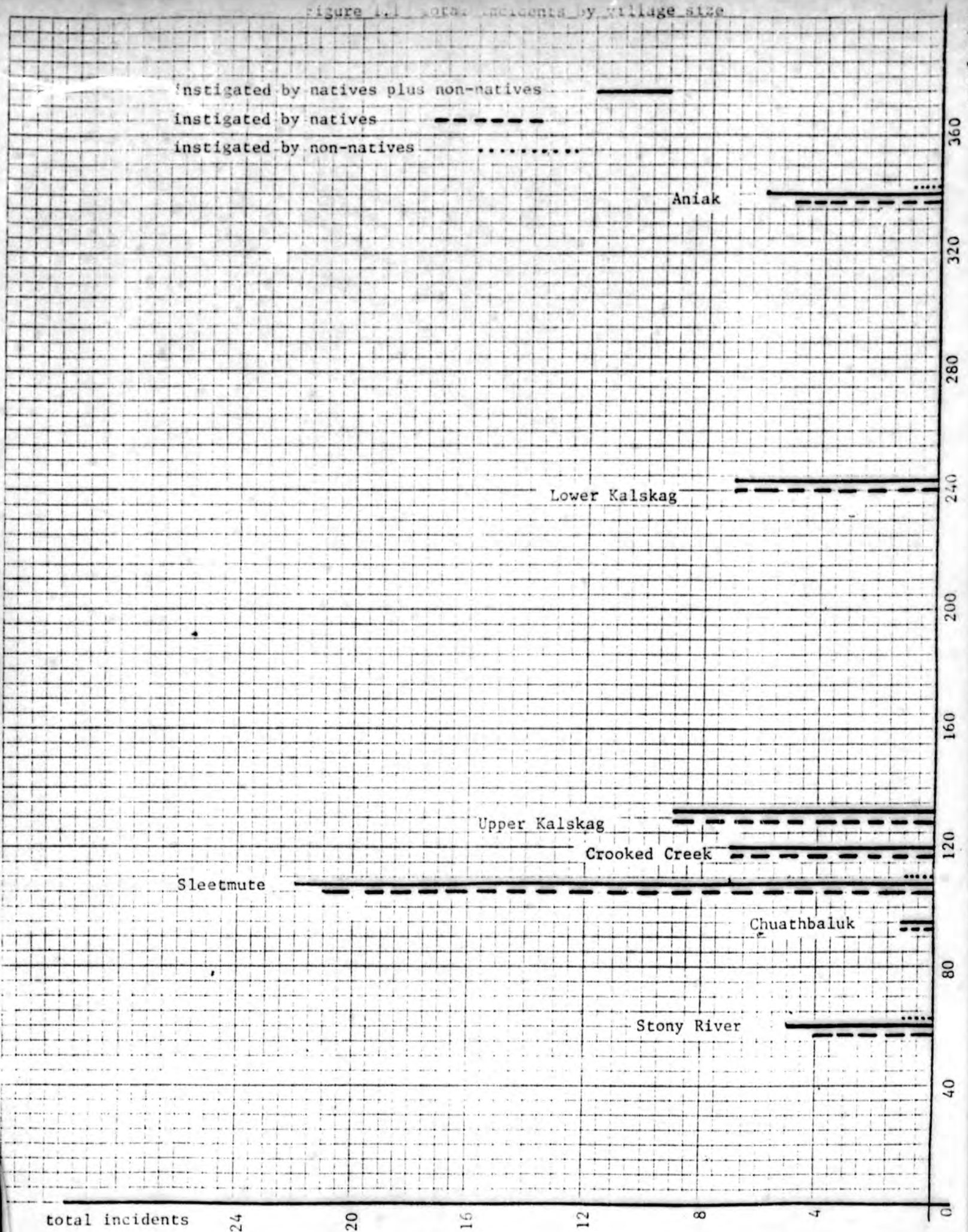
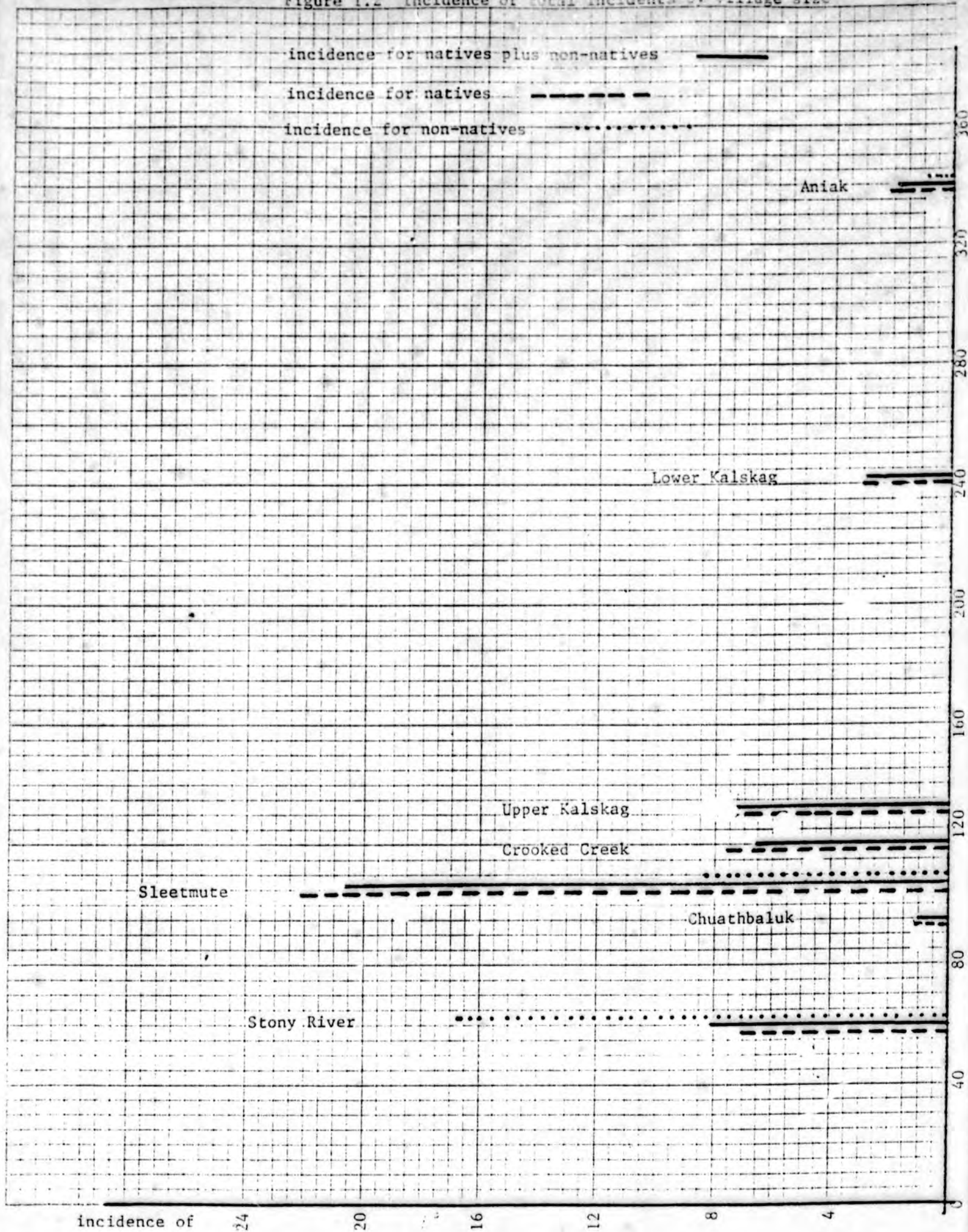


Table 1.12 Total incidents by village and race: 1981-1982
(number, population, and incidence)

village	total incidents instigated by:								
	all			natives			non-natives		
	#	pop.	rate/ 100	#	pop.	rate/ 100	#	pop.	rate/ 100
Aniak	6	341	1.8	5	218	2.3	1	123	0.8
Chuathbaluk	1	105	1.0	1	93	1.1	0	12	0.0
Crooked Creek	7	108	6.5	7	91	7.7	0	17	0.0
Kalskag, Lr.	7	243	2.9	7	237	3.0	0	6	0.0
Kalskag, Upr.	9	129	7.0	9	108	8.3	0	21	0.0
Sleetmute	22	107	20.6	21	95	22.1	1	12	8.3
Stony River	5	62	8.1	4	56	7.1	1	6	16.7
total	57	1,095	5.2	54	898	6.0	3	197	1.5

SOURCE: Tables 1.1 and 1.5

Figure 1.2 Incidence of total incidents by village size



not an important explanatory variable. A noteworthy feature of Figure 1.2 is the relatively high incidence among non-whites in Stony River. But this is the result of only one incident, and a small non-native population. It indicates graphically that small numbers can show up in apparently dramatic differences among villages: without that one incident the rate there would have been zero; with one more incident, the rate would have been extreme. Given that caution, one can infer from Figure 1.2 that the incidence among natives is similar in all villages: it is almost the same in three (Stony River, Crooked Creek, Upper Kalskag); it is a little lower --but not by much-- in two (Lower Kalskag, Aniak). Sleetmute is still an outstanding exception. But so is Chuathbaluk which, with only one incident, is at the opposite end of the scale. It may be that an examination of why a village has few incidents would be as informative as an examination of a village that has many. Chuathbaluk is therefore the obvious candidate. It is one of four villages with almost identical ethnic composition and roughly similar population size --the others being Crooked Creek, Sleetmute, and Upper Kalskag. Its one incident in 1981-1982 is one of 39 from the four villages combined.

This conclusion --that village size and the number of incidents are unrelated-- differs from the conclusion reached in 1979. Then, it was concluded that village size and the number of incidents were positively related: the more people, the more the incidents. In view of the 1981-1982 results, that 1979 conclusion no longer holds.

1.2.3 Ethnic Composition

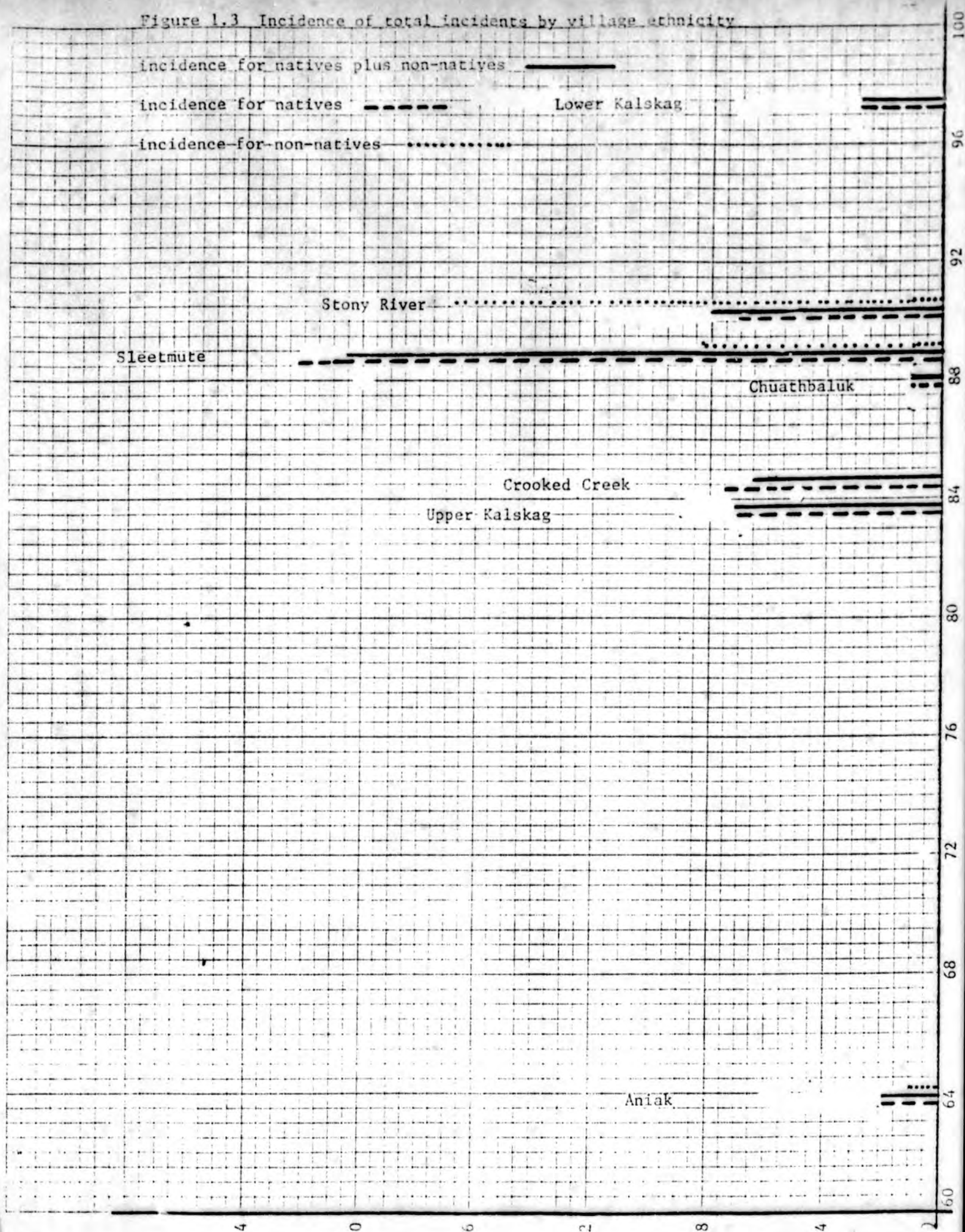
Nor does there appear to be any relationship between the ethnic composition of a village and the number of incidents there. Two different views could be adduced. One is that the more mixed the population in a village, the more likely it is that that village will have incidents. (This is a common phenomenon in boom-towns experiencing mineral development in formerly remote rural areas, for example.) Alternatively, it might be argued that the more mixed the population, the less likely it is to have incidents. (On the grounds that, say, relatively law-abiding whites have a leavening effect.)

Figure 1.3 (p.22), based on Table 1.12, supports neither view. It relates the number of incidents in a village to the ethnic composition of the village (expressed as percent native). If the first view --the more mixed, the more incidents-- were correct, a curve joining the tops of the lines would slope downwards from left to right. No such curve can be drawn. If the second view --the more mixed, the fewer the incidents-- the curve would slope upwards. Again, no such curve can be drawn. A line joining them would zig-zag. That is, the ethnic composition of a village is unrelated to the number of incidents there. This conclusion too differs from that reached in 1979. Then, it was concluded that the more mixed the ethnic composition of a village, the greater its incidents would be (other things being equal). In view of the 1981-1982 results, that 1979 conclusion no longer holds. However, if in future Aniak maintains its low number of incidents, while Red Devil --which also has a high proportion of non-natives-- maintains its low or zero pattern, the proposition that the more mixed the fewer the incidents would need to be examined in detail.

1.2.4 Summary

This section has examined village rankings, comparing 1979 and 1981-1982. The large reduction in incidents in Aniak and Crooked Creek, and the large increases in Sleetmute and Upper Kalskag, were noted. It has examined and rejected two variables that potentially might have explained (in part) the pattern of incidents in 1981-1982, concluding that neither the size of a village nor its ethnic composition is related to the number of incidents in that village, for any village. In doing so, it has rejected the conclusions drawn in 1979: that a village's size and ethnic composition were positively related (the bigger and the more mixed, the more its incidents).

Figure 1.3 Incidence of total incidents by village ethnicity



The main reason for the decline in 1981-1982, compared with 1979, is the large reduction in incidents in Aniak and Crooked Creek. They more than offset the increase in incidents in Sleetmute. Why these changes occurred is not explained in this study. It is tempting to conclude that the reduction in Aniak, and possibly that in Crooked Creek, is related to two of the three major changes that occurred between the two periods: the KNA Community Counseling Center and the Troopers are a much more palpable presence in Aniak than they were in 1979, and have an increased presence in Crooked Creek. But this conclusion can be only tentative for now: their presence in Sleetmute is equal to that in Crooked Creek yet, as noted, Sleetmute's incidents increased.

(In the author's opinion, the third change --compulsory sentencing-- is less plausible: it takes time for harsher sentencing to percolate as a deterrent; for felonies such as violent crimes against the person, which almost always involve an intoxicated instigator, the consequences are likely to be remote at the moment of instigation; in any case, most of the incidents in 1981-1982, and almost half the incidents in 1979 --67 percent and 40 percent respectively-- were instigated by first offenders, when the Judge or Magistrate has considerable latitude.)

In two villages --Stony River and Sleetmute-- the number of incidents is possibly lower than it would otherwise have been, because two non-natives, one in each village, accounted for half the incidents in 1979. Each had left prior to this study period.

Sleetmute, with 22 incidents, has by far the highest number (and incidence) of incidents, both total and alcohol-related. (Upper Kalskag is next, with nine total incidents.) Of its 22 incidents, 21 were instigated by natives, and 20 of the 21 were alcohol-related. All the alcohol-related incidents --in Sleetmute and in all other villages-- were instigated by natives. Of the 20 alcohol-related incidents in Sleetmute, seven were instigated by juveniles, six of them by one juvenile male. All other villages combined account for two alcohol-related incidents instigated by juveniles.

These numbers suggest increasing disintegration of the community of Sleetmute as compared with 1979, as a result of alcoholism among both juveniles and adults. (In addition to the one juvenile whose incidents show up here, the staff of the KNA Community Counseling Center are aware of unreported drinking by other juveniles in the village.)

(In August, 1982 --four months later than the end of the study period, Sleetmute voted to ban the importation of alcohol, under the local option law.)

Proximity to the retail liquor outlet in Red Devil --10 miles downriver-- is indicated as a major cause, in 1981-1982 as in 1979. The 1979 study suggested also that Crooked Creek's

proximity to Red Devil may have accounted in part for its relatively high ranking then. Since the number of incidents in Crooked Creek dropped considerably in 1981-1982, that suggestion loses its force. Similarly, the 1979 study suggested that Aniak's then ranking first reflected in part its relatively easier access to alcohol (which is flown in regularly on the thrice-weekly jet from Anchorage). With the substantial drop in Aniak's incidents, that suggestion too loses its force.

The following conclusions are indicated. The pattern of incidents in 1981-1982, and the changes in that pattern between 1979 and 1981-1982 are not explained by proximity to alcohol (except for Sleetmute), by changes in the population, by village size, or by the ethnic composition of the villages. Thus, explanations must be sought elsewhere. The funds and time available for this study preclude the search for such explanations, for which data of several kinds would be needed. Since changes in counseling and troopers has been suggested, information on the extent of their outreach -- number and kind of visits by village, for example, may permit quantitative analysis. Similarly, information on the socioeconomic and other characteristics of the instigators and the communities is required, for explanation that goes beyond the merely idiosyncratic.

1.2.5 Timing

Table 1.13 (p.25), shows little in the way of a seasonal pattern in total incidents, although there appears to be a decline in the winter months, with zero in January. The largest number of incidents was in the three months of February, July, and October, with fluctuations between February and October. This pattern is different from that in 1979, when incidents climbed to a summer peak, then declined.

It may be that the lack of incidents in January reflects the pervasive influence of Slavic --the Russian Orthodox celebration of Christ's birth. All villages have members of this church. While the ritual lasts for a week, anticipation of it and participation in it is prolonged and widespread, and its effects seem to persist beyond the week. The ceremonies include church services and travel -- within and between villages-- for communal meals in the homes of the members of the congregation. Drinking is not accepted. (In attending the ceremony in the last four years in one village, and once in another, the author has seen only one intoxicated individual. Garrulous and maudlin but not violent, he found little encouragement among his fellow celebrants, was fed with the rest of us, and soon quietened down.)

In view of this, February's peak is the more interesting. Does it reflect release from the constraints of Slavic, or the fact that this is the last month of the prolonged winter's short daylight and very cold weather, confining as this period is? Is it related to subsistence --here the comings and goings of trappers, who return to the village for Slavic, and leave again for the

... of the 57 total incidents are excluded because the date is
Table A.1

5
54
24

33.3
100.0
42.9
50.0
44.4
40.0
60.0
100.0

traplines when it ends? Similarly with the next peak month --October. This marks the end of the summer's fishing and (moose) hunting season. Is there tension surrounding the curtailment of subsistence activities? If so, why was the 1979 peak in the summer, when fishing --the most-widely practised subsistence activity-- is in full swing?

We do not know the answers to these questions. It is recommended that the role of religion and subsistence be examined in any future studies, through its effect on instigators of incidents.

Weekend incidents were singled out, to see if they constitute a disproportionate number of total incidents for the villages as a whole. (Even casual observation in Aniak, for example, indicates that drunkenness is more prevalent on weekends.). They do not. Over the twelve-month period, weekend days account for 42 percent of total days, whereas weekend incidents account for 44 percent of total incidents: 24 of the 54 incidents for which the date of offense is known (Table A.1) . Two villages --Lower Kalskag and Stony River-- had a disproportionate number of weekend offenses. But their numbers are so small as to preclude the drawing of any general conclusions, even there.

1.2.6 Type and disposition of incident

Table 1.14 (p.27) shows that, of the 20 categories of incidents, six categories account for 63 percent of total incidents: assault IV (category # 14); misconduct involving weapons (#7); disorderly conduct (#15); burglary I (#5); assault III (#8); public accident (#20). Of the remaining 14 categories, 12 had one incident, and two had two incidents.

These results are similar to those of the 1979 study. Then, five categories accounted for 60 percent of the incidents, dominated by the same two leading categories, known then as assault and battery, and possession of a firearm while intoxicated. One noticeable difference is that in 1979 there were seven incidents of furnishing liquor to a minor (four in Aniak alone) over that six-month period, but only two over the twelve-month period 1981-1982.

Table 1.14 Category of incident by village: 1981-1982

category	A	C	CC	KL	KU	S	SR	Tot	%	alcohol related
Felonies	1	0	1	2	1	3	0	8	14.0	5
1. sexual assault II	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.8	1
2. assault I	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.8	1
3. unlawful exploitation of a minor	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1.8	0
4. attempted sexual assault	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.8	1
5. burglary I	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	5.3	1
6. burglary II	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.8	1
Misdemeanors	4	1	4	4	7	17	4	41	71.9	33
7. misconduct involving weapons	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	6	10.5	6
8. assault III	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	5.3	3
9. reckless endangerment	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3.5	2
10. criminal trespass I	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	3.5	2
11. criminal mischief III	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.8	1
12. contributing to the delinquency of a minor	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	3.5	2
13. custodial interference II	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.8	0
14. assault IV	1	0	2	2	0	10	2	17	29.8	13
15. disorderly conduct	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	5	8.8	4
16. theft IV	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.8	0
17. possession of marijuana in public	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.8	0
Other	1	0	2	1	1	2	1	8	14.0	4
18. suicide	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.8	1
19. accidental death	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	4	7.2	3
20. public accident	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	5.3	0
Total	6	1	7	7	9	22	5	57	100.0	42

A=Aniak; C=Chuathbaluk; CC=Crooked Creek; KL=Lower Kalskag; KU=Upper Kalskag;
S=Sleetmute; SR=Stony River

SOURCE: Table A.1

Felonies --serious crimes against persons and/or property-- account for 15 percent of total incidents. This is down from 1979, when they constituted 37 percent. Alcohol-related incidents account for 63 percent of the felonies, for 80 percent of the misdemeanors, and for 50 percent of the category "other". Thus, they account for 74 percent of total incidents.

Comparing villages, all have misdemeanors, and all except two (Chuathbaluk and Stony River) have felonies. The incidents are so few and the categories so numerous that no pattern of incident by category by village is evident. Sleetmute had the highest number of both felonies and misdemeanors, while Lower Kalskag had the highest ratio of felonies to misdemeanors.

Table 1.15 (p.29) shows that 33 percent of the incidents (19 of 57) were instigated by individuals who had been involved in similar incidents before (but almost half of the most-numerous category --assault IV--were instigated by prior offenders). This is a change from 1979, when 60 percent were repeat offenders. Looked at alternatively, the proportion of first offenders increased from 40 percent in 1979 to 67 percent in 1981-1982.

Table 1.15 shows also that seven of the eight felonies led to charges (the exception being a juvenile instigator), and that all seven charges resulted in sentences. For misdemeanors, the pattern is different. There, slightly more than half led to charges --repeat offenders especially. The incidents that did not are of three kinds: those instigated by juveniles; those instigated by adults who plea-bargained (for example, the dropping of charges on a lesser offense in exchange for a guilty plea on a more serious offense); those where in the trooper's judgment the instigator was involved in a minor offense unlikely to recur, and/or where the instigator was unlikely to be sentenced.

As compared with 1979, the proportion of incidents that led to charges rose from 42 percent to 54 percent. In both periods slightly more than 90 percent of the incidents that led to charges resulted in sentences.

Table 1.15 Category of incident, prior like offense, disposition:
1981-1982 (number)

category	number	prior offense	charged	sentenced
Felonies	8	3	7	7
sexual assault II	1	0	1	1
assault I	1	0	1	1
unlawful exploitation of a minor	1	1	1	1
attempted sexual assault I	1	1	1	1
burglary I	3	0	2	2
burglary II	1	1	1	1
Misdemeanors	41	16	24	21
misconduct involving weapons	6	2	5	4
assault III	3	0	2	2
reckless endangerment	2	2	1	1
criminal trespass I	2	1	1	1
criminal mischief III	1	1	0	0
contributing to the delinquency of a minor	2	1	2	1
custodial interference II	1	0	0	0
assault IV	17	9	8	7
disorderly conduct	5	0	3	3
theft IV	1	0	1	1
possession of marijuana in public	1	0	1	1
Other	8	0	0	0
suicide	1	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
accidental death	4	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
public accident	3	0	0	0
Total	57	19	31	28

SOURCE: Table A.1

1.3 COMPARISON WITH OTHER AREAS

It is well-known that crime (in this case, incidents) in rural Alaska is usually alcohol-related. For example, a study of Nome (Kelso, 1979) showed that, in 1978, 86 percent of the cases handled by the police involved intoxicated persons. The study area is therefore no exception, although its figure of alcohol-related incidents is somewhat lower: 74 percent of the total.

(p.31)

Table 1.16/presents a comparison with the U.S. for nine types of offense for which comparison appears to be possible, which account for 47 of the 57 incidents (eight of the 10 excluded belong to the category "other"). It shows that the study area had a higher incidence of offenses than the U.S. in five of the nine types. The difference in non-aggravated assaults is especially noticeable: the incidence in the study area is 10 times that of the U.S. And, its incidence of sex offenses and burglary is clearly higher. On the other hand, aggravated assault, larceny, and drug abuse are less prevalent here than in the U.S.

This is an apparent improvement over 1979, when the incidence in the study area exceeded that of the U.S. in seven of nine types of offense. In view of the halving of the annual incident rate comparing the two periods, this apparent improvement is not surprising. The incidence in the study area in 1981-1982 is less than in 1979 for eight of the nine types, the only exception being non-aggravated assault, in which the incidence rose from 9.4 per 1,000 to 20.0 per 1,000.

This comparison with the U.S. is subject to two qualifications. First, the U.S. data are of cases leading to arrests, whereas the data for the study area include cases where no charges were brought, i.e 46 percent of the incidents. Thus, the incidence in the study area is overstated for purposes of strict comparison. Second, the U.S. types used in the comparison are presumed to include many more kinds of incidents than occur in the small, remote, rural Alaskan villages that constitute the mid-Kuskokwim study area.

Table 1.16 Incidence of offenses (rate per 1,000) by type:
study area 1981-1982; U.S. 1981

type of offense (a)		study area	U.S.
sex offenses	(1,3,4)	2.7	0.3
aggravated assault	(2)	0.9	1.3
burglary	(5,6)	3.7	2.3
larceny	(10,16)	2.7	5.7
other assaults	(8,9,14)	20.0	2.2
weapons	(7)	2.7	0.8
disorderly conduct	(15)	4.6	3.6
liquor laws	(12)	1.8	2.0
drug abuse	(17)	0.9	2.8

(a) the numbers in brackets are the categories used in Tables 1.15 and 1.16

SOURCE: Tables 1.5 and 1.15 (calculated from) (study area)
U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census.
Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1982-1983. D.C.
(calculated from Table 304, p.181) (U.S.)

APPENDIX

TABLE A.1

1 of 3

category	village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age-group	prior like offense	charged	sentenced
November, 1981)									
II	KL	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	Au?	na	n	m	j	np	c	s
	A	Au	na	nn	m	j	np	c	s
	S	Se	a	n	f	j	np	nc	ns
	CC	My	a	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
	S	N-w	a	n	m	j	p	c	s
ay-November, 1981)									
	CC	N	a	n	m	ad	uk	nc	ns
living weapons	SR	O-w	a	n	m	j	np	nc	ns
	C	O-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
ss I	KL	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
ef III	S	O?	a	n	m	j	p	nc(1)	ns(1)
the delinquency of a minor	CC	Jl	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	S	My	a	n	m	ad	p	nc(2)	ns(2)
	CC	Jn-w	na	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	S	Jn	a	n	m	ad	p	c (2)	ns(2)
	S	Au	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	SR	Au	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	CC	Se-w	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	SR	O	na	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	KL	O-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	O-w	na	nn	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	S	O-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
act	KU	Jn-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	Jl	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	S	Jl	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	KU	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	SR	O-w	na	nn	m	ad	np	nc	ns
the delinquency of a minor	S	My	a	n	m	ad	np	c	ns

TABLE A.1

category		village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age-group
<u>Felonies</u> (May-November, 1981)							
1	sexual assault II	KL	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad
2	burglary I	S	Au?	na	n	m	j
3		A	Au	na	nn	m	j
4		S	Se	a	n	f	j
excluded 5	burglary II	CC	My	a	uk	uk	uk
6		S	N-w	a	n	m	j
<u>Misdemeanors</u> (May-November, 1981)							
7	assault III	CC	N	a	n	m	ad
8	misconduct involving weapons	SR	O-w	a	n	m	j
9		C	O-w	a	n	m	ad
10	criminal trespass I	KL	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad
11	criminal mischief III	S	O?	a	n	m	j
12	contributing to the delinquency of a minor	CC	Jl	a	n	m	ad
13	assault IV	S	My	a	n	m	ad
14		CC	Jn-w	na	n	m	ad
15		S	Jn	a	n	m	ad
16		S	Au	a	n	m	ad
17		SR	Au	a	n	m	ad
18		CC	Se-w	a	n	m	ad
19		SR	O	na	n	m	ad
20		KL	O-w	a	n	m	ad
21		S	O-w	na	nn	m	ad
22		S	O-w	a	n	m	ad
23	disorderly conduct	KU	Jn-w	a	n	m	ad
24		S	Jl	a	n	m	ad
25		S	Jl	a	n	m	ad
26		KU	Jl-w	a	n	m	ad
27		SR	O-w	na	nn	m	ad
28	contributing to the delinquency of a minor	S	My	a	n	m	ad

Table A.1 (continued)

	village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age group
<u>Other</u> (Mar.-November, 1981)						
29 suicide	S	O	a	n	m	ad
30 accidental death	S	My	a	n	m	j
31	KU	Jn	na	n	m	j
32	SR	Au-w	a	n	m	ad
33	CC	Se	a	n	m	ad
34 public accident	A	Jn	na	n	m	j
35	KL	Jl	na	n	m	ad
36	CC	Jl	na	n	m	j
<u>Felonies</u> (December, 1981-April, 1982)						
37 assault I	CC	F-w	a	n	m	ad
38 unlawful exploitation of a minor	KL	F?	na	n	m	ad
39 attempted sexual assault I	KU	Ap	a	n	m	ad
excluded 40 burglary I	A	Mr-w	uk	uk	uk	uk
<u>Misdemeanors</u> (December, 1981-April, 1982)						
41 assault III	KU	F	a	n	m	ad
42	KU	D	a	n	m	ad
43 misconduct involving weapons	KU	D-w	a	n	m	ad
44	S	F	a	n	m	ad
45	KL	Mr	a	n	m	ad
46	S	My	a	n	m	j
47 reckless endangerment	S	F-w	a	n	m	j
48	A	Ap-w	a	n	m	ad
49 criminal trespass I	KU	Ap	a	n	m	ad
50 custodial interference II	A	F	na	n	f	ad

Table A.1 (continued)

2 of 3

	village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age group	prior like offense	charged	sentenced
mber, 1981)	S	O	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
h	S	My	a	n	m	j	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	KU	Jn	na	n	m	j	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	SR	Au-w	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	CC	Se	a	n	m	ad	n.ap.	n.ap.	n.ap.
	A	Jn	na	n	m	j	np	nc	ns
	KL	Jl	na	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	CC	Jl	na	n	m	j	np	nc	ns
ber, 1981-April, 1982)									
	CC	F-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
tation of a minor	KL	F?	na	n	m	ad	p	c	s
l assault I	KU	Ap	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
	A	Mr-w	uk	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
December, 1981-April, 1982)									
	KU	F	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	KU	D	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
lving weapons	KU	D-w	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	F	a	n	m	ad	p	c	ns
	KL	Mr	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	My	a	n	m	j	p	c	s
erment	S	F-w	a	n	m	j	p	nc(1)	ns(1)
	A	Ap-w	a	n	m	ad	p	c	s
ass I	KU	Ap	a	n	m	ad	p	nc	ns
ference II	A	F	na	n	f	ad	np	nc	ns

Table A.1 (continued)

	village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age group	prior like
51 Assault IV	S	F-w	a	n	m	ad	p
52	S	F	a	n	m	ad	np
53	S	F-w	a	n	m	j	p
54	S	F-w	a	n	m	j	p
55	A	Mr	a	n	m	ad	np
56	S	Ap-w	a	n	m	ad	r
57	KL	Ap	na	n	f	ad	np
excluded 58 theft III	S	Fe	uk	uk	uk	uk	uk
59 theft IV	KU	Mr-w	na	n	m	ad	np
60 possession of marijuana in public	A	Mr-w	na	n	m	ad	np
<u>Other</u> (December, 1981-April, 1982)							
excluded 61 death from natural causes	CC	Ap-w	na	n	f	j	n.

A=Aniak; C=Chuathbaluk; CC=Crooked Creek; KL= Lower Kalskag; KU=Upper Kalskag; S=Sleetmute; SR=Stony River
 Ap=April; Au=August; D=December; F=February; Jn=June; Jl=July; Mr=March; My=May; N=November; O=October; Se=September
 a=alcohol-related; na=not alcohol-related
 n=ative; nn=non-native
 m=male; f=female; uk= unknown
 ad=adult; j=juvenile
 p=prior (like offense); np=no prior
 c=charged; nc=not charged
 s=sentenced; ns=not sentenced
 n.ap.= not appropriate

(1)= plea bargain for other offense

(2)= dismissed for guilty plea to other offense

SOURCES: Troopers' reports; legal case files; discussions with troopers and Magistrate (see 1.0, Introduction)

Table A.1 (continued)

3 of 3

	village	date	alcohol- related	ethnicity	sex	age group	prior like offense	charged	sentenced
	S	F-w	a	n	m	ad	p	nc(2)	ns(2)
	S	F	a	n	m	ad	np	nc	ns
	S	F-w	a	n	m	j	p	nc	ns
	S	F-w	a	n	m	j	p	c	s
	A	Mr	a	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	S	Ap-w	a	n	m	ad	p	nc(2)	ns(2)
	KL	Ap	na	n	f	ad	np	c	s
	S	Fe	uk	uk	uk	uk	uk	nc	ns
	KU	Mr-w	na	n	m	ad	np	c	s
	A	Mr-w	na	n	m	ad	np	c	s
uana in public									
81-April, 1982)									
causes	CC	Ap-w	na	n	f	j	n.ap	n.ap	n.ap

; CC=Crooked Creek; KL= Lower Kalskag; KU=Upper Kalskag; S=Sleetmute; SR=Stony River
 O=December; F=February; Jn=June; Jl=July; Mr=March; My=May; N=November; O=October; Se=September
 not alcohol-related

re
 unknown

; np=no prior
 charged
 sentenced

other offense
 lty plea to other offense

ports; legal case files; discussions with troopers and Magistrate (see 1.0, Introduction)

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:

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 _____

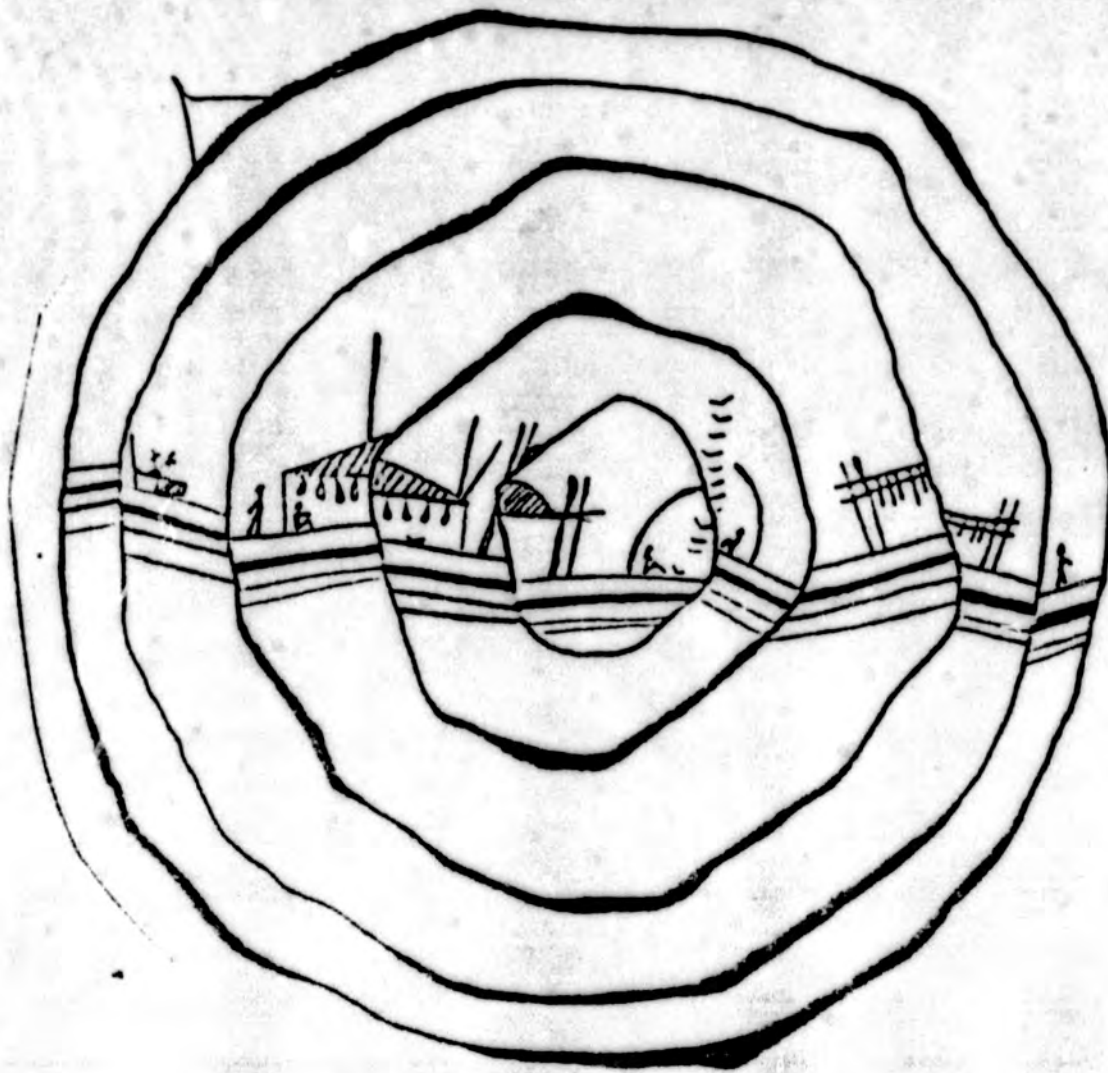
plea: guilty _____ not guilty _____ nolo _____

conviction: yes _____ (give details)

no _____

sentence:

comments:



HOMES IN DISRUPTION: SPOUSE ABUSE IN
YUPIK ESKIMO SOCIETY

Anne D. Shinkwin, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Anthropology and Alaska
Native Studies Programs

Mary C. Pete
Research Assistant
Anthropology Program

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA, FAIRBANKS

August 1985

Table A. Number & Source of TWC Clients -- (1982-1985)

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Village Children</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	<u>Bethel Children</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Total Women</u>
March '82 - March '83 (Study Year)	70 (49.6%)	57	4		71	51	6	141 142
1984 <i>calendar year</i>	174 (63%) (+149%)	98	4		107 (+22%)	N/A	N/A	281
1985 <i>calendar year</i>	135 (55%) (-22%)	73	4		112 (+5%)	N/A	N/A	247

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Anne D. Shinkwin, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Anthropology and Alaska
Native Studies Programs

Mary C. Pete
Research Assistant
Anthropology Program

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA, FAIRBANKS

August 1983

Cover design by Desa Jacobsson, Tundra Women's Coalition, Bethel.

ABSTRACT

Research in three southwest Alaskan Eskimo villages demonstrates that severe wife abuse is a serious problem with an incidence in two communities ten times greater than that reported nationally. Village residents view the problem as recent and alcohol-related. Analysis supports these interpretations.

The study links the development of wife beating in villages with changes in this century in the traditional marriage system and systems of social control. Findings categorically demonstrate the significance of problem drinking in wife beating in these villages. The alcohol-related nature of spouse abuse distinguishes these populations from the larger society where the relationship between alcohol abuse and wife beating is not as strong. The study also argues that when wife beating occurs in one of every three couples in a community the custom must be viewed as an option by men in marriage. In this study men who abuse, compared with non-abusers, have a history of exposure to spouse abuse in their childhood home. Most victims, compared to non-victims, do not have this background. The problem may well become more widespread as children from homes with violence mature and marry unless more effective management approaches are employed.

The study reviews management attempts and illustrates that victims, like those elsewhere in American society, are primarily responsible for dealing with their abuse. The abusing male is rarely confronted about his behavior by police, clergy, or relatives. Family members, clergy, and police express concern about family violence but avoid involvement, a finding other investigators report for the larger society. The most common response of victims is temporary flight from home. Analysis of data from the Tundra Women's Coalition, the Bethel shelter, exhibits a recent increase in use of the shelter by village women; nearly one-third of abused women in the study used a shelter. The history of a new shelter in one of the study villages, the only functioning village shelter in the state, is presented and discussed as a management approach in villages.

Research findings recommend increased application of already existing legal means of managing family violence, such as arrest or injunctive relief orders. Public involvement of clergy and an educational program informing women, especially young women, of legal and personal rights would also contribute to long-range solutions. Clergy, in particular, are urged to play a more active role in advocacy and counseling of victims and abusers. The study concludes the most immediate and effective short-term societal response is support of shelters. However, the success of shelters on a village, rather than regional, level cannot be assessed at this time. Shelters will remain the only alternative for women and children in crisis in the absence of effective sanctions against domestic violence from other institutions in American society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The number of people who made this project possible is very large and it is impossible to mention all of them. Village officials and village participants played the most important roles in assuring the contribution of important data to the study. The time spent discussing the project by city council officials in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay is gratefully acknowledged. We would like to particularly thank Mayor Joseph Peter Mike of Kotlik for his strong support and personal encouragement. The Emmonak Women's Shelter Committee played a major role in the project and their cooperation as well as their hospitality was a highpoint in the research. We also want to thank Sisters Cynthia Borman and Mary Beck in Emmonak for sharing their home with us. Policewoman Aucha Kameroff in Emmonak volunteered a considerable amount of time in Emmonak and in Bethel assisting us in the research and her help is gratefully acknowledged.

Much of the project time was spent in Bethel and the support of Tundra Women's Coalition (TWC) Director, Liz Illg, and her staff, especially Alice Wardlow, Joanne DeHaan, Annie Coval, Priscilla Hunter, and Evelyn Taylor was important not only in assisting us compile data but also in maintaining our good humor. Robin Bailey's contribution of information on the development of the Emmonak Shelter and Joan Hamilton's discussions of her observations of the Emmonak Shelter were helpful in our understanding of the Emmonak Shelter movement. Staff members of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation (YKHC) Alcohol Program, and members of the Public Health Service Itinerant Nurses Program also volunteered their time to discuss the project. Special thanks are due Anna Kerttula who volunteered time to collect data and to Barbara Knapp and Julie Fitzgerald, Kuskokwim Consortium Library, whose

patience with our numerous inter-library loans and our retention of library books was outstanding. The fine work of Linda Stephenson and Ellen West, Anthropology Program, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, who typed this manuscript and kept their good spirits through numerous drafts is also gratefully acknowledged.

We would especially like to acknowledge the review of this draft by people in the study villages, as well as Elizabeth Andrews, Robin Bailey, Diane Carpenter, Liz Illg, Barbara Miklos, Alice Wardlow, and Elizabeth Hickerson, our Project Manager whose patience has been outstanding.

Funding for the research was provided by a grant from the Senate Advisory Council: Senator Jay Kerttula (Chairman), Don Bennett, Bettye Fahrenkamp, and Vic Fischer. Their concern about issues of domestic violence and support for the project are gratefully acknowledged.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A twenty-four year old mother of three small children is repeatedly beaten by her twenty-five year old husband who is a problem drinker. He also beats one of the children. She contacts the Bethel shelter four times in 1982 and in November receives an emergency restraining order. In December she calls the shelter because she is battered. Her father beat her mother to death. Her husband's father used to beat his wife.

A thirty-four year old mother of two small children is beaten regularly by her thirty-two year old husband who hits her when he drinks. Although there is a local shelter she has not used it. Of her brothers, one is dead from drinking, one is severely impaired due to drug use, one is a problem drinker who beats his girl friend. Of her sisters, one was beaten by her husband. Her parents drank for years; her father battered her mother; her mother died drunk.

This paper looks at spouse abuse in three Yupik Eskimo villages in southwest Alaska. It describes the development of family violence, as perceived by residents in the region, its magnitude today in the study communities, and individual and community attempts to manage the problem. The paper is the result of five weeks' intensive fieldwork in the villages and three months' follow-up work in Bethel with village and Bethel residents. Fieldwork was conducted in 1983.

Wife battering is recognized as a national problem with current studies estimating that about two million women are battered every year in the United States. This recognition came about primarily as a result of the women's movement (cf., Schechter 1982). In the 1970s, women concerned with the plight of battered women and of children from these homes began to establish community shelters which drew public attention to domestic violence (cf., Pizzey 1974; Roberts 1981; Schechter 1982). In the same

decade, social scientists began to document the long-standing severity of the problem of family violence in American society (cf., Gelles 1974; Steinmetz and Straus 1974; Martin 1976; Davidson 1977, 1978; Walker 1979; Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980; Pagelow 1981; Russell 1982; Bowker 1983).

This study is the first to provide quantitative and qualitative data on spouse abuse in villages in one major cultural region of Alaska. It provides an in-depth view of this kind of violence within the context of communities affiliated with one major group of minority Alaskans. It is the first community-based study of its kind.

The project developed as a result of an earlier field study in 1980 of problem drinking in two Yupik Eskimo villages (Shinkwin and Pete 1982). At that time, systematic data on domestic violence were not gathered but residents described numerous incidents. Personal accounts of injury and terror from women encouraged us to design a project that would document the nature of the problem and explore management approaches.

Most studies of spouse abuse have used shelter populations for their research base (see Gelles 1980 for a summary of research in the 1970s) and, to date, only one nationally representative sample has been studied by Straus and his colleagues (Straus et al. 1980). Straus' study is particularly important since it, unlike the shelter research, contains data on non-abusing as well as abusing couples. This village study, like that of Straus et al., is not limited to couples with abuse. Its findings about spouse abuse today, however, are not directly generalizable to the national population or even to other Alaskan minorities since Yupik Eskimo society represents a specialized population. However, some elements of village culture in Alaska, such as the very personal nature of social relationships

due to extensive family ties, cross-cut ethnic groups. Therefore, some conclusions about management, in particular, probably apply to other Alaska Native groups.

In spite of the specialized nature of the research population, the study demonstrates that problems of battered women in the villages in many ways are like those of urban women. The features of batterers discovered in this analysis are also not unlike those identified among non-Native Americans. For example, the two case summaries presented at the opening of this report are drawn from the study villages but they can be duplicated elsewhere in the state or in the nation. However, the impact of such events is much greater in a village because they are known and experienced on a personal level by the whole community or by a large portion of it.

The research illustrates that attempts to manage spouse abuse are minimal, as they are in the larger society. Shelters, which may be the most practical management approach in a village, are difficult to establish and sustain in a village setting.

The study provides an historical perspective to spouse abuse since it demonstrates a firm association of certain social institutions, such as the male-dominated nuclear family, with violence toward women. Wife beating in Yupik society, unlike the larger society, is a relatively new custom.

II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND GENERAL METHODOLOGY

Major research goals were to determine the extent of domestic violence between spouses in three village settings and to examine local approaches, especially any approach using a shelter, to the management of family violence. In addition, we sought data which would allow us to look for patterns in abusive relationships that might have implications for individual treatment of victims and abusers and/or community management of the problem. Since our earlier study suggested a close relationship between problem drinking and domestic violence, we were particularly interested in examining this relationship more systematically. A major research aim was to provide village perspectives on domestic violence which could be used for planning purposes by the state and the region and by providers of social or medical services (especially shelter personnel) who work with clients from rural Alaska.

The choice of villages to work with was limited by the fact that only two (Emmonak, St. Paul) in the state were operating shelters, both of which had received some state funding. Since western Alaska was a region we were familiar with, we selected Emmonak, located in the Yukon delta, as the major field focus. Prior to fieldwork, we learned that Hooper Bay, located on the shores of the Bering Sea, was in the process of developing a shelter. Since we already had a fairly well-developed data base for this village from previous research we selected it as the second village.¹ We suspected that the incidence of domestic violence in Emmonak and Hooper Bay would be relatively high, based on our earlier study and on more recent information on Emmonak (Tundra Drums 1981). In order to provide a comparison, we arranged to work with Kotlik, a village near Emmonak in the Yukon delta; with a reputation for not having widespread problems with domestic violence.

Household censuses were compiled for Kotlik and Emmonak and updated for Hooper Bay. Data were gathered on local history and amount of family violence, the characteristics of individuals in abusive relationships, especially their alcohol use patterns and past family history, the extent of problem drinking in the community, and individual and community responses to incidents of domestic violence. In addition, ethnographic data on the historic and current role of marriage and the family in Yupik society and information on past and present community contexts were obtained to provide an understanding of the local setting within which domestic violence occurs. In all three communities, local views regarding shelters for women and children were solicited. In each village, members of the city administration, local police and magistrates were interviewed. Presentations on the project were made to the City Councils in Emmonak and Hooper Bay and views of their shelters were discussed. Interviews were conducted in the language of choice (Yupik Eskimo, or English) of the local research participant.

Due to our focus on village shelters, the most intensive fieldwork was conducted in Emmonak where we worked with a large number of people (Table 1). The fieldwork was enhanced by the cooperation of the Emmonak Shelter

Table 1. Community research participation.

	<u>Systematic, In-Depth Interviews</u>		<u>Short Interviews</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
Kotlik	2	5	8	14	29
Emmonak	16	16	16	21	69
Hooper Bay	2	10	9	12	33

committee, a group of women who, in the last several years, have become "specialists" in the subject of domestic violence. Through their assistance, especially as liaisons between us and other members of this large village, we were able to gather a great deal of valuable data. Fieldwork in Kotlik, a much smaller village, was not as intensive. Follow-up data on Hooper Bay was not difficult to collect since most of the research participants were familiar with the earlier study.

In addition to village fieldwork, data were gathered about domestic violence, its extent, causes, and management from village social or medical service providers in Bethel. Participation in a regional alcohol training program for village alcohol counselors, managed by the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation (YKHC), and a three-day Public Safety Conference on Domestic Violence for alcohol counselors, health aides, village police, and village council members, sponsored by the Tundra Women's Coalition (TWC), contributed local perspectives from nine additional villages in the region. Interviews with Itinerant Nurses, working for the Public Health Service, also provided a complementary and important perspective.

Since part of the research focused on the management of domestic violence, data were obtained from the Tundra Woman's Coalition (TWC), the shelter in Bethel, on its services and the characteristics of its clients many of whom were from villages in the region. Client forms were available beginning in March 1982 when a standardized reporting form was distributed by the Alaska Council on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault (hereafter, Council) to shelters in the state. Since client identity is protected on these forms by use of a client number, rather than a name, they provided an excellent source of data that did not violate the confidentiality

guaranteed clients we compiled information for a one-year period (March 1982-March 1983) on 141 adult female clients. Council staff also provided tallies of various items on the form covering four months in 1982.

Analysis of TWC data was one of the most exasperating tasks undertaken during the course of the research due to the inadequacies of the Council form. For example, it did not code some very basic information such as the place of the incident of violence (village or city), and the marital status of victim and abuser. Information on the involvement of alcohol or drug abuse did not distinguish between victim and abuser (on the revised form, May 1982). This form was reviewed in April 1983 by Council and Shelter staffs throughout the state and we submitted a letter outlining our difficulties with the form. We hope some of these deficiencies have been corrected. Compilation of data, using the forms, was made possible through the outstanding cooperation of TWC staff who consulted files to fill in missing information. Without their participation, a great deal of information would have been inaccessible for analysis.

Council tallies were not useful for our research purposes because they combined most categories of information for village and Bethel clients whereas we were particularly interested in comparing the two samples. In addition, monthly totals for various client features were inflated because data for each month include continuing clients. For example, analysis of age categories which may be at high risk, as represented by the shelter population, was impossible over a period greater than one month since a continuing client could be counted twice or several times over the course of three or four months.

Data were also collected from civil and criminal court records in Bethel (1982-1983) and from magistrate files in Emmonak and Hooper Bay on the involvement of the legal system in managing domestic violence. We sought information from the Public Health Service Hospital in Bethel but since the hospital does not code domestic violence information it is not readily obtained from their data base even though it is computerized. Since doctors are not required to record any known or alleged relationship between injuries and domestic violence, such information cannot even be expected to be found in individual files. Given these problems, this component of data gathering was abandoned.

Limited observations of violence in two families in our neighborhood in Bethel were also made and one teenager from one of these families was informally interviewed over a period of six months.

III. THE SETTING

Transportation. The project communities can be reached only by air from Anchorage, through Bethel or St. Mary's. Air travel from Bethel to each is between one and one and one-half hours. However, air transportation during fall and spring is often hampered by fog and/or winds and village isolation from major medical or law enforcement assistance in Bethel may occur for a week or more. Transportation to neighboring villages from each community is by air, snowmachine, or boat. Of the three, Kotlik is the most isolated from any other community. For example, summer travel from Kotlik by boat to one of the two closest villages takes between two and two and one-half hours, in contrast with Emmonak and Hooper Bay where another village can be reached in 15 minutes from Emmonak and an hour from Hooper Bay. Emmonak also has a local air charter service.

Services. The three communities have comparable services such as schools, stores, and a clinic. None has a central water or sewer system although there are locations in each village where processed water can be obtained and hauled home. In the winter many people use ice as a water source, preferring it to processed water. Emmonak and Hooper Bay are electrified and Kotlik has just recently completed a village power plant. Telephones are available in each community although not all homes have a phone and phones often do not work. Cable television has recently become available in each community and in many homes the set is rarely off. A laundromat and showers are available in Emmonak and will soon be available in Kotlik. During the course of this project, Emmonak

received a grant to build a shelter for women and children and Hooper Bay renovated part of a building to be used as a day care center and shelter. Recreational facilities are limited in these villages although Hooper Bay has a new library and Emmonak and Kotlik have new teen centers. Emmonak also has a restaurant and public sauna.

Economy. Each community, like all Alaska Native villages, is characterized by a mixed subsistence-cash economy. Emmonak and Kotlik, as riverine villages, have direct access to abundant fish resources. Subsistence activities are dominated by intensive summer salmon fishing and fall and winter fishing for whitefish, sheefish, blackfish, and saffron cod. Ice fishing for pike and burbot, hunting of ptarmigan and hunting and trapping of hare and other small land mammals secure fresh food in winter. Sea mammal hunting (seals, bearded seals, occasional belukha) provides supplementary food in spring and summer. Some families hunt moose and waterfowl in fall and caribou in winter.

Activities at Hooper Bay are basically the same as those in the delta but with a different emphasis because of Hooper Bay's coastal location. Here, sealing activities in fall, winter, and spring constitute the major subsistence activity. Intensive summer fishing for herring, salmon, and whitefish, fall harvests of waterfowl, winter hunting and trapping of small game and ptarmigan, and fishing for whitefish, blackfish, and burbot provide important food supplements.

Subsistence activities in the delta villages require seasonal movements from the community to summer fish camps, fall hunting and/or fowling camps and winter trapping camps. In contrast, subsistence in Hooper Bay does not

demand as much summer movement since fishing is localized close to the village. In each village, there is considerable movement in late summer to berry picking camps.

Cash income in the delta villages is primarily from commercial salmon fishing. Hooper Bay has recently developed a herring fishery. Other income sources in each village are jobs in the local service economy (e.g., city administration, clinic, school), seasonal construction, fur sales, pensions, and other assistance programs.

Current employment data were gathered in Emmonak for all couples (N=95) who were the study focus. Most (86%) men but few (39%) women were employed. Further, 53% of couples rely on the man as the sole wage earner in contrast to a small proportion (5%) that rely solely on the woman (Table 2). However, women contribute significantly to an additional 34% more of couples by participating in some form of wage employment; in 44% of these couples she is the spouse with a full-time, year-round job.

Full-time year-round positions are rare and most (72%) employed males have seasonal jobs. Most (57%) employed females, in contrast, had year-round, full or part-time positions. Only one-fourth of individuals in couples occupy full-time, year-round jobs (Table 2). Less than one-half (42%), of couples, then, had one or both spouses in this category. Interestingly, that spouse was as likely to be male (23) as female (24). However, of the men in this category, almost one-half (48%) were the sole wage earner. In contrast, women who worked full-time, year-round, nearly always had a working husband, reflecting the dominance of males in the economy.

In summary, most employment is seasonal. Most couples rely on men to provide cash but in a fair proportion (33%) women as well as men work and in a small number (5%) women are the only wage employee.

Table 2. Emmonak Employment Patterns For Couples (N=95).

	Percent of Couples		Percent of Couples
<u>Husband Only Wage Earner</u>		<u>Husband, Full-time, Year-Round</u>	
Full-time, year-round	12%	Wife, full-time, seasonal	2%
Full-time, seasonal	41%	Wife, part-time, year-round	3%
<u>Wife Only Wage Earner</u>		<u>Husband, Full-time, Seasonal</u>	
Full-time, year-round	3%	Wife, full-time, year-round	15%
Full-time, seasonal	1%	Wife, part-time, year-round	3%
Part-time, year-round	1%		
<u>Both Spouses</u>		<u>No Known Wage Employment</u>	8%
Full-time, year-round	7%		
Full-time, seasonal	3%		
		Total	99%

An evaluation of the relative standard of living in the project communities is hampered by lack of research data or recent informed analyses. However, according to 1980 census figures, Hooper Bay and Kotlik had median family incomes 2.5 to 2.8 times higher than Emmonak (\$15,714, \$19,750 compared to \$6,838). The figures for Hooper Bay as an indication of the income status of Alaska Natives in that community are undoubtedly inflated since they include 23 non-native householders, many of whom are high-salaried school teachers. In contrast, the figures for Emmonak include nine non-natives and those for Kotlik include no non-natives. As a rule, income from commercial fishing in the delta communities is more similar; the census figures reflect unusually strong salmon runs in the Kotlik area in 1979. However, since high runs have continued in the Kotlik area in subsequent seasons, the relative difference between the two delta communities has probably persisted.

In spite of the reported income differences between Emmonak and the other communities in recent years, it would be a serious mistake to conclude that there are corresponding differences in the standard of

living. Subsistence activities as well as cash producing labor, provide substantial resources to households. For example, Wolfe's (1981:143) study in the Yukon Delta in 1980 estimates the average value of subsistence products to a household is about \$21,238 if those products had to be replaced by purchases at a local store. Although this figure is inflated, due to the inclusion of households in the sample who were among the most active in subsistence pursuits in the communities, the study suggests for the first time a cash value of substantial significance for household subsistence activities. Subsistence activities are probably also expanded during years of low commercial fishing income, offsetting deficiencies in cash (Wolfe 1981:156).

In summary, economic strategies used by couples combine subsistence and primarily seasonal wage employment. In Emmonak, men dominate the wage economy but women contribute significantly to at least one-third of households with couples. There are striking differences in median family income between Emmonak and the other two project communities in recent years. However, while these differences are important and not minimized in this study, we want to emphasize that Emmonak households with their access to subsistence resources may not be experiencing the differences in standard of living suggested by the income figures.

Local History. The social context of each community, from the point of view of its residents and those of neighboring communities, reflects the local history of each village. Traditionally, Yupik Eskimo villages were central in-gathering places for members of a particular regional group. Each regional group, which was named, had its own main settlements within a well defined territory. Members spoke and dressed

a little bit differently from other similarly constituted Yupik societies and viewed their society as superior to others. Large, local bilateral families, represented by several to many households, made up the social structure of each village.

Modern villages in the Yupik area reflect the consolidation of people from many small settlements to major service centers where people live for most of the year. Kotlik and Hooper Bay, like traditional villages, are both associated with specific regional groups, each with a long history. However, Hooper Bay, in contrast with Kotlik, has a much longer unbroken history of residence in its present location extending back into precontact time. Kotlik is a more recent settlement and has only recently (1960s) absorbed all members of its regional society (Pastulirmiut) who abandoned a formerly populous settlement (Caniliaq) due to flooding problems. In addition, the current differences in population size (Table 3) between

Table 3. Population change (Rollins 1978).

	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
1929	14	-	209
1939	35 (+150%)	42	299 (+43%)
1950	44 (+26%)	67 (+59%)	307 (+3%)
1960	57 (+30%)	180 (+169%)	460 (+50%)
1970	228 (+300%)	439 (+144%)	490 (+6%)
1983 ¹	373 (+64%)	587 (+34%)	663 (+35%)

¹1983 figures are from our household census data which only include permanent residents.

Kotlik and Hooper Bay are of long-standing. Hooper Bay is presently one of the largest villages in the region and it was one of the largest settlements in southwest Alaska in early contact time.

Emmonak, in contrast with Kotlik and Hooper Bay, is associated today with members from at least two major regional groups, one from the lower Yukon River and one from the Black River area to the south. According to our data, in the mid-1950s when the school closed in the Black River area, there was a major emigration of people to Emmonak in numbers approximately equal to those already resident there. Today, these distinctive regional groups are locally recognized in the community as important segments of the population.²

Demography. All three villages are growing and have experienced periods of rapid population growth in the last 30 years (Table 3), with the most recent population expansions in Kotlik and Emmonak -- reflecting the emigrations of Tanilias people to Kotlik in the 1960s and Black River people to Emmonak in the 1950s. Birth rates have also been high since the 1950s in all three areas with increasingly better health care. Today more than one-third of the population in each community is under the age of 16 (Table 4).

Table 4. General demographic data - 1983.¹

	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Total Population	373	586	663
Total Households	79	126	125
Sex Ratio	1.12	1.13	1.23
Average Household Size	4.72	4.66	5.28
Mean Age	24.00	24.70	24.50
% Under 16	38%	38%	36%
% Alaska Native	98%	97%	99%

¹Figures are based on our 1983 household census of permanent residents. .

While the sex ratio for Hooper Bay is slightly higher than that for Kotlik and Emmonak (Table 4) the difference is not statistically significant.³ In addition, analysis of sex ratio by age groups within the three communities does not reveal any significant differences.

Within each village, considering the population age 16+,⁴ males and females do not differ significantly in the relative proportion of each sex being married (Table 5). However, in each village young adults, age 21-40,

Table 5. Percentage of individuals, age 16+, who are married.

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>% Married</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>% Married</u>
Kotlik	124	57	108	66
Emmonak	182	59	203	47
Hooper Bay	137	35	190	17

differ significantly in marital status, with females more likely to be married (Table 6).

Table 6. Statistical comparison of percentage of total individuals of each sex, age 21-40, who are married.

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>p</u>
Kotlik	54%	79%	8.03	<.01
Emmonak	48%	72%	10.41	<.01
Hooper Bay	31%	50%	6.97	<.01

Analysis of the proportion of married individuals in the population (age 16+) between the three project villages reveals a statistically significant difference between Hooper Bay and the other two with a smaller proportion of married people in Hooper Bay (Table 7).

Table 7. Statistical comparison of proportion of married individuals in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay.

	% Married (age 16+)	χ^2	p
Hooper Bay Kotlik	42 61	20.13	<.01
Hooper Bay Emmonak	42 52	6.83	<.01
Kotlik Emmonak	61 52	4.66	.05-.01

In summary, while there are no significant differences in the sex ratios of the three villages, and there are no important differences within the villages between the likelihood of males and females being married, there are significantly fewer married people (age 16+) in Hooper Bay compared to Kotlik and Emmonak.

Marriage Patterns. Analysis of marriage patterns, reflected by currently married couples in each community, reveals a high degree of endogamy for Hooper Bay, compared to the other two communities (Table 8). This difference

Table 8. Marriage patterns.

	<u>Percentages of Currently Married Couples</u>		
	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Both spouses residents of the community (endogamy)	25%	34%	61%
One spouse from another community (exogamy)	63%	47%	23%
Both spouses from another community (emigrant couples)	11%	18%	7%

is statistically significant (Table 9). The higher proportion of endogamous marriages in Hooper Bay can be related to its long-resident large population, providing a larger pool of potential spouses over a longer period of time than that available in Kotlik or Emmonak. It also may reflect the traditional preference for marrying individuals from one's own regional group. In this feature, Hooper Bay more closely approximates a traditional village with a social structure made up of large local families linked by numerous marriage ties.

Table 9. Statistical comparison of degree of endogamy in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay.

	% Endogamous Marriages	χ^2	p
Hooper Bay Kotlik	61% 25%	20.48	<.01
Hooper Bay Emmonak	61% 34%	13.96	<.01
Kotlik Emmonak	25% 34%	1.34	.30-.20

Exogamous marriages in each community have brought individuals from other regional groups to these villages and in each village the in-marrying spouse is usually female (Table 10). This pattern may be widespread in the

Table 10. Sex of in-marrying spouses.

<u>In-Marrying Spouse</u>	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Female	62%	60%	66%
Male	38%	40%	34%

region since it has also been documented for two Kuskokwim River villages (Shinkwin and Pete 1980; Oswalt 1963). The proportionately greater percentage of emigrant couples living in Kotlik and Emmonak, compared to Hooper Bay (Table 8), in part, reflects the recent population movements described above. In addition, some older couples have moved to Kotlik due to the residence of an adult child, usually married, in the community. It should be noted that the presence of emigrant couples and in-marrying spouses, which make up a substantial portion of the adult community in both Kotlik and Emmonak, does not detract from the local view that Kotlik is made up of one regional group and Emmonak of two major groups.

Household Structure. In all three communities, nuclear family households predominate (Table 11). Emmonak and Kotlik differ from Hooper Bay in the higher proportion of solitary households but these differences are not

Table 11. Household structure -- 1983.

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>Kotlik</u> <u>(N=79)</u>	<u>Emmonak</u> <u>(N=126)</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u> <u>(N=122)</u>
Nuclear	76%	67%	61%
Solitary	5%	16%	16%
Extended	15%	11%	21%
(3 generations)			
Siblings	4%	4%	2%
Unrelated Males	3%	2%	1%
	101%	100%	101%

statistically significant. In all three communities, solitary units are predominantly male (Kotlik: 100%; Emmonak: 95%; Hooper Bay: 80%). In Emmonak, solitary units are nearly equally occupied by individuals under 40 and those over 40 whereas in Kotlik and Hooper Bay, this residence choice is much more common for younger people (Kotlik: 100%; Hooper Bay 70%).

Political Organization. All three communities are second-class cities with a city administration including a city manager, mayor, and 7-person elected city council. Emmonak and Hooper Bay each have a resident local magistrate. Each village also has a federally recognized tribal council. Although the current activities of the tribal councils in Emmonak and Hooper Bay did not seem to be well known, young men in Kotlik were holding meetings during our visit with the intent of strengthening the role of their tribal council.

Representative government is new in these communities which were traditionally governed by the heads of large, local families, each of which was responsible for the behavior of its family members. Elders today are still accorded considerable prestige, although their influence with the younger generation has declined considerably. Local family heads, especially those of very large families, still play influential roles in the affairs of each community.

Religion. Each village is predominantly Roman Catholic with a very small proportion of non-Catholics in the community. Kotlik and Emmonak are served by one priest and two nuns who alternate between the villages every two weeks. Hooper Bay has a resident priest. Each priest is assisted by local deacons and a parish council. Belief in the church and its dogma is very strong. Clergy in these villages are influential figures and many people rely on the priest for advice, guidance, and support.

Summary. In summary, the three project communities are relatively isolated Yupik Eskimo villages that rely on air transportation to major medical or legal services; this transportation can be interrupted due to

severe weather conditions. Each is strongly oriented to subsistence activities, relying on local fish and game. Access to wage employment is limited, although commercial salmon fishing is a major cash-producing activity in the delta communities. Median family income in Kotlik and Hooper Bay in recent years has been at least twice as great as that in Emmonak but the standard of living, supported by subsistence activities, is probably more similar in the three communities than income data suggest.

Each is a village associated with at least one major traditional regional group. Local history sets the context for social interaction within the community and guides relationships with neighboring villages. Emmonak and Hooper Bay, 1.6-1.8 times larger than Kotlik, are among the five largest villages of the 49 in the region. Today, all three have young and growing populations with major population expansion in Kotlik and Emmonak in the last 30 years due to local emigrations. Marriage patterns differ, with Hooper Bay containing a significantly higher proportion of endogamous unions compared to the Yukon Delta communities. In addition, significantly fewer people are married in Hooper Bay than in the other two villages. Household structure, which is predominantly nuclear; political organization, which combines a mix of traditional government with a city structure; and religion, which is Catholic, are similar in each community.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPOUSE ABUSE

Information on people's perceptions of the history of domestic violence in the region was gathered in the study communities and from participants in the YKMC alcohol training session and the TWC Public Safety workshop who were from other villages. Interview data on the traditional and current nature of marriage, residence patterns, relationships between men and women, and sources of social control, obtained in the study communities, have been supplemented here by information from the few ethnographic reports on the region. Together, these data provide an historical perspective on institutions in the local culture that have affected the incidence of domestic violence in the region during this century.

Incidence. Older people recall seeing or hearing of wife beating in the early decades of this century, most often associated with jealousy on the part of a male spouse, but no respondent mentioned husband abuse. Everyone reported that wife beating was extremely rare in the past and some older and middle-aged people say they never heard of it when they were young. In contrast, today family violence is viewed as a major problem in the region. Its development is categorically linked by all respondents in the study with the growth of alcohol abuse in the villages.

Alcohol. Observation of the making and use of homebrew was part of the childhood of all residents now living in these villages. However, people report that serious drinking and associated family problems, as well as alcohol-related accidents, did not occur on any scale until there was

widespread access to bottled liquor or the materials needed to make homebrew, both of which were readily available everywhere in the region by the 1940s.

By the 1960s alcohol abuse and domestic violence were growing problems in each community. Analysis of the history of alcohol use in the study communities reveals that current populations contain members of the first generation in their history to have a sizeable number of problem drinkers. Many of the problem drinkers and spouse abusers in our sample are the offspring of this generation.

Marriage. Traditionally, marriage was economically important. Men and women were trained in sex-specific tasks which complemented each other and demanded cooperation between the sexes.⁵ Married couples with their relatives constituted units of production and consumption in the society. Married men and women relied on each other to contribute their appropriate skills to the maintenance of their household and related households.

First marriages were arranged by relatives, often when the potential spouses were children. Arrangements usually reflected political decisions on the part of parents (especially fathers) who consciously sought to extend family alliances through marriage. Marriage established an alliance and multiple connections from other unions were not encouraged. For example, sibling exchange marriages, such as two brothers marrying two sisters or a brother and sister marrying another cross-sex sibling set, were strongly discouraged since, there was "no reason" for two members of a family to marry two members of another.⁶ Marriages also were preferably arranged between families in the same regional or local group as a precautionary measure since people in other groups/areas could not be trusted.

Marriage was contracted through a simple agreement which was easily, and apparently often, broken. For example, Lantis (1946:159) reports for Nunivak Island that "both men and women had a succession of marriages, three or four for most people, five or six for a few men. Although in practice, men were able to take the initiative in separation more often, women were supposed to have equal freedom." Second and any subsequent marriages were often by choice but they were sometimes also arranged.

Our oldest research participants recalled the instability of marriage, commenting on the frequency with which people "changed partners." They also noted that the freedom to separate and remarry functioned to extend one's relatives by creating new ties at remarriage. For example, children of each subsequent union of one's parents, especially of one's mother since there is a very strong tie between children of the "same womb," were automatically placed in a kinship relationship with one another. At the same time, the tie between families created by a first marriage was not lost and was perpetuated through the relationships between this marriage's offspring and their cousins (children of their parent's siblings). Hence, although marriage in Yupik culture was explicitly designed to create relatives through the alliance of two families, separation did not threaten the underlying goal of the system. It did not destroy the relationship between families established in marriage and it provided an opportunity for remarriage and the creation of more relatives.

Freedom to separate and remarry, importantly, also functioned to manage conflict between married couples. What has not been emphasized in the literature that appears clear from our data is that women occupied

decision-making positions regarding their fate in marriage, once married, and, furthermore, they were viewed by men and women as the responsible decision-makers in this sphere of their life.

Within marriage today, in most households, there is still a sharp division of labor by sex, a division that is related in part to the historical continuity in subsistence activities in these villages and, in part, to modern religious beliefs. Men continue to be the major subsistence producers and women are the processors and distributors of subsistence products. Household chores are also sex-specific. For example, men are supposed to empty the "honeybucket" and haul the trash. Women are supposed to prepare the meals and wash the dishes. People of all ages speak of "men's work" and "women's work" and ideas about sex-specific tasks are widely shared, although younger people sometimes take exception to these notions. Deviations in sex roles are commented on disparagingly. For example, in one community many people commented how terrible it was that a particular abused woman had to do "men's work" because her husband drank so much.

Unlike the past, women have more options today and younger women are developing occupational skills and moving into cash employment, just as men are, and some women make substantial cash contributions to their household. However, in the public mind and in reality most women are primarily associated with the private sphere (home).

Arranged marriages were common in the study communities into the 1950s and many marriages of people in our sample were arranged by their parents or a priest. Discussions with many women whose marriages were arranged indicate that often they were traumatic experiences for the

woman who received intense pressure to conform. A very common comment of these women about their husbands in early marriage (and sometimes throughout marriage) was "I hated him in my mind," an expression not only of their sentiment but their inability to escape their fate. Some of these marriages became happy; others were (are) quite the contrary.

The role of the local priest in arranging marriages was enhanced by the widespread loss of parents due to epidemics, especially in the "Great Sickness" of 1900 (Wolfe 1982) in the delta villages. Through the teachings of the priests, the nature of the marriage relationship was changed radically since separation and re-marriage was no longer an option. In addition, a structured asymmetrical power relationship between males and females was grafted onto the already existing division of labor which, while strict, did not embody an unequal power relationship between husband and wife. According to some female respondents, priests counseled them that the husband was the "boss." Older men remembered hearing that men should be the "boss," but commented they didn't know where this idea came from. Interestingly, older respondents stressed the significance of the introduction of a marriage ceremony in the transformation of the institution of marriage. Ceremonial obligations have never been dismissed lightly in Yupik culture.

The control of the local priest historically and today in maintaining marital unions in the study villages is impressive. For example, one older woman described to us how her local priest arranged a marriage for her in 1936, when she was 16. After marriage, she discovered her husband was a particularly evil shaman. In addition to terrifying her by his shamanistic activities in the household, he physically and verbally abused her. At the time when her first baby was due, he took her alone

to the mountains, leaving her to die during a difficult delivery.

Through determined efforts, she survived and returned home. Subsequently, she asked the local priest to be released from her marriage due to her husband's injurious and life-threatening behavior. Although the priest gave her "permission" to leave her husband, he did not allow her to marry for about 14 years when her husband died.

Interviews with women from other Catholic villages in the region indicate that although they have sought help from their priest regarding violent marriages, they have been counseled that they must stay at home. In a recent injunction hearing in Bethel, according to the court records, a husband spoke against the granting of the injunction to his wife on the basis that he had talked with their priest and the priest refused to counsel them unless the couple were living together.

Today, and in the recent past, marriages are rarely dissolved in these Catholic villages, due to legal separation or divorce. Although we do not have complete data, the percentage of marriages in the study communities known to us that have been dissolved is low, ranging from 3-11%, compared to a national average closer to 50%. In discussions with people, they stressed the sanctity of marriage from a religious point of view. Separation of any sort is rarely considered a realistic alternative to unhappy unions, including the most violent, as a result of the local view of the Catholic church's position on marriage.

Residence Patterns. Traditionally, males and females did not usually live together. Individual households in main settlements were composed of related females and their female children and young male children. Males and young boys, around age five or ten (Lantis 1946; Oswalt 1966) lived,

worked, ate, slept and took "fire baths" (a type of sauna) in a "men's house" or qasgiq and every major settlement occupied for any extensive period of time during the year had at least one qasgiq. Women took food to the qasgiq and a man would visit his wife at home in the evening, returning ideally in the morning before other men were awake.

When travelling or at camp, men and women shared dwellings. At these times, as well as others, however, work patterns as well as other beliefs about male-female relations (below) functioned to maintain the spatial and social separation of the sexes.

These residential arrangements, combined with a pattern of endogamous marriages, created a structure which supported separation in marriage. For most couples, separation would not entail any immediate changes in residence since a woman would reside in her mother's or her own home and a man lived in the qasgiq and had access to female relatives in the community who could assist him in the daily matters of sustenance. The result of separation for a man or woman who had married out of their home community, however, might demand adjustments in residence and this factor may have affected the decision to separate.

Traditional residence patterns were changed dramatically due to the insistence of the priests that men abandon the qasgiq and join their wives at home. Although people accepted the change in the nature of marriage early in this century, it took much longer to alter residence patterns that supported a male institution of considerable importance in the culture. In the study area, some adult men still lived in a qasgiq as late as the 1940s. The development of nuclear families, with adult males in residence, however, was widespread by the 1930s in most areas and fully established by 1950. Although the qasgiq disappeared, the men's firebath, an integral

part of life in the qasgiq has been maintained to the present day in the study communities. In this part of the region, firebaths, which are used exclusively by males in small structures around the villages, are an important part of village life for men today. Hence, in one aspect of today's culture a strong remnant of the formerly well-developed men's house persists. In Emmonak, a large qasgiq was recently built, containing a firebath used only by men. It is also used for dances and dance practices by women and men when men are not using the firebath. Saunas, introduced in the study communities in the last 20 years, are used by men and women, jointly and separately.

Social Life. Separation of the sexes in Yupik society was not only residential but characterized social life in general. Older women educated young girls, oft a by telling them storyknife tales, using a storyknife to illustrate stories on the snow or mud. Major figures were women. Interesting for this study, one of the major themes of the stories was that males could be expected to exhibit nonrational behavior (Oswalt 1966:106)--a theme highlighting a sharp cultural distinction between the nature of men and women, from the point of view of women.

Older women we interviewed recalled a sharp division between "men's things" and "women's things," categories that became very important at a woman's puberty when her relations with men and their property became closely governed by a series of ritual prescriptions demanding certain kinds of avoidance behavior.⁷ Women and men did not spend time socializing with one another.

Although residential separation has disappeared, a certain degree of social separation between the sexes is obvious in the study villages. Women are rarely seen socializing with men, with the exception of dating or married couples. While there are certainly some exceptions, women often do not know what men in the village are doing with regard to decisions in the public sphere and some women we interviewed flatly stated they did not talk to men. Although the subject deserves a more in-depth approach than we were able to accomplish during our project time, it appears to us that communication channels between men and women are very restricted within these communities, a strong reflection of the traditional social system.

In spite of the adoption of nuclear family households, extremely close ties between a woman and her consanguineal relatives, especially women, have persisted and are obvious in visiting patterns in the village. Closely related males also form solid alliance groups within the community. The emphasis on one's family of orientation is so strong that moving to another community at marriage, which occurs often in Kotlik and Emmonak, is initially a hardship for many women. One young woman who had moved to another community in the region commented that after she left from her home "I felt like everyone had died, that I was all alone and everyone was dead; you know, my relatives."

Social Control. Social control within society was primarily a function of large, local bilaterally extended families which were responsible for the behavior of their members. Males, and especially older males in a family, functioned as decision-makers in the public sphere. In larger communities with several local families, each of which contained a number of domestic units (residences with women), elders mediated between families when necessary. Older respondents in this study commented that in the old

days "relatives were always watching other relatives," and that young marrieds were "closely watched." Control over men, exercised through the qasgiq, was an important component of this system of government based on family control.

The solidarity of a local family was paramount in its dealings with other similarly constituted families. The responsibility of revenge in the event of a transgression against a relative was serious and an important deterrent of antisocial behavior. However, importantly for this study, our older respondents could not recall that it was incumbent on men to revenge actions of non-related (including affines) men against their female relatives although there very well may have been some exceptions.

Social control within the villages today is viewed as primarily the responsibility of individuals paid to maintain lawful behavior, such as the police and the magistrate. Informally, however, family control continues to be strong and families constitute political blocks in the community as they did in the past. However, control by elders has decreased considerably with the abandonment of the qasgiq organization, the increased size of these communities which have brought more and more distinct local families together, and the introduction of the village police and magistrate system. Family control is rarely exercised in cases of domestic violence, as we discuss later. Allegiance to one's family is strong, and while there is strength in the system for an individual, family loyalty inhibits the effective functioning of representative government including law enforcement on a community level. For example, as discussed later, police are reluctant to enforce the law when relatives (consanguineal or affinal) are involved. This is a particularly important factor in understanding problems related to the management of domestic violence in the villages.

Summary. In summary, spouse abuse is viewed in the region as a relatively new, but very significant social problem. Traditionally, marriage was a relatively weak social bond. Residence arrangements and patterns of work and socializing, as well as beliefs that emphasized the separate worlds of men and women, functioned to reduce occasions when discord between the sexes could develop. The option of separation after marriage was an important mechanism in the management of marital conflict when it did occur. As a system, attitudes toward marriage and separation and the form of residence operated ultimately to establish and maintain the overwhelming importance of the consanguineal family to an individual. Social control was a function of family government, supported by the power of elders over other men in the qassia organization. Without question, allegiance to one's family overrode any other consideration in social relationships, a characteristic of Eskimo society also noted by Burch (1973) for the northern Alaskan Inupiat. However, within this family system it appears that women, when married, were held responsible for their own fate and expected to act on their own behalf. Women did act to protect themselves and could then rely on the support of their kin. Given the characteristics of the traditional marriage system and supporting institutions, it is not unreasonable to accept the claims of elders today that domestic violence in the past was a rare phenomenon.

Today's society in the study villages is a complex system with most of its components modeled on the institutions of western society. Marriage is defined by the religious beliefs of Roman Catholicism, emphasizing the husband-wife tie and a male-dominant nuclear family structure. Women are still viewed as being responsible for themselves in marriage but their freedom to separate is thought to be limited by religion. Men are no

longer subject to the strict controls exercised by other men in the qasigiq setting and men do not impose sanctions on wife beaters. Representative government has replaced family government on a formal level and law enforcement is a function of paid officials. All social institutions, today, operate within a context reminiscent of the past because of the persistence of the sentiment of the importance of consanguineal family solidarity and control. Family alliances make it very difficult for law enforcement officers to operate in their home communities but families have lost control over their members, especially young men. This has become a particularly serious problem with the increasing abuse of alcohol since the 1960s. According to local views, domestic violence has been increasing and is an alcohol-related phenomenon. While few people in the villages today directly experienced the radical reorganization of Yupik society that occurred in the first decades of this century, some of their parents did and were among the first heavy, habitual, drinkers in the communities. Many of their children and grandchildren are among the heavy drinkers and spouse abusers today.

V. SPOUSE ABUSE: THE PROBLEM 1982-1983

Methods. Data collection on the current extent of spouse abuse was systematic and rigorous. The goal was to determine how many households experienced an incident of violence during 1982 and the first three months of 1983 (the time of field research).

As anthropologists, we were interested in obtaining local views of what kinds of behavior constitute spouse abuse. Unlike our earlier study of alcohol abuse where we found that Yupik views of problem drinking were well defined and broadly shared in the two study communities, we discovered that there was considerable ambiguity in definitions of spouse abuse in these villages. For example, some people were not sure if slapping or pushing a spouse around the room constituted abuse whereas others categorically considered these actions as abusive. In addition, since women commonly leave a house when a husband is threatening abuse, people were not sure if the husband should be called an abuser since the behavior did not result in injury. After intensive discussions, it was decided that any action that caused or could cause physical injury constituted abuse. This rather narrow definition of spouse abuse had the advantage of reflecting uniform agreement from all research participants and represented a practical way of insuring comparability of data on a difficult subject. In addition, it was clear that it is these kinds of behavior that elicit community attempts to manage abuse within the family setting. Spouse abuse, in this study, corresponds exactly with the "wife-beating index" defined by Straus (1978) and includes intentional hitting, kicking, biting, beating, threat or use of a weapon or other dangerous object.⁸

Key research participants were interviewed systematically using a household census to collect data on each member of the adult population. The technique was modelled on our earlier approach in the study of problem drinking where there was remarkable agreement between research participants regarding problem drinking status of individuals, especially in the smaller village (Shinkwin and Pete 1982:318). This approach assumes a high degree of information sharing within the community, a reasonable assumption where kinship networks are so extensive and everyone is known by name. In addition, people are very interested in what happens in these small, isolated villages and it is difficult, if not impossible, to hide black eyes, bruises, or broken bones. Hence, the knowledge of the population about domestic violence in village Alaska is very different than that of an urban population where people can maintain anonymity and seek medical assistance without involving anyone who knows them or is related to them.

A methodology, using key research participants, is also practical for studies dealing with subjects that are sensitive in these small villages. In this particular study, there is no doubt that many women in abusive relationships would have been endangered if we had approached them about cooperating with the project. This assertion is based on observations of attitudes towards us of some abusers and testimonial data about husbands threatening their wives about going to the shelter. Ideally, a sample of households using self-reports in at least one of these villages should be obtained to compare with the information from our research participants. However, we do not view this as feasible for the same reason that we rejected an approach using self-reports originally.

Recruitment of participants was the most painful aspect of the research for us because of the anticipated discomfort on the part of participants about the topic and the task we were asking them to perform. Frozen expressions, embarrassed laughs, or absolute silence from potential interviewees are part of the experience of all field investigators who research domestic violence. We solicited assistance from anyone who showed any interest in the project after its goals were explained. Many people were interviewed on various aspects of the research (Table 1) but only those who appeared to be the most receptive and nonthreatened were asked to review the household list. The only attempt to structure the sample of research participants was a conscious effort to obtain individuals from different families and/or neighborhoods and young (20s) as well as older (40+) people and these aims were achieved.⁴

Seven (3 female) individuals in Kotlik, ten (5 female) in Emmonak, and twelve (10 female) in Hooper Bay assisted us in the tedious review of village households. The higher participation of females reflects their interest which encouraged us to solicit their involvement and we assume females were more comfortable than most males about working with two female researchers. However, other investigators (cf., Geiles 1974) have noted the reluctance of men to participate in this kind of research. Village men tended to be embarrassed about the subject and some were politely hostile. Village police, however, were a notable exception since their occupation legitimized their cooperation.

Although individuals in violent relationships were not sought as project participants due to our concern for their safety, 11 self-identified female victims (six current) and one self-identified male batterer (past) participated. Other researchers have pointed out (cf., Straus 1978) that studies based on

self-reports probably underreport the level of violence. In this study, we found that victims tended to downplay current problems, compared with specific descriptions of their abuse from observers. Some victims talked about abuse as if it were a past problem even though it was current (within the last year). Hence, this study also supports a certain degree of unreliability of self-reports in studies of domestic violence.

In general, research participants were very careful in their assignment of households as violent, preferring detailed data to support their interpretation. However, they were sometimes ambiguous in their views of close relatives. This was especially true for younger people's views of their siblings. In the few cases where violent behavior was described but the perpetrator was not regarded by the respondent as an abuser (by such comments as, "well, he isn't really a problem"), we included the person in the sample of abusers. We also found that occasionally (very rarely) sympathy lay with a battering husband because of the reputedly ill temperament or poor house-keeping habits of his wife. This view that a certain amount of force is understandable or may be necessary in marriage has also been reported for a fair segment of American society (Stark and McEvoy 1970; Straus et al. 1980:47). In our approach, these few individuals were also counted as batterers.

In order to compile the final sample of violent households all data was assessed in terms of its specificity. No household was discarded solely because it was reported by only one participant. Single-reports nearly always came from a close relative or friend of a victim who was able to supply considerable detail.

Each household in the final sample was reported by at least two people in Emmonak and Kotlik and over one-half (56%) of those in the Emmonak sample were described by six or more participants. Nearly all (84%) of the Hooper Bay sample were also reported by two individuals. We believe the higher

degree of agreement in Emmonak (Table 12) relates directly to a heightened awareness of domestic violence in the community because of the local shelter movement. The number of single-reports, although small, in Hooper Bay and the lower number of average reports for households here and in Kotlik, compared to Emmonak, suggest that even in these close communities domestic violence can be hidden. As a result, while we argue for the reliability of data on the incidence of domestic violence, we view the rates reported here as erring on the low side.

Table 12. Average agreement by research participants on the status of individuals as spouse abusers.

	Average Number of Respondents Who Reported Individual Spouse Abusers		
	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Spouse Abuse	3.0	4.3	3.4

Incidence. A major finding is that while all three villages experience spouse abuse, its incidence is 2.3 to 2.4 times greater in Emmonak and Hooper Bay, compared to Kotlik (Tables 13-15). The difference is statistically significant. Nearly all abuse in each community is directed at the wife with only one case of husband abuse reported (Table 14).

Table 13. Incidence of spouse abuse.

	Percentage of Total Couples ¹		
	<u>Kotlik (N=71)</u>	<u>Emmonak (N=95)</u>	<u>Hooper Bay (N=90)</u>
Current Physical Violence	15%	35%	36%
Current Threat of Violence		5%	3%

¹ Unmarried couples (N=11) in a regular relationship are included in the tally.

Table 14. Types of spouse abuse.

	Type of Abuse in Households With Spouse Abuse			
	<u>Wife Abuse</u>	<u>Mutual Abuse</u>	<u>Husband Abuse</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kotlik	100%			= 100%
Emmonak	85%	15%		= 100%
Hooper Bay	79%	18%	5%	= 100%

Table 15. Statistical comparison of differences in the extent of spouse abuse in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay.

	<u>Frequency in Couples</u>	<u>Spouse Abuse</u>	
		<u>χ^2</u>	<u>p</u>
Kotlik Emmonak	15% 35%	7.32	<.01
Kotlik Hooper Bay	15% 56%	9.15	<.01
Emmonak Hooper Bay	35% 56%	0.18	<.70-.50

We have no data on the progression of violence in couples characterized by mutual abuse, although in most cases, the wife was described as "fighting back." Clearly, the assumption of all respondents (male and female) was that men nearly always initiate a violent relationship. Whether this is based on fact or reflects a widespread cultural belief is not clear from our data. However, as discussed below in connection with problem drinking, the notion that men have considerable control over the behavior of women in marriage appears well-founded. Although there may be some cases of husband abuse or mutual abuse not known to our research respondents, resulting in their underreporting here, clearly the direction of serious physical violence between spouses in these communities, like that reported elsewhere (Dobash and Dobash 1979:14-20), is against women.

Although our data on child and parent abuse is not as complete as that for spouse abuse, violence against children by spouse abusers was reported for 9% (N=7) of the batterers (N=77). One percent (N=1) abuse a parent. This abuse includes physical aggression such as shoving, pushing, slapping, hitting, throwing across the room and, in the case of children, past sexual abuse. Child abuse seems associated with spouse abuse since only one additional case was discovered for a household lacking spouse abuse. This association was demonstrated in the national sample study (Straus et al. 1980: 115) and is reflected in shelter data (cf., Safman 1983; Gayford 1975).

Violence against non-household members by batterers (including women involved in mutual abuse) was documented for 49% of the spouse abusers. This behavior most often is fighting and more rarely includes destruction of property. This feature of batterers is also reported in shelter data (cf., Gayford 1975; Hofeller 1982).

Age. The average age of people in spouse abuse couples in the study communities and those that used TWC is in the early- to mid-30s (Table 16).

Table 16. Average age of people in spouse abuse couples.

	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>	<u>TWC</u>	
				<u>Village</u>	<u>Bethel</u>
Males	31	37	35	31	31
Females	29	34	31	31	28

Project data illustrate some community variation with spouses involved with spouse abuse being younger in Kotlik. Most women in the study villages, like those who used TWC (Table 17), are under 40. The greater youth of the TWC

women is not an unexpected user pattern in the region. Young women, rather than middle-aged or older women, more often use the shelter. Data from other shelters also document a preponderance of young clients (Safman 1983; Basham and Brothers 1983; Pagelow 1981; Gayford 1975).

People using the TWC shelter came from relationships with an average duration of 7.8 years (N=104); the average length of relationship of couples (N=77) with abuse in the study villages is 10.7 years, suggesting an association of early married life with spouse abuse.¹⁰ Data from the study villages confirm the age-related character of most spouse abuse since among married people it is most often those under 40 who are in spouse abuse relationships (Table 18). This phenomenon was also identified in a national sample (Straus et al. 1980:144).

Table 17. Age characteristics of Individuals in Abusive Relationships.

	Under 35		Under 40	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Village Sample (Kotlik, Emmonak, Hooper Bay)	73%	61%	73%	67%
Bethel Shelter (TWC)				
Bethel (N=71 females, 68 males)	87%	75%	93%	88%
Village (N=69 females, 64 males)	77%	61%	87%	78%

Table 18. Relationship of Age to Spouse Abuse.

% of Total Marrieds In Spouse Abuse Relationships	Kotlik	Emmonak	Hooper Bay
Under 40	20%	48%	59%
Over 40	7%	20%	19%

Children. Couples with abuse do not differ much from those without in having a child at home (Table 19). Differences can be related to the greater youth of couples with abuse.

Most couples with abuse have less than six children at home (86%) although several households (7%) have eight or more. This contrasts with couples with abuse in the national sample (Straus et al. 1980:179) where abuse was not reported for large families (6+ children). In the villages, the proportion of large families (20%) with abuse is not significantly ($\chi^2=3.46$; $p < .06$) different than that of smaller families with abuse (34%). Further, spouse abuse does not increase with each additional child as in the national sample. Families at greatest risk in the villages have only one child (of families in this category, 42% experience spouse abuse in contrast with 28% of those with two children).

Table 19. Children living at home and spouse abuse.

<u>Couples</u>	<u>Couples With Abuse</u> <u>(N=77)</u>	<u>Couples With No Abuse</u> <u>(N=179)</u>
With minor children only	70%	45%
With minor children and adult children	22%	38%
With adult children only	1%	8%
With no children	6%	10%
	<u>99%</u>	<u>101%</u>

Household types. The distribution of spouse abuse reflects the overall frequency of household types in each village (Table 11), with most abuse occurring in nuclear households (Table 20). Likewise, the average size of households with domestic violence (Table 21) is similar to that of those with-

ent abuse. The smaller household size of TWC users from Bethel probably reflects the younger age of these women who we presume have fewer children.

Table 20. Residence patterns of households with spouse abuse.

Type	Kotlik	Emmonak	Hooper Bay
Nuclear	91%	97%	73%
Extended	9%	3%	27%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 21. Household size of households with spouse abuse.

	Average Household Size for Couples With Abuse (Range)	Average Household Size for Couples Without Abuse
Kotlik	4.9 (2-13)	5.1
Emmonak	5.3 (2-11)	5.5
Hooper Bay	6.1 (2-14)	6.6
TWC:		
Village (N=65)	4.9 (2-13)	
Bethel (N=63)	5.2 (2-8)	

Education. The educational status of males and females in spouse abuse relationships is similar (Table 22) in the project communities with the majority having some high school education but very few having any college. Other studies indicate a relationship between lower educational status (i.e.; exposure to high school and no college) and spouse abuse (cf., Hofeller 1982; Safman 1983; Straus et al. 1980). As far as we know, however, the educational status of most people under 40 in these villages does not differ from that of people in spouse abuse couples. Village females using TWC illustrate an educational profile nearly identical to that of abused women in the study villages (Table 22).

Interviews in the villages about high school discovered that some young people had been abused in dating relationships in high school, especially at a regional boarding school. Women expressed the sentiment that they were "so in love" that they tried to overlook the problem. Some reported that the boys had been severely mistreated at home, a rationale proffered for male behavior and female acceptance of it. No one we talked with had reported any incident to the school authorities because of a sense of loyalty to the abuser.

Table 22. Educational status of individuals in couples with spouse abuse.

	Combined Villages		TWC	
	Females (N=77)	Males (N=77)	Village Females (N=34)	Bethel Females (N=29)
Less than High School	22%	22%	21%	14%
Some High School	77%	73%	73%	79%
Some College	1%	5%	6%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Employment. Village economies are complex since households use diverse strategies to meet their needs (Wolfe 1981) and assumptions about employment patterns that make sense for the larger society are not always applicable. Although possession of a full-time, year round paid position might be assumed to bring in more cash than a seasonal position that earns money, this is not necessarily the case in villages, especially those in the delta where commercial fishing can provide considerable income. For example, earnings from commercial fishing in a sample of 18 families from Emmonak ranged from nothing to \$34,320, with a mean of \$5,521 (Wolfe 1981:140). This was a low year for Emmonak but a skilled energetic fisherman was still able to do well. The mean for 14 families in Kotlik in the same year was

\$19,716 (Wolfe 1981:140). Earnings from commercial fishing in both communities could easily exceed that of a salaried position in the village. It might also be assumed that a person with a part-time (seasonal) job spends more time at home than a person with a full-time job. However, given the role of subsistence activities in the villages, part-time employment complements heavy subsistence activities and a person with this kind of wage employment may not be home as often as a person with full-time employment. This would be an interesting pattern to examine in light of the data from Emmonak discussed below. However, since we have such limited economic information, no firm conclusions will be drawn about the association of varied employment patterns with abuse.

Employment patterns for the Emmonak sample in many ways do not distinguish couples with abuse from those without abuse (Table 13). Most male abusers, like most men in couple relationships, work and the majority in both categories have seasonal employment. Most women in abusive relationships, like most women in couples, do not work. Couples with abuse more often rely on male labor for cash than those without abuse but the difference in abuse between the proportion of couples with this employment pattern and those with both spouses working is not statistically significant ($\chi^2=0.64$, $p < .42$). Although the majority of men in abusing couples work seasonally, men with full-time, year round employment are more likely to be abusers. Of those in this employment category, 48% abuse, compared to 32% of men with seasonal employment or 30% of men with seasonal or no employment. However, the differences in employment categories (full-time, part-time, unemployed) in terms of abuse is not statistically significant ($\chi^2=2.68$ $p < .26$). This data contrasts somewhat with that of the national sample where part-time work or unemployment were associated with abuse (Straus et al. 1980:150).

Table 23. Employment characteristics of couples in Emmonak.

	Couples with Abuse (N = 33)	Couples with No Abuse (N = 62)
Woman Employed	36%	40%
Woman Employed full time, YR	21%	27%
Woman Employed seasonally	9%	5%
Woman is Sole Worker	6%	5%
Man Employed	91%	84%
Man Employed full time, YR	33%	19%
Man Employed seasonally	58%	65%
Man is Sole Worker	61%	48%
Woman and Man Employed	30%	36%

Residence at marriage. Although the majority of women in each village (55%-73% in the three communities) involved in spouse abuse were born in the village they now reside in there is no statistically significant difference in the proportion of women being abused who reside in their natal village compared to the proportion of those who have married in.

Family. A striking feature of people in abusive relationships (N=154) in the study villages is the high degree of family involvement, with 40% of the individuals (N=62) having at least one other primary relative also in a spouse abuse relationship (Table 24). The other relative is nearly always a sibling.

Table 24. Family relationships between couples with spouse abuse.

Percentage of individuals in spouse abuse relationships with at least one primary (parent/sibling) relative also in the sample of couples with spouse abuse.

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Males & Females</u>
Kotlik	64%	36%	50%
Emmonak	27%	33%	30%
Hooper Bay	39%	55%	47%
Total Sample			40%

The appearance of so many related people in the sample reflects the fact that all sets of kin in abusive relationships in Kotlik and 67% in Emmonak and 87% in Hooper Bay were born in their present community and have extensive kin relationships in the village. The large number of sibling sets (24) suggests immediately the possible significance of a past history of abuse in the parental homes of these siblings. We tested for this factor in the sample of siblings. However, we judge our data to be incomplete since it relies on the memory of research participants, many of whom were children during the critical time periods, in contrast with that on current abuse which is derived from direct observation of recent events by adults. As best we can tell, about one-third (38%) of the sibling sets for whom we have data (21) were raised by a spouse abuser. However, another one-third were raised in a home where at least one parent was a problem drinker. Given the high association of alcohol abuse with spouse abuse and violence in general, discussed below, it is a fair assumption that many of these people also observed a violent parent and that family history was a significant factor in the involvement of these sibling sets in abuse.

In order to test further for the significance of the role of exposure to spouse abuse as a child in the formation and/or maintenance of a spouse abuse relationship as an adult, we compiled data from the three villages on all individuals currently or formerly in a couple for whom we had family history and marital history. The sample of individuals (N=386) is larger than those in a couple sample (N=177 couples or 354 individuals) we were able to define since we had incomplete background information on one partner in 16 couples.

Men from violent homes were 1.5 times more likely to abuse a spouse than men not from violent homes (64% compared to 42%) and this difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2=7.03$, $p < .01$). This factor was not statistically significant for women ($\chi^2=2.28$, $p < .13$). Couples with spouse abuse,

compared to those without, nearly always (70%) have one spouse from a home where a parent was abused and the difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2=8.14$, $p<.01$).

The association of spouse abuse in a parental home and the subsequent development of the pattern by adults raised in these homes, suggested by studies of special populations (cf., Gayford 1975; Gelles 1976), was confirmed by the national sample study (Straus et al. 1980:100). In this study, like that of Pagelow (1981:168-169), it is significant only for men. The only other data on Alaska Natives is from a shelter population. This report documents a much greater family exposure to violence of battered native women (63%, compared to battered white women (48%). The pattern was the same but stronger for male batterers in the sample (Basnam and Brothers 1983:8).

Alcohol. Analysis of data on the drinking behavior of individuals in spouse abuse relationships indicates a nearly perfect relationship between the involvement of alcohol abuse and this violence (Table 25). All males, but four, and all females who abuse their spouses are problem drinkers. Of the exceptions, three of the men are said to abuse their wives only when drinking. In spite of this, respondents were unwilling to classify these men as problem drinkers (see below). From our perspective, we consider them problem drinkers but for the purposes of this study prefer to rely on village classifications. One male abuser is not known to drink. Another man who is a problem drinker also batters when sober. Given the nature of our data, it would be unwise to claim that none of the other men abuse their wives when sober, although this was the view of the research participants.

Table 25. Proportion of people in spouse abusing relationships who are problem drinkers.

	<u>Spouse Abusing Couples</u> <u>% of Problem Drinkers</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Kotlik	100%	9%
Emmonak	100%	30%
Hooper Bay	85%*	39%**

*Three more batter only when drunk raising the percentage of alcohol involvement to 94%. One is a non-drinking victim whose wife is a problem drinker.

**One abuses her husband.

TWC clients also report a high involvement of alcohol abuse with spouse abuse incidents. During the study year, 92% of village clients (N=62) and 95% of Bethel (N=61) clients reported that alcohol abuse was always (61%, 52%) or sometimes (31%, 34%) associated with abuse. We believe self-reports on this subject are not particularly reliable due to the reluctance of people to have this information recorded on a state form. Because of this, and based on our data from the study villages, we suggest that alcohol was involved more often, especially for village clients, than reported.

Data for Alaska Native clients from an Anchorage shelter also illustrate a high association of alcohol abuse with spouse abuse with 67% of abusers always using alcohol when violence occurs and 86% having used alcohol during the last violent incident, according to their victims (Basham and Brothers 1983:8)., A fair number of Alaska Native women using this shelter (29%) reported always using alcohol during violence. In this village study, female problem drinking was significantly associated with abuse in only one village (see below). Some studies of shelter or other non-random populations also report a high association of problem drinking with wife abuse (Safman 1983; Bowker 1983; Roy 1977; Gayford 1975).

Analysis in the project communities demonstrates that while not all couples with one (or both) spouse abusing alcohol are characterized by domestic violence, a high percentage are (Table 16). Further, the association of male problem drinking among married males in all three communities and spouse abuse illustrates a nearly perfect relationship in Emmonak ($\chi^2=63.81$, $p<.01$) and a high association in Kotlik ($\chi^2=49.34$, $p<.01$) and Hooper Bay ($\chi^2=36.37$, $p<.01$). Analysis of female problem drinkers, compared with other married females, also demonstrates a high involvement in an abusive relationship in Emmonak ($\chi^2=11.82$, $p<.01$) but an insignificant association in Hooper Bay where there are proportionately more married female problem drinkers in non-abusive marriages. The Kotlik sample of female problem drinkers was too small for statistical analysis.

Data were gathered on the drinking status of the rest of the adult population, age 16+, in each community in order to examine the relationship between alcohol abuse and domestic violence. The same methodology as that described for the collection of information on domestic violence was used to obtain information on drinking behavior. The definition of "problem drinker" status was based on local perspectives of what constitutes problem drinking and it was found that views in Kotlik and Emmonak paralleled very closely those discovered in our earlier study in Hooper Bay (Shinkwin and Pete 1982). Problem drinkers are individuals who seek alcohol, drink often, and drink until they are drunk or "pass out." In these villages, the status of a person's drinking behavior depends on his/her recent behavior from the point of view of the observer. The concept of an alcoholic as a person who will always have a problem with alcohol is not employed in these communities, except by people who have experienced a treatment center or participated in an alcohol program where this concept is taught (Shinkwin and Pete 1983).

Table 26. Characteristics of couple problem drinking.

Problem Drinking Couples	Couples with Problem Drinking	
	Percent with Both Spouses Problem Drinking	Percent of Problem Drinking Couples With Abuse
Kotlik (N=14)	14%	79%
Emmonak (N=43)	30%	77%
Hooper Bay (N=40)	50%	73%

Table 27. Extent of problem drinking in village populations.

	Problem Drinkers			
	% of Males (age 16+)	% of Females (age 16+)	% of Total Population (age 16+)	% of Total Households
Kotlik	20%	3%	12%	25%
Emmonak	34%	9%	33%	47%
Hooper Bay	38%	12%	26%	54%

Table 28. Statistical comparison of the extent of problem drinking in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay.

	χ^2	p
Kotlik Emmonak	10.67	<.01
Kotlik Hooper Bay	18.02	<.01
Emmonak Hooper Bay	1.29	<.5-.2

Table 29. Percentage of problem drinking households with more than one problem drinker.

	Percent
Kotlik	4%
Emmonak	14%
Hooper Bay	43%

Comparison of the extent of problem drinking in the villages illustrates a rate in Kotlik slightly higher than the proportion of adult problem drinkers reported nationwide with that of Emmonak and Hooper Bay roughly three times greater than the national rate (Table 27). The difference in the magnitude of drinking in Emmonak and Hooper Bay, compared to Kotlik, is also statistically significant (Table 28). These differences are partly reflected by the higher percentage of households in Emmonak and Hooper Bay with multiple problem drinkers, a serious problem in Hooper Bay (Table 29).

The clear association of problem drinking with domestic violence is part of a larger picture in each village where violence in general is associated with problem drinking. Although we have not tabulated every reported incident of violence in the communities over the study year, according to interview data from village police and the magistrates nearly all violence is alcohol-related. In addition, according to our data a very high percentage of problem drinkers were regularly involved in violence, most often fighting (Table 30).

In each village, the larger proportion of male problem drinking, compared to female problem drinking is statistically significant (Kotlik: $\chi^2=16.44$, $p<.01$; Emmonak: $\chi^2=32.95$, $p<.01$; Hooper Bay: $\chi^2=37.97$, $p<.01$). Male problem drinking in all the villages is also an age-related phenomenon characteristic of younger men (Table 31). The behavior of single, young, male, problem drinkers illustrates a clear pattern of violence in each village (Table 32), while young (and older) male problem drinkers who are married commit violent acts in the home as well as outside it. Although the data presented here describe a static system since they represent a slice of time (the study year), limited longitudinal data suggest that problem drinking, especially for males, develops early and often before marriage. With marriage, spouse abuse occurs.

Table 30. Violence among problem drinkers.

	Problem Drinkers		
	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Total Percent of Problem Drinkers Involved in Violence	71%	72%	66%
Type of Violence			
Non-domestic only	32%	22%	33%
Domestic only	18%	23%	21%
Non-domestic and Domestic	21%	28%	13%

Table 31. Relationship between age and problem drinking.

<u>Age Groups</u>	Problem Drinkers		
	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Percent of all Males			
age 19-40	29%	49%	34%
age 41+	15%	34%	22%
Percent of all Females			
age 19-40	5%	12%	11%
age 41+		7%	12%

Table 32. Characteristics of problem drinkers involved in non-domestic violence only.

<u>Characteristics</u>	Problem Drinkers		
	<u>Kotlik</u>	<u>Emmonak</u>	<u>Hooper Bay</u>
Under 40	100%	100%	83%
Male	89%	95%	100%
Single	100%	89%	97%

Marriage is not statistically significant as an indicator of problem drinking status for males except in Emmonak ($x^2=8.31$, $p<.01$). It is highly significant for females in Emmonak ($x^2=7.40$, $p<.01$) and Hooper Bay ($x^2=23.08$, $p<.01$) where the samples of female problem drinkers are large enough for

statistical analysis. It is noteworthy that although there are couples where the husband is the sole problem drinker, married female problem drinkers in each village are only found in households where the husband is also a problem drinker, with one exception. This finding is consistent with that we reported for a fourth village in the region (Shinkwin and Pete 1982:318). Our interpretation that problem drinking by women is not tolerated in marriage unless the husband is also abusing alcohol is strengthened by these data which illustrate one example of the power of males in the marriage relationship. Without question, many female problem drinkers began abusing alcohol in reaction to their husband's excessive drinking and abuse. Ultimately, the wife develops a drinking problem as serious as her husband's.

Given the strong associations of alcohol abuse with spouse abuse, it can be expected that spouse abuse should cease once alcohol abuse stops. Although we have limited data, it appears that this is usually the case. An examination of the drinking behavior of 13 non-abusive couples from the study villages known to have been characterized by alcohol-related spouse abuse in the past revealed that 80% of these couples no longer contain a problem drinker.

As noted earlier, child abuse and spouse abuse appear to be related. All cases of child abuse known to us, but two, involve alcohol abuse. Child neglect, such as lack of supervision or provision of regular meals, also characterizes a large number of households with spouse abuse during drinking bouts, as well as other households with problem drinking; however, our data are not complete enough to warrant statistical treatment.

Alcohol-related parent abuse, or regular threats to parents causing them to leave the house, is a more serious problem in Emmonak and Hooper Bay (8% and 11% of total households respectively) than in Kotlik (4% of total households) and this behavior is always alcohol-related. In contrast

to child abuse, only one of the 21 households reported to have problems with parent abuse also contains a spouse abuser.

Summary. In summary, the study demonstrates a high degree of spouse abuse in all three villages, compared with one nationally representative sample. Spouse abuse is 2.3 to 2.4 times higher in Emmonak and Hooper Bay, compared to Kotlik and this difference is statistically significant. Most individuals in spouse abuse relationships are young (under 40), have children, live in nuclear households, and have a high school education with no college. In these characteristics, as well as the average size of their households, people in spouse abusing relationships do not differ significantly from married people who are not experiencing violence. Employment patterns are similar except that more households with spouse abuse rely solely on the husband for cash and more abusers are drawn from the ranks of full-time, rather than part-time employees. Analysis of residence at marriage indicates that residence patterns do not predict spouse abuse status. A fair number of people in violent marital relationships also have at least one other relative also in such a relationship. In part, this is related to the fact that most of these sets of individuals reside in their natal village. The relationship between male involvement in spouse abuse and a prior family history of abuse is clear.

Clients that used TWC during the study year were very similar in their characteristics to abused women in the study villages, although they tended to be younger and a slightly larger proportion had attended college.

In each village, many more males than females abuse alcohol. Male problem drinking is strongly associated with violence--non-domestic violence

for young unmarried men, domestic violence for married men of all ages, some of whom are also violent outside the home. TWC data also indicate the alcohol-related nature of spouse abuse.

Female problem drinking in Kotlik is extremely rare. Females who are problem drinkers in Emmonak and Hooper Bay tend to be married and, with one exception, are always married to a problem drinker. Abuse toward children is strongly associated with spouse abusing households, contrasted to parent abuse, and these aspects of domestic violence are also alcohol-related. The greater extent of problem drinking in Emmonak and Hooper Bay, compared with Kotlik, is clearly the major factor in the greater magnitude of spouse abuse in these two communities.

VI. SPOUSE ABUSE: MANAGEMENT: 1982-1983

Individual and Family Response

Victims. The most common response of women to incidents of spouse abuse, according to all our interviews, is flight from the home. In most cases, action is not taken until she is seriously threatened or actually injured, although in a few households women leave as soon as drinking approaches what they perceive to be a dangerous level. Some women are forced to leave by their husbands who physically eject them or lock them out.

A woman's decision to leave home is not easily made. Women, in general, do not want anyone, including close relatives, to know about their domestic problems. In spite of the fact that battered women are visible in these villages, victims often say they thought they were the only persons with problems of violence in the community. Since women do not own or operate the main vehicles of transportation and often do not have fare for an air ticket, the decision to leave results in exposure outside the household of what are viewed as painfully private matters.

Weather permitting, a woman may sit outside her house or take long walks in the village, returning home when she judges the situation to be safe, i.e., when the husband has passed out from intoxication or left the house. During night-time attacks, or if injury has occurred, women go to the home of a consanguineal relative if such an alternative is available. The woman without close relatives in the community is in a particularly vulnerable position. She might go to an affinal (in-law) relative, although it is not preferred, or to a friend. In a very small number of cases known to us, if abuse is prolonged women arrange to leave the village

for an extended stay (e.g., 2 weeks) to visit a close relative. According to our data, these are usually women without a close relative in their community of residence. Women who are regularly victimized also arrange to travel to Bethel to escape home by volunteering for assignments to village committees that travel or by scheduling medical/dental appointments for themselves or their children.

According to our respondents, the relative of choice to whom a victim goes for help is nearly always a female--a mother, sister, daughter. We did not notice this sex distinction during the fieldwork, perhaps because of our own familiarity with the popular image of a woman "going home to mother." Subsequently, we were surprised during analysis of our data on where women regularly go during times of crisis to discover that, in the view of the respondents, women indeed go home to their mother. Not a single person said that a woman goes home to her "parents" or to her "mother and father," in spite of the fact that there are fathers in some of these homes. This use of language when referring to the helping relative of a victim, as well as the actual choices women make about where to go when in danger, highlight the reliance of women on each other (relatives or non-relatives) as help-mates and protectors in these villages. Conversely, it reflects an unwillingness on the part of women to ask men for assistance. We believe this is an important and complex point in understanding the perpetuation of domestic violence, a point involving relationships between men as well as relationships between women and men, and we will return to it later.

Some of the households that harbor endangered women also contain people who are or formerly were involved in spouse abuse. However, this factor was

never mentioned by respondents when describing where particular victims go and we do not think it relevant to a victim's decision, unless drinking is occurring in that home also. The practice of going to a relative is consistent with social life in these communities where the closest social ties, manifested in daily visiting, are with one's consanguineal family and this consideration outweighs any other in selecting a safe refuge.

Children also leave home during incidents of spouse abuse, usually at the point when violence begins. Some leave with the mother; others leave on their own. Like their mothers, they "run to a relative," as our respondents all described. For example, one young adult, raised in a home with wife abuse, recalled how frightened she and her siblings were when her father began drinking and picking on her mother, a regular prelude to physical violence. As she related, the children would stay in bed, as quietly as possible, until they judged the situation too threatening to stay. Then they would run as a group to a relative. After a while, they learned to leave their shoes by the door in the winter.

It is our observation that similar strategies are used by families in Bethel, although for some the situation is more desperate if there are no relatives or close friends in their immediate neighborhood. Women and children from violent homes in Bethel, like those in villages, establish safe homes, often relying on contacts from their home village if they are new residents in Bethel.

In two violent homes in Bethel, observed during the course of the study, children assumed considerable responsibility for taking care of each other, and sometimes their mother, during crisis situations created

by their intoxicated fathers. In one home, a teenage daughter was interviewed. We believe the sense of responsibility and loyalty to family, evidenced by this young woman's behavior, as well as her statements about her home situation, are typical for many female children in the region.¹¹ In this household, crisis situations develop due to drinking at least once a week. This teenager and her older (teenage) sister have devised strategies to assist their mother, such as hiding all sharp objects, including the axe, as soon as their father begins to drink and the older sister attempts to physically subdue her father's attacks on her mother. During evenings when drinking is occurring, these young women take the younger children and visit homes in the neighborhood in hopes that drinking will slow down at their home. If not, they seek a place to sleep from a relative or friend. They prefer to stay home and going elsewhere is a last resort from their point of view. During prolonged drinking, we observed the teenage daughter staying home from school, watching her parents who were passed out, and caring for younger children, who were too tired or too young to go to school.

In recent years, the mother in this household has become a problem drinker like her husband and she rarely leaves the home during drinking bouts, unless she is making a trip to a bootlegger. Invariably during drinking episodes, she is beaten. During one particularly violent incident, she was seriously injured by a blow to her head and the children notified a relative who called the police. The battered woman was transported to the hospital receiving sutures for a serious head injury but she refused to stay there or go to the shelter. Although we urged her daughter to use the shelter and to encourage her mother to do so, they only made one visit

to the shelter over a period of 6 months. At this writing, the family has returned to their home village, a favorable move from the point of view of the children, who will now have residence options not as easily available to them in Bethel.

Older sons (late teens, young adult) sometimes attempt to alter a family pattern of spouse abuse by confronting their father. In one case described to us, the father slowly abandoned his abusive behavior toward his wife as a result of his son's verbal harassment. Often, however, fathers do not respond and a son's anger may lead to physical fighting between father and son or the son may purposefully injure himself or attempt suicide. Throughout the region, there are examples of young men shooting themselves because of their parents' drinking and abusive behavior toward one another and sometimes toward the children. During the course of this study, one young man in one of the study villages attempted to kill himself with a gun after failing to alter his parents' drinking and mutual spouse abuse. Older daughters, like their brothers, also occasionally attempt suicide but we have no examples of daughters confronting their father. Although violence toward one's self is a response by older children in or from violent homes in the region, it is exceptional. More often, the response is to temporarily leave the home.

In summary, there appears to be a pattern for female children to assume nurturant roles toward their siblings in times of crisis and for young adult males to attempt to produce change through confrontation tactics. Occasionally, young adult males and females resort to self-induced physical injury or attempted suicide as a response to a history of family violence.

Parents who are experiencing abuse, or threats of abuse, from their children use the same strategies as those described for women and children

in homes with a violent husband/father. Like wives, parents are reluctant to involve other people in their family problems but they will seek refuge with a close relative, usually a child living in another residence if this option is available.

During the study year, one-fifth (21% or 16 women) of victims identified in this study from the project villages used TWC. Most users were from Hooper Bay. In Emmonak, an additional six women identified as victims used the Emmonak shelter, raising the total percentage of women in the study communities who used a shelter to 29%. Few used the legal system, as discussed in the next section. However, several (4 women or 5% of the total) requested injunctive relief orders against their husbands or signed criminal complaints against their abuser (6 women or 8%).

Relatives of Victims. Interviews with consanguineal relatives of victims, living in houses other than that of the victim, indicate that the major extent of their involvement is to apply pressure on the victim to remove herself temporarily from personal danger. Relatives also sometimes call the police to intervene in a battering incident if they know about it. In Emmonak, relatives have sought assistance for victims from shelter personnel. Relatives do not encourage women to separate from their spouses because of their religious conviction that marriage is a permanent relationship. For example, we heard a mother trying to persuade her daughter, who was considering separation from her very violent spouse, to remain with her husband. The conversation in Yupik included many references to the daughter's responsibility for her children. Near the conclusion, the mother, switching to English, urged her daughter to "remember your marriage vows."

According to our data, male relatives rarely attempt to pressure male consanguineal or affinal kin to alter their abusive patterns. Several male respondents reported that men often express the notion that beating is sometimes a necessary action in controlling the behavior of women although we have no quantitative data on how widespread this attitude is. One male respondent, after considerable deliberation, asked his son-in-law to stop hurting his daughter who had been coming home to escape attack. The discussion, in the presence of the son-in-law's brother, accelerated into a verbal fight. Subsequently, the son-in-law's brother filed a complaint against his brother's father-in-law who ultimately paid a fine. Although this is an extreme example, and an unusual case of attempted direct intervention by a relative, it illustrates the potentially antagonistic nature of the relationship between affinal males in these villages. The response of the son-in-law and his brother was no doubt enhanced by the fact that, unlike them, the father-in-law has no close relatives in the village, other than his wife and daughter.

Relatives who regularly receive women and children who are fleeing from their homes complain of the discomfort and upset occasioned by the middle-of-the-night intrusions, although none would deny assistance to a victim. Husbands sometimes follow their wives and attempt to retrieve them but the usual response of relatives is to refuse to answer the door or to deny the presence of the woman.

In summary, response to spouse violence most often is to leave the home. Relatives provide support to victims but rarely attempt direct intervention. Few women leave their village unless they have no close relatives in their community. Approximately one-third of the total victims in the sample used a shelter and several took legal measures to protect themselves.

THE LAW

Data on the extent of legal involvement in the management of domestic violence were gathered through interviews with village police in each study community and with the magistrates in Emmonak and Hooper Bay.

Police data are not complete enough to warrant quantitative treatment but the role of police here, like elsewhere (cf., Under The Rule of Thumb), in managing domestic violence has not been high in our judgment. Although police are sometimes called by a victim, or her relative or neighbor, domestic violence incidents are particularly embarrassing for both police and the family due to their long familiarity with one another. They are even more sensitive if the policeman is related to one of the parties involved in violence. In addition, in the recent past in two of the study communities the police were well known for having their own drinking problems and were often difficult to find. In one village in this study, in the memory of many people, a policeman assisted a battering husband in beating his wife who had decided to respond in kind to her husband's habitual physical violence, an act that hardly recommended the police as a source of help for a battered woman.

Criminal charges. In Emmonak, five men since 1979 were charged with assault (third or fourth degree) or disorderly conduct by their spouses. One other was charged for parent abuse by the parent and a sibling of the assailant. In Hooper Bay, during the study year, five men were charged with assault (primarily fourth degree) of their spouses--four by the police and one by the victim. Of the ten men identified in the records in the

two villages, all but two are included in our sample of spouse abusers. According to follow-up interviews, they were excluded because of their youth (under 20) and the anticipation that their relationships were short-term. Since the policeman in Kotlik was new, we did not obtain much information but, as far as we could tell, no criminal charges involving domestic violence were processed during the study year.

In interviews, respondents stressed the reluctance of village people to sign complaints about anything, and if complaints are signed, they are often withdrawn. Domestic violence cases are perhaps more uncomfortable than other types of violations for the reasons mentioned above. In addition, women fear reprisal from their husbands, a problem common to most women in these circumstances. Further, in these Catholic villages where marriage is viewed as a sacred and permanent relationship and where a wife's duties to her husband and family are often emphasized, women view formal legal action as an act of disloyalty even to a very violent spouse. As one woman, who was formerly battered, commented to us during a discussion about signing complaints, "to hurt your hubby is like hurting yourself."

Although Alaska law (AS 12.25.030) permits arrest for violence within the family by a peace officer who has reasonable cause for believing a crime has been committed, few arrests are made. Police action in signing complaints is discouraged by the attitude of victims who do not want charges filed against their husbands. In a recent case in Emmonak, a woman wept and begged the police to destroy charges they planned to file against her husband who had severely beaten her (and who has a history of abusing his wife). As it turned out, she had nothing to fear since the charges were dismissed by the district attorney in Bethel no doubt due to the unwillingness of the wife to cooperate and the fact that the husband planned to deny the charges.

Finally, although Alaska law (AS 18.05.520) dictates that police, when responding to incidents of domestic violence, should inform victims of the nearest domestic violence program and of their right to injunctive relief, and give them a form outlining these matters, as far as we know this procedure is either not known or ignored.

Civil charges. Since 1980, it has been possible in Alaska (AS 09.55.600-09.55.640) to petition the superior court for injunctive relief (emergency 20-day, or 90-day with possible, limited extensions) in cases involving domestic violence and magistrates can grant temporary emergency relief orders. Although no petitions were filed in the Bethel court in the first months of the law (September-December 1980), the court received, on the average, 44 requests in 1981 and 1982 (Table 33). Individuals making requests were primarily married (72%) although one-fourth were cohabitators and a very small percentage* (3%) filed against a former spouse. Of these individuals, 18% have since filed for divorce.

No petitions for injunctions against non-"spouses" were filed in 1981. In contrast, seven requests in 1982 and 4 in the first quarter of 1983 were processed. Nearly all (8 out of 11) were injunctions requested by a parent(s) against a son.

Table 33. Injunctive relief petitions (spouse abuse only) filed in the Bethel Court.

Year	Village		Bethel		Combined Total Requests
	Total Couples	Total Requests	Total Couples	Total Requests	
1981	14	15	21	35	50
1982	13	13	20	25	38
1983*	2	2	8	8	10

*January-March

According to the magistrate in Emmonak, no requests for injunctive relief were made in her jurisdiction. One emergency order (parent abuse) was granted by the magistrate in Hooper Bay. One other request (spouse abuse) was made but the petition was dropped the day before the hearing.

Bethel court records on domestic violence injunctions (48 cases) requested for spouse abuse were examined for the study year (1982-1983). The majority (65%) of spouses seeking relief, not unexpectedly, were from Bethel. The only couples petitioning more than once in 1982 are Bethel residents who have more direct access to local assistance and the court. One village resident filed twice in 1981. Nearly all petitioners (98%) were women and most (95% of all petitioners) were Yupik. All but three (of 43) have children or were expecting a child (2 cases). The one male petitioner was non-native, filing against his wife, who had already filed against him.

The majority (75%) of requests were for both an emergency order and an extension. There were no notable differences between village and Bethel residents in the type of request made to the court (Table 34). Emergency orders were nearly always granted (79%) to both village and Bethel petitioners.

Table 34. Type of injunctive order request (1982-1983).

<u>Type</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N=15</u>	<u>Bethel</u> <u>N=33</u>
Emergency Order and Extension	73%	76%
Emergency Order Only	13%	18%
Injunctive Relief Only	7%	6%
Unknown type of request*	7%	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

*Incomplete file.

In contrast, requests for extended relief were less often finalized (44%), especially those made by Bethel residents (one-third granted compared to 2/3

of village requests) since a large proportion (68%) were dropped by the petitioner before the hearing or the petitioner did not appear in court. Requests for monetary support were rare but more common in the Bethel sample (25% of requests compared to 13% of those in the village sample).

Nearly all requests cited current physical abuse and every case cited either current or past physical abuse, much of which was severe as the two following quotes from court records demonstrate.

While drinking and arguing started, my husband told me he was going to pop my eyes out and he threatened to kill me by choking on my throat. I got a bite mark on my arm (left). I have bruises on my face when he tried to pop my eyes out and also on my throat. I was admitted to the hospital for observation and treatment.

I was threatened by my husband that he would beat me up on my face till I couldn't see and he threw dishes and other objects and physically abused me on my back while I was still in bed. I was afraid for my life and my children's also because this isn't the first time he has threatened and abused me and my children. At one time he was so angry he had intentions of killing me with an axe while I was asleep. At one time in the past I've had him arrested because he had a loaded gun pointed at my chest. I had carefully removed the weapon away from my body and when I did so he fired the gun. The bullet hit the floor under the bed. He's always under the influence of alcohol when these things have happened.

Women often mention abuse of children as the factor that drives them to court, in spite of a history of severe physical abuse directed at themselves.

Nearly all (95%) petitioners received assistance from TWC staff in the process of making a request to the court and most were accompanied by a staff member at the hearing. Ninety percent of the women petitioners also stayed at TWC's shelter (or a safe home) for one or more nights. Interviews with TWC staff members indicate that they counsel women on their options, including legal procedures such as injunctive relief. Staff emphasize that the decision to seek court action is always solely

the client's decision since a major thrust of TWC's approach is to encourage women to become decision-makers. From the staff's point of view, injunctive relief allows a couple "time out" from domestic strife, to think about their problems and try to find solutions. TWC legal advocates who accompany women to court also always try to talk with the husband to explain their role and the potential role of injunctive relief in managing domestic violence. The high involvement of TWC in the injunctive relief process in the region is related by the staff to the referral process operative among state agencies which channels women in trouble or women seeking legal advice about domestic violence to TWC. From our point of view, it also suggests that the injunctive relief process is not well known to the general public and, if known, may not be used in the absence of legal advocacy services.

Unfortunately, we were not able to follow-up on injunctive relief orders to determine how effective they were in managing family violence. According to TWC staff, in most cases that they are aware of, the abusing husband has been responsive to the court order. In a "handful" of cases, men have not honored the court order and several used economic measures to punish their wives, such as having all the utilities in their home cut off. In general, TWC staff feel strongly that this new law has given women a much-needed option and one that encourages women to become responsible decision-makers in the process of learning to cope with or solve severe marital problems.

In summary, although legal remedies for domestic violence exist, few are exercised by victims as demonstrated by the fact that only 10% of the abusers identified in the three study communities had criminal charges filed against them and only 5% of the battered women sought injunctive

relief. Police on the village level are reluctant to become involved in family problems and often have their own problems. Victims often do not support the police when they do act, refusing to sign complaints, or withdrawing petitions for injunctive relief orders.

THE SHELTER APPROACH

Tundra Women's Coalition, Bethel. The Tundra Women's Coalition (TWC) in Bethel is a regional shelter serving Bethel and 19 villages in southwest Alaska. The shelter, and its associated services such as counseling, a crisis line and community education and outreach programs, developed like others in the United States (cf., Pagelow 1981; Schechter 1982) as the result of a determined movement of a small number of women, beginning in 1976. The initial impetus was concern about rape and for three years a small cadre of women worked with the police and doctors in Bethel to assist rape victims. They also maintained a crisis line in the home of one woman in the group. In January 1979, a five-bed shelter was opened in a quonset hut in downtown Bethel, with the support of the City Council who arranged leasing of the structure and funding from the state and the federally supported Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (Tundra Women's Coalition Newsletter, Volume 1, No. 4). In March, 1983, TWC opened the doors of a new, state-funded, 10,000 square foot building, housing the 18-bed shelter, a resource center, displaced homemaker's program, and a 22-bed hostel.

During the study year, based on records from TWC from March 1982-March 1983, the shelter housed 168 victims of domestic violence, 108 children accompanying their mothers, and 33 rape victims (21 from village incidents). In addition, 12 male batterers received counseling (Table 35).

Table 35. TWC clients: domestic violence only (March 1982-March 1983).

<u>Victims of Domestic Violence</u>	<u>Total Number of Clients</u>		
	<u>Village</u>	<u>Bethel</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Wife Abuse	70	71	141
Husband Abuse		2	2
Parent Abuse*	4	5	9
Sibling Abuse**	4	2	6
Daughter Abuse	5	5	6
Aunt Abuse		1	1
Granddaughter Abuse	1		
Not Identified	2		
Total:	84	84	168
<u>Male Batterers: Counseling</u>	4	8	12
<u>Children with Victim of Domestic Violence</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>108</u>
Total:	145	145	288

*One male is over 65.

**Includes one female abuser.

Female victims of spouse abuse (84% of the shelter sample) who used the TWC shelter during the study year were equally drawn from Bethel and the surrounding villages (Table 35), with the village sample representing a proportionate increase from previous years from about one-third to one-half of the shelter users. These clients and other victims of domestic violence came from 31 (63% of the villages in the region: Appendix I). However, a much smaller number (7 or 23%) of villages supplied one-half (52%) of all village clients suffering from domestic violence. Of these seven, five are among the six largest villages in the region. Although we had expected that villages closer to Bethel might be the source of most village users, the two with the highest use (Hooper Bay and Chevak),

supplying almost one-fourth (24%) of village clients, are located near one another on the shores of the Bering Sea in one of the more distant reaches of the region. The next two villages with high use are in the Kuskokwim area (Kwethluk and Tuluksak).

The majority of battered women using the shelter were Yupik (91%) and went there because of physical abuse (87% of the village sample; 80% of the Bethel sample). Of these, 57% of the village people and 75% of those from Bethel also reported mental and emotional abuse. Nearly all (98% of village sample, 97% of Bethel) had suffered repeated abuse prior to coming to the shelter.

Analysis of how women entered the shelter was hampered by missing data on the reporting forms, especially for the Bethel sample (Table 36). In addition, our inability to control for the history of continuing clients probably inflated the proportions of self-referrals since women often come to the shelter on their own after an initial encounter prompted by another person. Hence, although it appears that more Bethel women, compared to village women, are self-referrals the nature of the data precludes any such conclusion. What is clear from the data is the significant role of personnel in agencies providing health care, social services or law enforcement in referring both village and Bethel women to the shelter (Table 36). It is also important to note that, as far as we can tell, about one-half of the referrals of village women are made by people contacted in the villages, such as police, troopers, and health aides; the other half are from individuals in Bethel.

Table 36. Source of TWC domestic violence clients: wife abuse only
(March 1982-March 1983).

REFERRED BY:	Village Sample (N=62)	Bethel Sample (N=54)
Self	37%	53%
Law Enforcement Officials	16%	20%
Alaska Legal Services	2%	2%
Health & Social Services Agencies	37%	17%
Priest	2%	
Other relative	3%	4%
Other client	2%	
Friend		2%
Employer		2%
	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The majority of battered women who used TWC during 1982-1983 were new clients but a substantial (44%) proportion were continuing, having been in the shelter in a year prior to the study year as well as during the study year.

Most new and continuing clients used the shelter once (one visit) during the study year (Table 37). Multiple visit users during the year tended to be continuing clients (Table 37) with a much smaller proportion of new clients in this category. One-fourth (26%) of women who used the shelter used its legal advocacy services and filed for injunctive relief orders.

Table 37. Shelter use (March 1982-March 1983).

	<u>One Visit</u>	<u>Two or More Visits</u>	<u>Total</u>
New Clients			
Village (N=43)	91%	9%	100%
Bethel (N=36)	89%	11%	100%
Continuing Clients			
Village (N=27)	71%	30%	101%
Bethel (N=35)	57%	43%	101%

Until the Emmonak shelter was opened in December, 1981, TWC was the only facility in the region available to women in crisis from domestic violence or rape. Hooper Bay anticipates opening a shelter this year and Alakanuk operates a safe homes program. Although other villages have requested information from TWC about village programs, at this writing as far as we know only three more (Mountain Village, Scammon Bay, King Salmon) are seriously exploring the development of either a safe homes program or a shelter.

Emmonak Shelter. Organized efforts to deal with family violence on a community level in Emmonak began late in 1980 due to the activities of a small number of women (about 10) who formed the Emmonak Women's Shelter Committee. The female magistrate in the community played a key role in assisting in the development of what grew to be a small but determined grassroots women's movement directed at attacking domestic violence.

The idea of providing a community shelter to women and children was suggested to the magistrate by a battered woman in the village who had been a client at TWC. She was without close relatives in Emmonak and therefore felt she had limited options when endangered. Since the first regional women's conference, sponsored by the Alaska Commission on the Status of Women, was scheduled to meet in Bethel in October, 1980, the magistrate used this occasion to publicly ask for assistance. A letter written by her, accompanied by the signatures of 14 women and 3 non-Yupik men, was submitted to the conference by one of two women from Emmonak who attended the regional meeting. According to this letter,

Friends, family, and teachers usually offer shelter to those who have cause to flee their homes which is a decent human act. But that usually endangers them. Most of the time, too, families

are large and houses are too small. That causes discomfort to all parties involved. Also women and children spend hours out in the cold, with no place to go or are scared to go knock on someone's door. Private homes and families also cannot offer a lasting solution. We could go on and on with reasons why we need a shelter.

A representative from TWC travelled to Emmonak in early January, 1981 in response to the petition presented at the women's conference. Two meetings with City Council members were held on January 5 and 6. About 20 people, mostly women, attended the January 6 meeting. Although the city manager questioned the need for a shelter and reminded the council that it was not one of its priorities, testimony was strongly in favor of the idea. The magistrate spoke at length, estimating that most Emmonak women (90-95%) are beaten or have been beaten, and other women and one man contributed positive support in their comments for a shelter. After some discussion, the City Council granted the Shelter Committee the use of the old community building for a shelter. They also donated one year's supply of fuel oil and \$1200 they had received from the District Court from a bootlegging conviction the previous summer.

Since the building designated as the shelter by the City Council required extensive repair and preparation, a safe homes program was developed by the Shelter Committee to function during the interim period. Throughout 1981, about seven homes, including several of non-native residents, such as teachers and the Catholic nuns regularly harbored endangered women and children.

Initially the police and magistrate cooperated in the placement of a victim. However, in one instance the policeman got drunk and told the husband where his wife was and a chase ensued. Due to the quick action of two households in the program, the woman was successfully hidden but program participants were understandably alarmed. As a result, during the rest of the year placement was handled only by the magistrate. Unlike

safe homes in some communities, the identities of the Emmonak homes were not hidden. With the exception of the incident described above, however, no one had any serious problems. Like relatives who harbor victims, safe home families would deny any knowledge of the whereabouts of a woman and refuse admittance to a pursuing husband.

The formal cooperation of households in the program provided the magistrate and police an opportunity to offer victims residence options not previously available to them. In addition, it relieved the victim of the responsibility of making her own arrangements during a time of stress. However, people in the program voiced the same concerns as those reported above by individuals who house their relatives. Major concerns were the constant fear of confrontation with a pursuing male, interrupted sleep, and the added expense of feeding extra people which in some households became particularly burdensome. In addition, it was the assessment of the Shelter Committee that there were just too many victims for the system. The safe home approach in Emmonak was viewed as a temporary arrangement and the experience of the program encouraged the Shelter Committee to continue its preparation of a community shelter.

By December 1981, the former community hall was judged ready for occupancy and two young women moved in as part-time resident counselors, receiving \$50 a month plus room and board. The building had been prepared primarily through volunteer assistance from Emmonak residents; TWC donated an oil stove for cooking and heat. Resident counselors were responsible for maintaining the building, including hauling water and managing the "honeybucket," as well as counseling and assisting shelter clients.

The shelter was open until April 1982 when money for salaries, food, and utilities was no longer available. During summer 1982, the building

was rented and the money (\$800) received was applied to fuel and food when the shelter re-opened in October with state funding (\$25,000), channelled through TWC, and two new staff members. Problems with the oil stove developed making it impossible to adequately heat the building. A new wood stove was purchased with TWC money and installed early in 1983. Due to improper installation of the wood stove, creosote was deposited throughout the building making it a hazard to occupy the shelter and it was closed again for most of January. Since this time, the shelter has been open but for varying periods of time. During the study year, 8 victims of spouse abuse and 9 children used the shelter. One victim was from a neighboring community.

Recognition of the inadequacies of the shelter building led the Shelter Committee to request assistance from the city in obtaining a new structure. Although the initial City Council grant of the building and money had been for an "experimental one year program," the council has continued to support the committee's efforts to establish a functioning shelter. In November, 1982, the City Council applied for a Rural Development Assistance (RDA) grant for \$100,000 to build a new structure as a shelter. This grant application was supported by the Tribal Council's decision to request a transfer of funds (\$30,000) they had received from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for renovation of the old community hall to the construction of the new shelter. At this writing, the RDA grant has been received and the new Emmonak shelter should be built in Fall 1983 and open by March 1984.

Women who staff the shelter are members of the Shelter Committee and they participate in policy-making decisions affecting the shelter. Thus far, women hired as staff have been young (under 25) and major administrative

responsibilities such as bookkeeping have been assigned to other young women on the committee. Staff members and other members of the committee (hereafter, both referred to as committee members) have participated in workshops at TWC since 1981 and a week's structured job training experience was offered to committee members in 1983. In addition, a technical assistant, hired as a consultant to TWC, visited Emmonak three times since September 1982 to work with the committee on administrative procedures.

According to staff and committee members, administration of the shelter has been a serious problem. The former and current staff, due to their youth, lack experience in management and record-keeping and the problems that have plagued the building would have been a challenge to more experienced individuals. Staff are part-time but feel like they are "on call" all the time since there are no alternates. Women have volunteered to help but no structure has been established to accommodate volunteer work on a regular basis.

Interviews with committee members indicate that they are comfortable in their roles as counselors with abused women and that their participation in TWC workshops has been critical in preparing them for this responsibility. Consistent with the philosophy of most shelters in the country (cf., Schechter 1982), they see their role as that of a support agent or facilitator, assisting women to achieve their own self-defined goals. Due to their strong religious beliefs, they, like other women in the community, firmly believe in the permanence of marriage. An overriding goal of all the women involved with the shelter is to provide safety to endangered women.

Activities of committee members have not been limited to work within the shelter. They have publicized the shelter and had announcements made

at Mass about Shelter Committee meetings that are open to anyone interested. At one recent, important meeting, the committee brought together the village police, members of the City Council, and visitors from TWC in a public presentation on domestic violence, including information on options available to women legally. Committee members have also counseled women in settings other than the shelter, lending support by walking with them, having coffee at the cafe, or visiting with them at home.

Interviews with committee members and other people in the community indicate that there is still considerable confusion in the village about the role of the shelter. Members and others report that women are interested in coming to the shelter and ask questions about it but fear public exposure through gossip if they use the facility. They are "scared of talk." Victims also say "I'm not that bad," indicating a common reluctance to admit to domestic problems of any severity. Some victims have reported that their husbands have threatened them with severe retaliation if they go to the shelter. In more than one case, the presence of the shelter has acted as a deterrent to a husband who fears his wife will use the facility. Some women commented that the youth of the shelter staff is a deterrent to victims who would feel more comfortable with older women "with more experience." In general, however, everyone we talked with felt that, with time, more women would feel comfortable about going to the shelter when in danger.

Village unfamiliarity with the concept of a shelter for women and children, that not only protects their physical security but their identity, has made involvement with the shelter difficult for women on the Shelter Committee. Some have experienced verbal abuse from other women about their support of the shelter. They have been "teased" that

the shelter is really for them. For example, one member, whose deceased husband used to beat her, was told, "it's your shelter; if your husband were alive, it would be your shelter." Committee members realize that this teasing misplaces the responsibility for abuse by blaming the victim and they also recognize that the motivation for these comments is often fear on the part of the speaker that people will discover she is beaten. Participation in this movement has not been easy.

Committee women have received support from male relatives who perceive a need for the shelter. In general, however, while men have not harassed them they have been noncommittal about the project. Women on the committee indicated that they did not know what men thought in general due to the fact that they do not regularly talk to men about issues of domestic violence, or, in fact, about many other things.

Nearly everyone we talked with in Emmonak was in support of the shelter, although women were much more verbal than men. Representatives of formal institutions in the village, such as the Village Council, Parish Council, Tribal Council, the police, magistrate, and priest expressed a need for the shelter and support for it. They also envision the shelter as a service facility for nearby villages (Alakanuk, Sheldon's Point, and Kotlik).

Women in the shelter movement seemed unaware of what appeared to us to be fairly widespread support. They expressed in subtle ways what we perceived to be a sense of isolation and a felt lack of support. Some of the discouragement is related to problems associated with the building and unpleasant personal encounters such as those described above. In addition, some is related to the fact that communication patterns in the village do not provide channels by which the committee women might receive verbal reinforcement for their activities.

Hooper Bay Shelter. Hooper Bay plans to open a shelter for women and children in Fall, 1983. The development of their approach, like that in Emmonak, has been the result of the determined efforts of women. However, in this community only two women have been involved and the structure of the "program" as it is currently envisioned is considerably different from that of the Emmonak shelter.

The intent of the City Council has been to house the shelter in a portion of the former Roman Catholic church. They recently renovated the church to accommodate the shelter and a day care center on the second floor and arranged to rent it for \$100/month. However, since the renovation the building failed to pass a safety (fire) inspection and discussions are underway now to find another location. The shelter and day care programs are part of a general social services program structured by the City Council, financed by municipal funds (\$22,500 for the shelter and \$50,000 for the day care center) saved by the city over the past two years.

A male director of social services has been hired to handle the day care program and the shelter. Positions for the day care program, funded by the city, include two attendants and a cook who will work during the day. No positions are planned for the shelter, although a request for financial assistance was made to TWC by the city manager. As we understand it, the current view of the City Council has been that women who want to use the shelter will have to locate a person with a key to the structure (day care personnel, and the alcohol program counselor).

The emphasis in the social services program appears to be on the day care center, which the council anticipates will be self-supporting in a year. The inclusion of a shelter in the overall program has been due to

the continued quiet, lobbying efforts of two women in the community--a City Council member and a health aide. In interviews with people in the community, we found that very few people had any idea that a shelter was associated with the day care center but everyone knew that a day care center was about to be opened.

Alakanuk Safe Homes Program. During the course of field work, we learned that Alakanuk had a safe homes program. As a result, we sought contact with people in the community who were associated with it. Our data are limited to interviews with two women who are involved in its operation.

The program was developed in Fall, 1980, due to the efforts of the female alcohol counselor, whose position is funded by the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation (YKHC) and who recognized a need for an organized approach to domestic violence. While visiting neighboring Emmonak, she met the TWC representative who was there to work with the Shelter Committee and invited her to come to Alakanuk to talk with people about a shelter. After discussions in Alakanuk, the local alcohol board decided to develop a safe homes program rather than a shelter. Men on the board voiced concerns about the safety of women in a shelter and others felt that staffing might be a problem.

Initially the police would contact the alcohol counselor or a member of the alcohol board and an endangered woman would be placed in a safe home. Although the number of available safe homes varies, about 11 homes have participated in the program. As in Emmonak, after an incident when the policeman got drunk and revealed the location of a hidden woman to her husband who was his relative, the committee decided that one committee member would be responsible for all placements and would have sole knowledge

of a woman's whereabouts. This person is the non-native wife of a non-native minister in the village.

The program enjoys the support of the City Council and there are current plans to request financial assistance from the council to prepare "food bags," including diapers as well as milk and food, for the receiving homes who now absorb the expense of additional people. According to our data, a need for a safe home occurs two or three times a month. The role of the minister's wife is viewed as ideal since she is not related to anyone in the community.

Apparently there is some support for beginning a shelter in Alakanuk and this alternative is often discussed. At this writing, however, there are no concrete plans to abandon the safe homes approach.

In summary, the shelter approach to dealing with domestic violence is focused in Bethel in this region and village women have become increasingly involved as users of TWC's services in the last couple years, through a referral process that directs them to TWC. Two villages have functioning programs; one has one that is imminent and three others are exploring ways to begin a program. The Emmonak shelter, one of two village shelters in Alaska that have been funded by state money, has had a difficult start due to the lack of a decent building and trained staff. The organization of this shelter, including its origin has been solely the work of a small group of very determined women who have drawn on TWC for emotional as well as financial sustenance. The presence of a shelter is well-known in the village. However, victims are reluctant to use it. The concept of a shelter where a woman can be secure and her identity protected is not yet accepted. The idea of the Hooper Bay shelter was also that of women; but in this case

a very small number (two). Its organization, however, has been given to a male director and at present it lacks any visible grass roots support such as that exhibited by women in Emmonak and very few people are aware that a shelter may become available in the community. The Alakanuk safe homes program, a compromise apparently between members of the local alcohol advisory board, appears to be functioning and, according to its organizers, is satisfying the needs of the community, although there appears to be some sentiment for a shelter.

VII. DISCUSSION

The Problem. Research in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay demonstrates that wife beating is a problem in each community, especially in Emmonak and Hooper Bay where about one-third of couples experienced severe abuse in the year preceding research (Table 13). The one available nationally representative study, conducted by Murray Straus and colleagues (1980), reports 16% of the 2,143 couples in the sample experienced spouse abuse during one year's time. This abuse was more broadly defined than that studied in the villages, and included less severe acts (such as throwing things). Higher rates of spouse abuse have been recorded for smaller non-random samples (cf., Gelles 1974). In general, researchers have argued that national rates are probably closer to one-third of all couples experiencing abuse every year, with lower rates reflecting methodological problems (Straus et al. 1980:48). Severe wife abuse of the sort documented in the villages characterized 3.8% of couples in the national study. In comparison with a national sample then, this kind of wife abuse is four to ten times greater in the study villages than in the population at large.¹²

In the villages, mutual abuse is rare and husband abuse, in the absence of wife abuse, is nearly non-existent (Table 14). In contrast, nationally, it has been reported that severe husband abuse (4.6% of couples) exceeds similar abuse of wives and that nearly one-half (49%) of couples with abuse reported, mutual abuse (Steinmetz 1978; Straus et al. 1980). These national study findings have been severely criticized (cf., Russell 1982; Pleck et al. 1978; Dobash and Dobash 1979) and subsequently the original investigators substantially modified their conclusions (Straus et al. 1980). In spite of well deserved criticism of the original reports, the national study does

suggest a fair degree of husband abuse since it showed nearly equal proportions of husband and wife abuse of a less severe nature. Although more abuse of husbands in the villages may have been recorded if less severe acts had been considered, it seems likely that there are significant differences between village populations and the larger society in the degree of husband abuse and this is unquestionably the case for severe abuse.

The high level of wife abuse in the villages supports the finding of Straus et al. (1980:128) that minorities have higher rates of domestic violence, compared with whites. A study of law enforcement data in Anchorage, which lacks a comparison group, also indicates overrepresentation of incidents involving Alaska natives (Johnson et al. 1983). However, our village study just as importantly demonstrates that between minority communities, even those with a common cultural heritage, there can be considerable variation since wife beating in Kotlik affects 2.4 fewer women proportionately than in the other two villages. Although there is this difference, it must be emphasized that there is still a high level of wife abuse in Kotlik compared with the national sample. From our personal perspectives, there is no level of wife abuse that is tolerable. However, several studies have shown that there is support in the national society for some sort of limited, occasional, wife abuse as a mechanism of control in marriage (Straus et al. 1980:47; Gelles 1974; Stark and McEvoy 1970). In the study villages, this sentiment certainly exists.

Kotlik, with its lower level of spouse abuse differs from Emmonak and Kotlik, primarily in its small size and its isolation. Although we need more comparative data, it may well be that small size and isolation contribute

to a more effective functioning of local systems of social control. We know that not all small villages in the region are free from serious problems of wife abuse but we suggest that size and isolation are variables that may prove to be important in understanding community variation in social problems. Income data suggest that residents in Ketlik have had more access to cash in the last few years than those in Emmonak and Hooper Bay. However, given the significant role of subsistence activities in contributing to the standard of living, it is hard to know, without more data, how important this variable is in distinguishing these community contexts. In fact, the variable is not well defined in this study due to its complexity and our lack of time to research it thoroughly. Comparison of other dimensions of community contexts, such as local historical factors, marriage patterns, features of the demography, does not reveal anything useful in understanding variation in the magnitude of spouse abuse. Unquestionably, the immediate and most obvious cause of the lower degree of spouse abuse in Ketlik is this community's lower level of problem drinking.

In all the villages, spouse abusing couples usually have a high school education, minor children at home, a male spouse employed part-time, and live in nuclear households. In these characteristics, as well as their youth, spouse abusing couples are like those described in the national sample (Straus et al. 1980) and in shelter studies (cf., Safman 1983; Basham and Brothers 1983; Gayford 1975). However, these sociodemographic features do not distinguish couples with abuse from couples without abuse in the villages even though they are predictive of abuse in couples in the larger society.

The activities and background of the male member of a couple separates village couples with abuse from those without. A man who abuses is employed,

most often drawn from the ranks of men employed full-time, year-round, and has a non-working wife. He was probably exposed to spouse abuse in his home as a child and he is a problem drinker. Females with abuse, compared to those without, do not illustrate a profile significantly different with the exception that females in Emmonak with a drinking problem are often found in couples with spouse abuse.

Employment patterns for villages are difficult to interpret, as noted earlier, and our information is limited to one village. Although most men who batter are seasonally employed, of men who work full-time, year-round, more abuse their wives than those in the seasonal or unemployed ranks, although the difference is not statistically significant. This is an area that deserves much more attention than we can provide especially since it contrasts somewhat with the finding of Straus et al. (1980:131) that men with part-time or no employment are more often found in violent homes than men with regular employment.

Exposure to spouse abuse as a child is an important factor in becoming involved in spouse abuse as an adult for men in this study. These findings echo those of other research (Straus et al. 1980; Hofeller 1982; Pagelow 1981; Gayford 1975; Gelles 1974). This variable seems to be particularly important among minority male Alaskans according to our research and that of Basham and Brothers (1983).

One study of a small non-random sample found that men with a family history of abuse tended to be more severe in their abuse of wives than those without this background (Hofeller 1982:132). This is interesting and may be reflected by this research and that of Basham and Brothers (1983) considering the severity of abuse in these study populations and the high degree of family history of violence.

The maintenance of a violent relationship in the study villages is supported by people's perceptions of the Catholic church's position on marital separation. Two other studies (Hofeller 1982; Snyder and Scheer 1981) report that Catholics tend to remain in violent marriages longer than members of other religions. We do not have data on the length of violence in the abused couples identified in this study. Therefore, we can only speculate that the greater magnitude of violence, as measured over one year's time, compared to that reported nationally, is due, in part, to the fact that violent relationships are rarely dissolved. Nationally, couples with a religious affiliation less often had abuse than those with no religion and the study found no significant difference in the expression of spouse abuse between religions (Straus et al. 1980:138).

In this study, 95% of abusers are problem drinkers and respondents insist that wife beating incidents are alcohol-related. We found a strong statistical association of male problem drinking in couples with spouse abuse. The only statistics similar to these are reported from the Anchorage shelter study by Basham and Brothers (1983) for Alaska Native clients. In this shelter population, a much larger proportion (86%) of Alaska Native abusers, compared to non-natives (56%), were using alcohol during the battering incident that brought women to the shelter. In contrast, a recent study in Anchorage of people involved in domestic violence (including non-spousal) who were processed by the municipal prosecutor's office found a much lower involvement of alcohol (37%), based on police observations. The sample was predominantly non-native (Johnson et al. 1983:101).

Our data indicate that most male drinking behavior in Yupik villages is structured and patterned. Young men learn to abuse alcohol and learn to

fight while drunk. Women talk about the way men drink and will make comments like "he drinks like a man" meaning "he fights." Young unmarried male drinkers are involved in violence outside the home. Married male drinkers, young and older, engage in wife beating. Drinking and physically assaulting people are both fairly widespread behaviors in the villages for drunk men, especially young men. The wife of a young man who is drinking at home has an excellent chance of being hit.

Results of studies of alcohol involvement in abuse from outside Alaska, taken as a whole, are somewhat equivocal with about one-half of women relating alcohol abuse by their spouse to their physical abuse (Gayford 1975: 195, 196; Walker 1979:25; Gelles 1974:111). However, one recent report (Safman 1983) on two shelters states that 85-86% of abusers were violent when drinking, based on victims' statements. In contrast, another study of a non-random sample found that although 90% of batterers were heavy drinkers, only 20% were always drunk when violent (Hofeller 1982:80). Given the high percentage of heavy drinkers in Hofeller's violent sample, the involvement of alcohol may have been greater than reported. All data on the relationship of alcohol and wife abuse derive from studies, such as these, which are based on an examination of special populations without good comparison groups. These samples are also all, or nearly all, white.

The populations in this study differ dramatically from those examined in the available research literature in terms of the relationship between alcohol abuse and wife abuse. Although we have not demonstrated that every incident of spouse abuse occurs when the perpetrator is drunk, there is good reason, based on quantitative and qualitative data, to suggest this is very nearly the case. In fact the role of problem drinking in wife abuse in each village is staggering.

Our findings and those of Basham and Brothers (1983), without question, demonstrate the significance of alcohol in wife abuse for minority Alaskans. It is unfortunate that we do not know the group breakdown of Anchorage Alaska Native clients but, given its location, it can be assumed that some clients are Athabaskan Indians. We suspect that family violence in Athabaskan communities or households may differ in form somewhat from that in Yupik Eskimo villages. In spite of a possible difference, it may be that problem drinking in these settings is a major factor in family violence as it is in the Yupik region.

The severity of abuse recorded in this study may well be related to the alcohol-related nature of the violence. This connection is suggested by several studies that found the most severe violence related to alcohol abuse (Walker 1979:25; Hofeller 1982:126-7; Cayford 1975:100; Basham and Brothers 1983:8). In the Anchorage study, over one-half (59%) of abuse suffered by Alaska Native clients, most of which was alcohol-related, was severe in comparison with 39% of abuse of non-native clients where the abuse was less often associated with alcohol.

Researchers working outside of Alaska have argued that the role of alcohol in spouse abuse is that of a precipitator and that is is not a primary cause. According to this line of thinking, alcohol abuse per se has no explanatory value in understanding battering since a drunk person has many options, only one of which is beating his wife. In a thoughtful discussion of the issue, Gelles (1974:117) argues that intoxication is an excuse for behavior that the drinker desires to pursue. It creates "time out" or an environment in which the abuser is not responsible for his behavior. It also provides the family with an explanation for violence since other members do not have to believe there are any problems, beyond

based on romantic love, a troublesome concept for people in spite of its popularity in American society. Residence changes put men and women together. They also played a major role in loss of control by older men over younger men. These changes created conditions that permitted violence between the sexes to develop.

Alcohol was increasingly used by the 1940s and became a major form of recreation for many men and some women. Through time, male drinking became associated with violence to others and sometimes toward one's self. Although the variables responsible for the development of this relationship between drinking and violence are unknown today, and can only be speculated on, this pattern of drinking became part of village culture in many portions of the region by mid-century. In our view, most men who hit women did so because they were there and because sanctions against hitting women were ineffective. In large part, we relate the magnitude of drinking and domestic violence, compared with the larger society, to an even greater absence of sufficient sanctions to control anti-social behavior than found in non-village settings. With diminishing family control, but persistence of the sentiment, and the introduction of a legal system unsuitable to family governance, attempts at social control in Yupik villages are often stalemated.

Problems in controlling behavior, especially of young men, are perhaps most difficult in the larger villages such as Emmonak and Hooper Bay. It is harder to monitor behavior and the context includes many more contending local families than in smaller villages. High incidence of problem drinking such as that found in Emmonak and Hooper Bay can be predicted for other large communities in the region, although high levels are not restricted solely to large communities. It would be important to examine some small

the drinking behavior of the batterer. In another interesting and important discussion, Russell (1982:156-166), drawing on an unpublished paper by Irene Frieze, suggests that the association of drinking with wife beating is a complex one and should not be viewed as a single phenomenon. Drawing on Frieze's distinction and her own data, Russell describes a category of men who beat when drunk but are otherwise very nice people when sober, according to their wives. In a contrast category, wives describe batterers who are not nice sober or drunk. Russell suggests that alcohol can probably be viewed as the main cause of abuse in the first category but not in the second.

Most batterers in the villages seem to fall in the first category of drinking abusers, described by Russell, and we view their violence as alcohol-related. Nearly all are characterized by their wives and others as wonderful people who become "different" under the influence of alcohol and our own observations of these men, although limited, support this view. Interestingly, wife batterers in the past, described by elders as unusual in their behavior are also described as "mean-hearted people." Several men identified as abusers in this study fall in this category but they represent a small minority, according to respondents' descriptions.

In this study, the "folk" explanation for family violence insists that problem drinking is the "cause" and people relate the development of family violence in the region to increasing access to alcohol. Like other researchers who have looked at the issue, we do not suggest that alcohol abuse is the underlying cause of wife beating in the villages. However, it is most definitely the immediate cause, and apparently much more so than in other populations.

The association of increased alcohol use with the development of domestic violence in the Yupik region, emphasized by residents, is viewed by us as very reasonable. However, the growth of the custom of beating one's wife is more properly associated with the introduction of western institutions that disrupted the traditional structure of relationships between men and women as well as traditional mechanisms of social control. Review of the history of institutions relating to marriage, the family, and male-female interactions highlights the association of western beliefs and social arrangements with abuse of women in a domestic setting. Further cross-cultural research can be expected to elaborate these culturally prescribed institutional connections, just as such study has demonstrated the significance of certain cultural configurations in the incidence of rape (Sanday 1981).

Traditionally, separate work arrangements and separate residences for males and females, ideological beliefs reinforcing male and female separateness, and an option of separation in marriage in Yupik society operated to inhibit the development of conflict between the sexes and to manage it when it occurred. The strong emphasis on one's consanguineal family, in contrast with affinal kin, created a program for living that was supported by the weak marital tie. Family government functioned effectively to control men's behavior through the institution of the qasgiq. Claims by older people in the region that domestic violence was exceedingly rare in their youth are easily believed.

In this century, with the acceptance of Christianity, the religious support for the separateness of the sexes disappeared, the male-dominant nuclear family was established, and, in Catholic villages, people lost the right to leave a bad marriage. Arranged marriages were replaced by those

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communities with problems similar to those of Emmonak and Hooper Bay since our only other field research in a smaller community (Shinkwin and Pete 1982) revealed a drinking profile similar to that of Kotlik. The isolation of Kotlik has also contributed to its lower drinking levels since it is harder to obtain liquor than in the larger villages, both of which have at least one other village close-by.

Although this study found a strong association between a history of abuse in a man's home as a child and his later involvement in abuse, it is our opinion that exposure in one's home is not a necessary precondition for violence towards women as an adult when a person grows up in a community where the practice is widespread. Surely it becomes an option to men in marriage in spite of the fact that people insist and may believe fervently that wife beating is bad. Since the custom is well established in two communities in this study and significant in the third, it seems to us that only very radical measures will alter the pattern. The same conclusion has been drawn in sociological analyses of wife abuse in American society.

Management. Attempts to manage wife beating, by and large are those of the wife involved with the notable exception of the shelter movement in Emmonak. Women in the study communities rely heavily on other women to assist them when in crisis. These women are nearly always relatives. In contrast, friends are nearly as important as family to victims in one non-random sample studied in Wisconsin (Bowker 1983). However, like battered women in the larger society (cf., Martin 1976; Walker 1979), village women internalize their problems and feel embarrassed about their victimization even though they are not responsible. Many feel they are the only person with violence. This is astonishing since the practice of beating up a

woman is certainly known in the villages and women can be seen with visible evidence of their injuries. This inability or reluctance to process what you know in such a way that it applies to yourself, as a woman, emphasizes the power of the system within which woman oppression operates. It also reflects the effect of battering on the psyche which often leaves a woman helpless to think or act independently of her abuser (cf., Martin 1976:154; Walker 1979:174).

Women in the study villages rarely dissolve a violent relationship. The profile of a woman who stays in abuse that emerges from the sociological literature is one with no employment, low educational status, and prior victimization as a child (Gelles 1976; Kalmuss and Straus 1982). A recent fine analysis, based on the national sample, illustrates that a woman who is economically, or "objectively" as the authors say, dependent on her husband will endure even severe abuse since her options are so limited (Kalmuss and Straus 1982). This study supports this conclusion. Village women have extremely limited options since most are unemployed and have not much education. If they have married a man from their natal community, like so many women in Hooper Bay have, most of their experience as an adult has been circumscribed by that village. In addition, many women are emotionally bound to their village because of strong family sentiment. These factors are especially important for middle-aged women, some of whom rarely use English, but they also apply to many younger women.

Two studies have cited a woman's affiliation with Roman Catholicism as a factor in her remaining in a violent marriage (Hofeller 1982; Snyder and Scheer 1981). From the point of view of respondents in this study and

our own observations, religion plays a major role in the objective reality that ties women to violent men in the Catholic villages.

Intervention by men, relatives or nonrelatives, on behalf of a battered woman is rare, although male relatives will certainly supply refuge. This same lack of direct intervention by relatives has been reported for one non-random sample in Wisconsin (Bowker 1983:76) where only 8% of families of victims directly intervened even though about three-fourths of the victims had told their families about their abuse. We believe male involvement in the villages (familial or not) is limited since it would upset the delicate political balance between families achieved by men. In addition, women do not ask men (relatives or non-relatives) for help as far as we know. Like women in the larger society, they assume blame for the violence and try to hide it.

Few studies have looked at the role of clergy in the management of domestic violence although several report general disinterest by clergy in getting involved (cf., Hofeller 1982; McGlinchey 1981). One short, but very fine, article by a former nun (McGlinchey 1981) who works in a shelter in New York City reports that through her counseling she became aware of the negative role some churches play with regard to women in crisis. According to her, many clergy support the norms of the larger society by making women feel responsible and guilty for the violence they suffer. She argues that few clergy are sensitized to the problems of battered women. Further, she introduces some data that suggest that women rarely share their religious concerns with counselors unless the counselor is a self-identified religious. For this reason, she suggests the role of religion in the plight of a battered woman is often overlooked.

Local clergy in the study villages or in the region certainly do not support domestic violence. At the same time, they have not aggressively attacked these problems publicly in the study villages and in one village in the region, it is alleged the Catholic priest does not support the safe homes program. Whether this is true or not, it is the impression of people running the program. Clergy will be participating in a workshop on domestic violence at TWC, Fall 1983, and this is an opportunity for a new involvement. We suggest the church, above all other institutions, in Catholic villages can make a difference in the present domestic violence situation and this is probably true for other villages (and other religions) in the region. A public attack on the problem as well as private counseling and advocacy in support of battered women, as suggested by Medlineney (1981), would be a welcome beginning.

Management of battering through the legal process is rare in villages as it is in the society at large (Paterson 1979; Under the Rule of Thumb 1982; Bowker 1983). Ten percent of the males identified as abusers in the study had criminal charges, associated with wife abuse, filed against them. Police, in general, in the villages avoid domestic violence incidents primarily because of personal reasons (kinship relationship or long-time friendship). Preliminary findings from a recent study of police actions in domestic violence situations and their effect on recidivism, six months later, suggest that arrest of batterers may be an effective approach to reducing violence (Criminal Law Reporter 1983). Unfortunately, village police have not always represented a reliable resource due to drinking problems.

In our view, police, like clergy, must play a more active role in dealing with domestic violence. District attorneys must not drop charges

if there is good evidence that criminal action has occurred even if the victim is an unwilling witness. Although we understand the pragmatic concerns that lead prosecutors to choose not to pursue cases without the support of the victim, a negative decision on prosecution clearly supports family violence. The experimental program recently initiated in Anchorage by Assistant Municipal Prosecutor Mike Marsh illustrates the significance of communicating to abusive men that they will not escape legal sanction for their behavior (Tundra Drums, Aug. 18, 1983:40). Legal sanction, as exercised by this office in 1982, more often than not resulted in disposition conditions in concluded cases directed at modifying the behavior of the defendant by requiring entry in a treatment program for alcohol abuse or a shelter program for violent men (Johnson et al. 1983:105).

Injunctive relief actions are very rare with only 5% of abusers identified in the study restrained from their homes through this process. Given the major role of TWC in the region in filing petitions, use of this management mechanism in the villages can be expected to remain minimal in the absence of local assistance. The enforcement of such an order in a village might present even more formidable problems than in Bethel or more urban areas.

All three communities have exercised their recently won legal right, under Alaska Title 4 alcohol local option law, to ban importation and sale of alcohol in their villages. Hooper Bay has only just passed this ban but it has been in effect in Kotlik and Emmonak since October and November 1981, respectively. According to people in these villages, there is less public drinking and, in this respect, life is better. In fact, drinkers have gone underground; there is more reliance on homebrew and drinking is confined more often to one's own residence. This response may, in fact, have resulted

in an increase of wife beating although we have no hard data on the issue. Importation persists because of a lack of surveillance by police which may or may not reflect community sentiment. In any event, we have no data that suggest that any substantial change in the number of problem drinkers has occurred and we have no reason to believe it will occur if present community conditions persist. We have every reason to believe that if the amount of problem drinking does not drop, the magnitude of wife beating will be sustained and may increase with increasing exposure of young men to this behavior pattern.

Shelters as a response to wife battering are new in western society and have only become available in most areas in the United States in the last eight years (Schechter 1982; Roberts 1981). Their acceptance has not been without struggle (cf., Schechter 1982). The concept of a shelter, which is a voluntary, non-kinship based, organization directed at dealing with problems viewed as highly sensitive by society, by and large headed and run by women, is an especially radical idea viewed within the context of Yupik society. This might seem surprising at first since women regularly seek shelter as a response to violence. However, the sharing of problems with non-relatives, women or not, in your own village is extraordinarily difficult.

Nearly one-third (29%) of battered women in the study villages used a shelter (TWC or Emmonak), an impressive proportion since most had to travel considerable distance to reach the shelter in Bethel. Data from TWC demonstrate that every year more village women are learning about this option. While in the shelter, women also learn how to exercise legal options such as injunctive relief.

The introduction of a shelter to Emmonak was accomplished by women, demonstrating that women can be an effective lobby in a village. However, the personal costs for some of the women involved in the shelter movement have been high. The development of the Emmonak shelter is reason for optimism in looking at the future, but this optimism must be qualified. The shelter is still not fully functional after some 18 months. Its physical plant, however, has stressed the resources of staff and surely has not been inviting to potential clients. Staffing has been a problem. The idea of using a shelter receives mixed reactions in the community which is not unexpected. Whether or not a substantial number of women will use the shelter will not be known until the shelter has been fully operational for a while. The significance of the shelter movement in Emmonak at this point has been its success in forcing the community to publicly recognize problems of domestic violence. The role of TWC has been essential as a support institution and the training and emotional support for staff have been as important as any financial assistance. Exposure to TWC by a battered woman was the initial stimulus for Emmonak's shelter.

As far as we know only one of the batterers identified in this study has participated in a counseling program for batterers. The effect of such participation, without attention to alcohol problems, would probably be minimal. However, it should be tried. Most village men will not be found in these programs without the intervention of the legal system.

Summary Conclusions. The conclusions of this study, like those of other studies of domestic violence, are not pleasant. Wife battering is a

serious problem in all three of the study villages and a particularly serious problem in two where one out of every three couples experience severe violence. The anticipated relationship between problem drinking and domestic violence in Yupik villages is amply demonstrated and may be generalizable to other Alaska Native villages, based on limited data from the Anchorage shelter study (Basham and Brothers 1983). Although alcohol abuse alone does not account for the development of spouse abuse in Yupik society, it is the immediate precipitating cause for severe wife battering today. There is evidence that abusing couples who stop drinking also stop abusing. We believe, without question, that lower levels of problem drinking in the villages will result in less wife beating.

The problem is clearly defined but immediate solutions are elusive. Two communities in the study took legal action to inhibit drinking but the law is not enforced. Enforcement of this law would be an obvious first step. Alcohol education programs exist in the region. In the view of alcohol counselors in villages and our view, this approach has not yet had much effect on reducing the magnitude of village drinking problems (Shinkwin and Pete 1983). Further, we doubt whether educational programs have much effect on young children when they grow up in a community where problem drinking for a substantial portion of the population is a way of life. Treatment programs may hold some promise. However, apparently many alcohol treatment programs in Alaska are over crowded and are not available to offenders prior to trial (Fabe 1983). It can also be presumed they have low attraction for village men,. Further, we are not aware of any hard data on their success in reducing problem drinking after the client returns to the village. It should be emphasized that this study indicates that problem drinking in marriage in Yupik villages appears to be controlled

by men. Therefore, any efforts at incorporating married problem drinkers in treatment programs should be aimed at men, although we are certainly not suggesting that women should be excluded, and some in this study have developed problems as serious as their spouse's. Since there is no reason to believe that lower levels of problem drinking will be achieved in the near future, it is important to look at ways of managing wife abuse when it occurs or is a threat.

The study demonstrates that victims have the primary responsibility for "managing" their abuse. Their primary response is to run away. This action protects the wife but it obviously has little effect on the husband since many of these women have been beaten for years. Similarly, Wisconsin women report that "hiding" had the least positive effect on their spouse among all strategies they used to cope with battering (Bowker 1983:103). Village women are embarrassed to run constantly to relatives and relatives tire of housing victims. At the same time, relatives are reluctant to directly intervene in domestic violence.

Local police do not play a major role in combatting spouse abuse and if they do get involved often the victims will not cooperate. Legal options that women have are not well known or understood and in Catholic villages, like those in this study, divorce or separation are rarely considered. Clergy have not been publicly involved in condemning wife battering. One recent study of police actions in domestic violence cases (Criminal Reporter 1983) suggests that arrest may be a deterrent to future abuse. Further, preliminary results of a new municipal policy in Anchorage forcing women, who have signed charges, to testify against abusing husbands suggest that men respond positively when the legal system transmits a clear message that their behavior will not go unnoticed. This study recommends that village police, with the

support of Alaska State troopers, play a more active role in domestic violence cases. This will be extremely difficult and not achieved without considerable support from outside the village. This study also recommends that clergy in the region become actively and publicly involved in a program to reduce wife battering. Clergy in the study villages should inform their parishioners that Catholic dogma does not demand that a woman endure beatings; that men also have a responsibility to uphold marriage vows. Clergy should occupy active advocacy roles for victims.

The most common form of management of abuse by victims, second to running to a relative, is use of a shelter. TWC data also indicate that more and more village women are aware of shelters as an option. Whether shelters in villages will work or not is still an open question since the Emmonak shelter has not functioned long enough to warrant any definite statements about its success or failure. Exposure to the shelter in Bethel is an important educational experience for women in abuse. Here they learn about options and become aware of the fact that they are not alone. Education of village women (especially young women) at TWC about their rights may be one of the most effective ways of reducing woman abuse. The Emmonak movement reflects the power of education and the effect of exposure of women to TWC. With continuing education and support from TWC, village shelters may develop and flourish as support institutions for women, as TWC does. In the larger picture at this writing, there seems to be no other immediate alternative to shelters in the management of village wife abuse.

III. FOOTNOTES

1. In our earlier research (Shinkwin and Pete 1982), Hooper Bay was referred to as Sea Village. During this project, the Village Council opted for identification in order that other villages be made aware of their current efforts to manage domestic violence, realizing at the same time that their problems would be made public.
2. A longer paper detailing the local history of regional groups in the area is under preparation by the authors.
3. For the purposes of this study, only chi square values with a level of significance at the .01 level are accepted.
4. The adult population in this study includes people 16 and older in order to provide comparative data with our earlier study (Shinkwin and Pete 1982). In that research, it was discovered that problem drinking status in the villages was achieved by age 16.
5. See Ager 1980 for a discussion of traditional and contemporary economic roles of women and men. Her data from Nelson Island are applicable to the region as a whole.
6. See Bogoravlensky 1969 for similar data on Eskimo marriage strategies (in this case, Inupiaq).
7. See Lantis 1946 for a further discussion.
8. Data on sexual assault in marriage or verbal abuse were not gathered. The methodology, described later, did not use self reports which we view as the only legitimate source in any systematic examination of these aspects of wife abuse. Broken arms or black eyes, in contrast, with rape or verbal harassment are easily observed by other community members.
9. A closer description of the research participants is not provided since we guaranteed their anonymity.
10. Average length of relationship of couples with abuse in the villages is based on estimates of length of marriage which were calculated as being one year longer than the age of the oldest child in each marriage.
11. We have no comparable data for male children since the oldest children in families in Bethel or the villages for whom we have this kind of data were female.
12. We have no data on the frequency of violence in each household. This limitation of the study is related to the methodology. We view self-reports as the only reliable source of information on this aspect of spouse abuse, recognizing there are also problems with self-reports, especially underreporting.

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Appendix I. Home villages of TWC Clients: Domestic Violence only
(March 1982-March 1983.)

<u>Village</u>	<u>Total Clients</u>	<u>Spouse Abuse</u>	<u>Male Batterers</u>	<u>Other Abuse</u>
Hooper Bay	13	10	1	2
Chevak	8	5		3
Kwethluk	7	5	2	
Tuluksak	6	5		1
Emmonak	4	3		1
Alakanuk	4	4		
Napakiaik	4	4		
Akiachak	3	3		
Eek	3	3		
Toksook	3	2		1
Scammon Bay	3	3		
Sheldon's Point	3			
Sleetmute	3	3		
Nunapitchuk	2	1	1	
Chefornak	2	2		
Kotlik	2	2		
Russian Mission	2	2		
Marshall	2	1		1
Aniak	1	1		
Napaskiak	1	1		
Kasigluk	1			1
Tuntutuliak	1	1		
Kwigillingok	1	1		
Newtok	1	1		
Mekoryak	1	1		
Mountain Village	1	1		
Pilot Station	1	1		
St. Mary's	1	1		
Upper Kalskag	1	1		
Anvik	1	1		
Grayling	1	1		
Not Identified	1	1		
Total:	88			