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social control practices is far from complete. A hybrid system produced by an integration of traditional Native ways and Anglo-American techniques has evolved in Native communities. It appears that some of the traditional social control methods of Natives have been weakened as a consequence of the integration of traditional and Anglo social control methods; however, new mechanisms have not been established to provide the level or quality of service expected or enjoyed by other Americans.

The concepts, limitations and appropriate uses of Anglo-American law is not adequately understood in Native communities. In some instances state policies are inappropriate or in conflict with the perceived needs and expectations of people residing in these communities. Village officials would like to see laws improved and made more relevant. They would like to ensure that such laws are better administered.

Perceived shortcomings in laws and regulations related to hunting and fishing cause rural residents the greatest concern because of the heavy dependence of these people on such techniques for food and social well-being. There is a widespread impression that state actions in this area are tailored to the biological and environmental characteristics of the species and to the recreational and business preferences of influential groups, while rarely reflecting the biological and environmental characteristics and needs of the rural people whose survival is at stake.

Fundamental survival issues and perceptions of relative well-being exert a heavy influence on the perception of the seriousness of village public safety and justice problems. The increasing importance of a cash economy to Native people living in rural areas, combined with the inadequacies of village economic systems is a crisis situation which urgently needs attention. Exacerbating this situation are the entrenched problems related to alcohol consumption and the rapidly growing problems related to the use of narcotics particularly by local youths.

Interpersonal crimes against persons and public safety problems in Alaskan Native communities seem to be as or more serious when considered on a per capita basis than anywhere else in Alaska and possibly any

other rural area of the entire country. Nevertheless, the village residents' concerns about criminal activity are overridden by their concern about the socio-economic problems of their communities. There is an inclination to view deviate acts as a consequence of alcohol and drug induced weakening of the self-control capacities of basically good community members. Therefore village crime is perceived as being less important than alcohol and drug use. This perception is reinforced by crime statistics which are compiled and presented to the public in such a fashion that the relative seriousness of interpersonal crimes in rural communities vis-a-vis urban municipalities is not apparent. These statistics provide rural residents with incomplete and misleading information about their situations. Further, the mass communication process as it presently operates in Alaska immediately reports and accentuates the crime problems of major urban areas of both Alaska and the lower 48 states while ignoring the village happenings. Since many villages get television coverage of street crime in Philadelphia and Los Angeles via satellite directly from the local newscasts in those cities, village crime seems mild compared to the crime-a-minute presentations offered by these programs.

It is ironic that the seriousness of rural crime is not more fully appreciated by the people most victimized by it. If these affected citizens fail to fully comprehend the extent of the problem, it is not surprising that public officials and people who have infrequent contact with rural communities have less than a complete understanding of its seriousness.

It would be unreasonable to anticipate any substantial investment of public resources to crime and public safety in rural Alaska until the pressing problems in these areas have been more completely defined and articulated throughout the state. The following chapter illustrates, more pointedly, the inadequacy of the present mechanisms for preventing crime and insuring public safety and justice in rural Native communities.

FOOTNOTES

¹ For examples, see Adamson Hoebnel, "Social Controls," Societies Around the World, Vol. 1 (1953), pp. 136-42; Catharine McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic period in Northwestern North America," Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 2 (1965), No. 2, p. 3015; and Hippler and Conn, "Traditional Athabascan Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISEGR Occasional Papers, No. 7. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1972.

² Kalervo Oberg, The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973, p. 130.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A. Hippler and S. Conn, "Traditional Northern Eskimo Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISER Occasional Papers, No. 10. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1973, p. 68.

⁵ Adamson Hoebel, op. cit., p. 445.

⁶ H. G. Gallagher, ETOK--A Story of Eskimo Power. New York: G. P. Pittman and Sons, 1974, p. 38.

⁷ Leopold Pospisil, "Law and Social Structure Among the Nunamiut Eskimos," Explorations in Cultural Anthropology, Ward Goodenough (ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964, p. 397.

⁸ Ibid., p. 423.

⁹ A. Hippler and S. Conn, "Traditional Athabascan Law Ways and Their Relationship to Contemporary Problems of 'Bush Justice,'" ISEGR Occasional Papers, No. 7. Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1972, p. ii.

¹⁰ E. Adamson Hoebel, "Law Ways of the Primitive Eskimos," Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 31 (1941), pp. 663-683.

11 See Initial One Year Criminal Justice Plan for State of Alaska, by Peat, Marwick, Livingston and Co. (May 1969), and Alaska Criminal Justice Plan--1977, by the Criminal Justice Planning Agency, for a comparison of the changes which have occurred.

12 Initial One Year Criminal Justice Plan, p. 5.

13 Ibid, p. 31.

14 Ibid, p. 11.

15 Criminal Justice Plan. Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1978.

16 For example, the Rowan Public Opinion Survey (Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1976) separates opinions from urban and rural cities, but does not separate the opinions of residents of rural commercial centers such as Bethel and Nome from the more remote smaller communities.

17 See Crime in Alaska--1977 (Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1978) for an illustration of the way Alaska crime statistics are reported.

18 John Angell, Village Police Training. Anchorage: Criminal Justice Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, 1978.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC SAFETY AND JUSTICE SERVICES

The State of Alaska attempts to provide a comprehensive, centralized system for public safety and justice to its residents. This arrangement is the result of both design (e.g., the Alaska constitution establishes a highly centralized government) and necessity (e.g., approximately two-thirds of the area of the state has no local governmental entities for the provision of justice services). Most Native villages have over the years been persuaded to incorporate themselves as Second Class Cities to obtain the authority to enact ordinances and participate in state and federal revenue sharing programs. In spite of their incorporated status, these communities often have no appreciable tax base and seldom have sufficient local financial resources for more than the most rudimentary public services. They must rely on the state for financial support and public services.

The state government funds and manages nearly all state and local prosecutorial, judicial and correctional operations in Alaska. Prosecutions are the responsibility of the Alaska Department of Law which is headed by the Alaska Attorney General. District Attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General and assigned regional responsibility. State agencies have been created for defending and offering limited legal services for people who cannot afford counsel. The Alaska Supreme Court has the formal authority for organizing and ensuring support for all judicial activities in the state. The administrative arm of the Alaska Court system serves the Supreme Court by overseeing the administration of court operations throughout the state. Jails and correctional operations in the state are under the Alaska Division of Corrections. Where state jails do not exist, the state is obligated to arrange for either local detention of arrestees or transportation of prisoners to state correctional facilities in urban centers of the state.

Even though basic police operations are primarily the responsibility of local governments, the Alaska Department of Public Safety has comprehensive, state-

wide police jurisdiction and provides a complete range of primary and supplemental police services throughout the state. The Department of Public Safety is the only justice system component which maintains pilots and aircraft for facilitating its ability to provide critical emergency and essential police services to rural areas. The Department's Division of Alaska State Troopers has over the past twenty years played the primary leadership role among state justice agencies in informing rural Native residents about law and the organization and operation of the Anglo-American justice system. It has educated village officials and local police through the use of both formal and informal training sessions.

The conspicuousness of troopers in rural areas and the Department's efforts to provide legal education to remote villages have established its employees as legal authorities who have high credibility among rural Natives. In general, it is safe to say, the Alaska State Troopers more than any other state officials, are likely to be consulted by Native communities for advice concerning legal matters and public safety problems. As a result of this situation, the Troopers have a unique relationship to villages. When a village wants legal advice or has a crime problem, trooper assistance is often sought. Even those communities with their own police view troopers as the appropriate officials for supervising local law enforcement matters. In contrast to urban police departments that perform nearly all law enforcement responsibilities within their jurisdictions, village police handle minor matters and depend on troopers for follow-ups and the processing of serious crimes.

With few exceptions, the state has situated most justice operations in urban, commercial centers. Justice facilities are located in these towns and justice employees maintain residency there. From these locations, the state employees attempt to serve the needs of people in the surrounding villages. It is not unusual for a single state official to be responsible for providing services to people in an area of several thousand square miles. Without doubt, the most distressing problem faced by local residents is related to obtaining assistance from the Alaska Department of Public Safety in handling the periodic life-threatening emergencies which occur with regularity in remote Native communities.

EMERGENCY RESPONSES

Although they have no other options, Native communities cannot, as previously mentioned, count on state agencies for expeditious response during critical emergencies. State operations are simply not organized to provide such responses to rural communities. Consider, for example, most Americans would view thirty minutes, from the time an emergency occurs until a police officer arrives on the scene, a slow response. The average response time for police in an Alaskan city is less than half an hour. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals advocated the goal of less than one minute for the police receipt of a citizen request for emergency assistance, and it maintained that no police department should take longer than ten minutes to place an officer on the scene.

CHART 11

AVERAGE CALL COMPLETION AND RESPONSE TIME
REQUIRED TO OBTAIN POLICE FROM
OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY

RESPONSE TIME REQUIRED	ESTIMATED CALLS COMPLETED	ESTIMATED POLICE RESPONSE
Less than 1/2 hour	67%	7%
1/2 to 1 hour	20%	10%
1 to 5 1/2 hours	7%	19%
5 1/2 to 10 hours	2%	7%
1 to 7 days	0%	47%
Over 1 week	5%	10%

In contrast, 57% of the emergency requests from Alaska Native communities in rural areas are not answered within 24 hours of the incident (Chart 11). It seems safe to conclude that residents of Alaskan Native villages have the distinction of receiving the slowest police response in the entire United States.

Only 17% of the requests for police assistance result in an officer being at the scene of the emergency within one hour. Native officials estimate that in about 14% of the instances it takes more than an hour simply to contact a State Trooper when a village emergency occurs. Although such calls for help are usually made by telephone or radio, in many instances the only method available for transmitting an emergency message is the mail plane.

Village residents have come to accept the fact that it is futile to report crimes or expect police assistance except in an emergency. Such a situation in all likelihood contributes to a substantial under-reporting of crimes in rural, Native communities. More importantly, slow responses to emergencies most certainly affect the human suffering and death rates in rural Alaska.

ROUTINE SERVICES

The Alaska State Troopers routinely visit rural villages more often than any other justice officials--on the average of slightly over once a month.¹ State Fish and Wildlife officers visit villages about four times a year. Most communities have no readily accessible judge or magistrate (Chart 12). Except as related to actual criminal cases, village residents and officials have few contacts with prosecution and defense officials. On the average, a Native village was visited only once by a prosecution or defense attorney in 1977. Since the typical community had over six felonies during 1977 there were many instances when the assistance of state legal officers was required for criminal matters. It is apparent the state justice processes are seldom performed in Native communities of Alaska.

Villagers want more attention from the representatives of the state's justice system.² Indigenous village police officers would like for troopers and prosecutors to routinely visit their villages to review their efforts and provide advice. "They should visit me more often and see how I'm doing," is a common observation of village police officers.

CHART 12

PUBLIC OFFICIALS ASSESSMENTS OF
QUALITY OF JUSTICE AND SELECTED PUBLIC SERVICES

	GOOD		OK		NEEDS IMPROV.		INADE- QUATE		NO SERVICE		N.R./ DON'T KNOW	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Village Police	7	13.7	6	11.8	20	39.2	5	9.8	13	25.5		
AST	13	25.5	12	23.5	14	27.5	10	19.6	1	2.0	1	2.0
A F & W	7	13.7	6	11.8	17	33.3	13	25.5	4	7.8	4	7.8
Magistrates	14	27.5	7	13.7	8	15.7	3	5.9	14	27.5	5	9.8
Legal Services	8	15.7	10	19.6	7	13.7	7	13.7	14	27.5	5	9.8
Prosecutor	3	5.9	11	21.6	9	17.6	5	9.8	11	21.6	12	23.5
Defense Services	4	7.8	9	17.6	3	5.9	4	7.8	20	39.2	11	21.6
Probation/Parole	8	15.7	8	15.7	7	13.7	8	15.7	12	23.5	8	15.8
Local Jail	2	3.9	3	5.9	11	21.6	9	17.9	22	43.1	4	7.8
Mental Health	4	7.8	3	5.9	6	11.8	4	7.8	29	56.9	5	9.8
Medical Services	15	29.4	11	21.6	17	33.3	4	7.8	2	3.9	2	3.9
State Jail	6	11.8	13	25.5	2	3.9	2	3.9	16	31.4	12	23.5
Educational Services	22	43.1	9	17.6	18	35.3	2	3.9	0	0	0	0
Fire	0	0	3	5.9	19	37.3	9	17.6	19	37.3	1	2.0
Welfare, Unempl.	10	19.6	16	31.4	13	25.5	6	11.8	2	3.9	4	7.8
Youth Services	0	0	1	2.0	7	13.7	13	25.5	28	54.9	2	4.0

Village officials would like for state justice officials to provide legal training for their village councils and citizens. These people believe that by failing to visit villages many district attorneys, public defenders, judges and state troopers have not learned of the unique problems and preferences nor the customary methods Natives use in handling crime and deviancy problems.

More frequent visits to rural communities by state agents might improve mutual understanding and temper the exercise of discretion by justice officials who deal with rural problems. However, state officials point both to the difficulty of persuading employees to live in rural areas and the cost of providing services in remote areas as preventing any substantial changes in the existing situation.

CHART 13

URBAN ALASKA PUBLIC OPINIONS ABOUT JUSTICE SYSTEM*

AGENCY	GOOD	POOR	DON'T KNOW
Police	59%	37%	4%
Courts	18%	73%	9%
State Jails	10%	69%	21%
Probation and Parole	11%	61%	27%
District Attorneys	23%	41%	36%

*Rowan Public Opinion Survey. Juneau: Criminal Justice Planning Agency, 1976.

Public opinions reveal a need for improvements. A survey conducted in 1975 showed that attitudes of residents of rural areas were more negative toward criminal justice operations than those of people in the urban centers of the state (Chart 13). The situation does not seem to have changed since 1975. In general, educational and medical services receive the highest ratings from village officials. Magistrates, local police and state troopers are also rated relatively

high in the overall comparison of services available to villages.

Despite the relatively high opinion of state troopers in comparison with other criminal justice officials, less than one-half of those who rated the Alaska State Trooper services as inadequate expressed similar impressions of educational and medical services.

CHART 14

NATIONAL RATING OF POLICE

RATING	AGENCY		
	FBI*	LOCAL POLICE*	URBAN POLICE**
Highly Favorable	52%	53%	40%
Favorable	33%	31%	41%
Unfavorable	7%	8%	12%
Highly Unfavorable	4%	5%	
No Response	4%	3%	7%

*Sourcebook of Criminal Statistics--1976. Washington: USGPO, February 1977. Reflects results of a national sample.

**National Crime Survey, as reported in Myths and Realities About Crime. Washington: LEAA-USGPO, 1978. Reflects survey in 26 central cities from throughout the United States.

Fire and youth services seem to be held in lowest regard by Native officials. In both instances none of the officials interviewed in 51 villages felt these services could be characterized as good, and very few would even give them an adequate rating. Two interesting facts come to mind about these areas.

First, according to the Alaska Department of Public Safety, rural Alaska has one of the highest, if not the highest, per capita fire loss rate in the world.

Second, the need for recreational activities and youth centers, which would keep young people in the villages entertained and out of mischief, were frequently suggested as methods for improving the quality of life in villages.

In comparison with other parts of the United States, Alaskans seem to be relatively less impressed with their police services (Chart 14). The national attitudes toward the police are considerably better than the attitudes toward the police in Alaska; and opinions of urban Alaskans are higher than those of people in Native villages.

With exception of the state enforcement agencies, over 30% of the village officials feel that state level justice services are either inadequate or not provided to their villages. One cannot fully appreciate the implications of this situation without an understanding of the gross deficiencies in the local justice operations of Native villages.

LOCAL PUBLIC SAFETY OPERATIONS

Only about three-quarters of the Native villages have local police officers. The number of officers in communities with police range from a high of 12 in Metlakatla to 1 part-timer in St. Mary's. The average number of police officers in villages was 2.4 and the most frequent number was 2. About 80% of those communities with their own local police have full-time police employees, the remainder have paid part-time or volunteer officers.

Although it is not possible to obtain completely accurate financial information, the revenues for village police operations consist of (1) state revenue sharing which provides the largest proportion of the money, (2) CETA which provides slightly less money than the state revenue sharing, (3) Native corporations' contributions, (4) Bureau of Indian Affairs funds, (5) LEAA grants and contracts and (6) local revenues which are about the same level as the LEAA contributions. Nearly all of the money spent for police in 1977 was invested in salaries. About 10% of the communities spent more than \$1,000 for police supplies and equipment.

The salaries paid full-time police officers in 1977 are by Alaskan cost of living standards very low (Chart 15). Forty-two percent of the communities pay police less than the salary for the average job in the community. The lowest salary was \$65 per month. The average was \$837 per month. Five percent of the officers were paid over \$1,500 per month. Not only are these salaries low, they are frequently discontinued because of shortfalls in funds.³ If state funds are not increased to replace those of the CETA program which is being terminated, rural communities will most likely be forced to reduce the number of officers they can pay by one-half. This could result in one-half to two-thirds of the remote Native communities in Alaska being without their own resident police operations in the near future.

CHART 15

LOCAL POLICE SALARIES

AMOUNT PER MONTH	% OFFICERS EARNING
Less than \$400	10
\$401 to \$600	13
\$601 to \$800	18
\$801 to \$1000	45
\$1001 to \$1500	10
Over \$1500	5

The educational achievements of police officers in the Native communities are considerably lower than Alaska police officers as a whole (Chart 16). All urban police have reportedly completed high school. In comparison, 45% of the village officers have not. The difficulty of obtaining a high school education in villages without schools may be responsible for this discrepancy.

The village officers fare even worse in regard to training. Fifty-eight percent of these officers have received no police training. Another 14% have attended

only a one week Village Police Basic Training Program which was presented by the Alaska Department of Public Safety.

CHART 16

POLICE EDUCATION LEVELS

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT	PROPORTION OF OFFICERS COMPLETING	
	Alaska*	Rural Sample
Less Than High School	--	45%
High School Graduate	29%	36%
College Courses	50%	8%
Associate Degree (2 year)	8%	6%
Bacc. Degree (4 year)	8%	2%
Other or Unknown	5%	3%

*Source: A report distributed by the Alaska Police Standards Council in January 1978.

About 24% have attended a police training program of more than one week duration. In contrast, nearly all of the municipal officers and Alaska State Troopers with more than one year of police service have completed a basic police academy. Thirty-one percent of the village police officers have completed neither high school nor police training. Fifty-one percent without police training have no college courses.

One reason for the training deficiencies of local police officers is high personnel turnover. Most of the village governments have an extremely unstable personnel situation. The village police officer turnover rate for 1977 was approximately 120%. Only about 20% of the officers employed by Native communities have been in the continuous employment of the community for more than one year. Although there may be other contributing factors, this turnover situation is in part due to the revenue situation in these communities. Communities with the most stable source of revenue have police officers with the most longevity.

Some villages have developed a system for stabilizing their police situation despite funding problems. They have hired the officers when funds are available, and terminated them when money runs low, over a period of many years. This tends to keep the same people serving as police over the years.

The paucity surrounding policing in Native communities is nowhere more apparent than in regard to supplies, materials and equipment. Some of the communities do not possess even such fundamental items as paper for making records. A village official recently explained that information about the community's crime situation was not available because, "The police do not keep records of their activities. They have no report forms to use."

Although police keep records in about half of the communities, most have no standard forms or filing systems. Officers use lined writing tablets in lieu of forms. The few police with structured incident forms use materials supplied by the Alaska State Troopers. Filing is done in cardboard boxes or desk drawers.

The provision of emergency medical assistance was one of the more frequent types of activities which the village officers are called upon to perform; nevertheless, no first aid supplies are available to the police in over 90% of the rural Native communities. Medical assistance often is limited to obtaining a medical aide or a doctor from another community or arranging for transportation to a regional medical center.

There is also a shortage of fire extinguishers in the communities. The police have access to a fire extinguisher in about 30% of the communities. Even those fire extinguishers that exist are in need of recharging and one can never be certain they will function properly. In cold weather fire fighting involves using shovels to throw snow on the burning buildings. Other police emergency equipment and supplies are also scarce. The total equipment available to the village police in 56 Native communities surveyed was 2 airplanes, 5 boats, 8 snow machines, 81 uniforms, 9 long guns, 51 handguns, 99 handcuffs, and 102 bullets. In some instances even this equipment belongs to the village police officers or people who reside in the community.

The information concerning capital expenditures for police reflects an absence of investment in police facilities. About 68% of the villages with police have office space for the officers. Existing office space often leaves much to be desired. In only 48% of the instances are the available offices considered by village officers to be in good shape. It is in fair condition in 32% of the places, and in poor condition in 15%. Whether or not office space exists, village officers in over half the communities were expected on occasion to use their homes for business.

COMMUNITY DETENTION

Most Native communities have no jails or cells for detaining prisoners (Chart 17). Few Alaskans have considered how such communities handle people such as violent mentally ill, drunks, and deviates who must be incarcerated for protection of the community or themselves. Those villages located any substantial distance from another population center have a limited range of options. In some instances a school or National Guard building which can be used is available. When questioned, village police officers frequently offer such explanations about detention practices as: "We just handcuff them to a bed and watch them." "Cuff them to their bed. One time this year we had to tape one man from head to foot--he was violent and drunk."

Taping or handcuffing to a bed is the common restraint method. It is not clear why this method is so frequently used; however, taping seems to be an innovation taught in Village Police training programs by Alaska State Troopers.

Village police officers object to operating without detention facilities. It is a particular burden on officers who are forced to keep disorderly prisoners in their own homes. Such prisoners frequently threaten officers and their families. They yell obscenities, spit on family members and destroy property before sobering up. The tension created by such behavior is, no doubt, one reason why the job of a village police officer is so difficult and the turnover rate is so high.

CHART 17

WHAT IS DONE WITH PRISONERS IF NO JAIL EXISTS?

METHOD	PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNITIES USING METHOD
Handcuff	31
Call State Troopers	25
Place With Family	6
Use Community Facility	6
Other	31
No Answer	13

Citizens and public officials in a few communities do not feel jails are warranted because few people are arrested. Most communities, however, believe that some sort of local detention facilities are critically needed. Their officials claim:

- There is no safe alternative for the detention of disorderly individuals while waiting arrival of troopers to remove them from the village. Further, if jails were available they could be used to detain prisoners overnight for minor offenses or their own protection.
- The availability of a local lock-up would reduce criminal acts. Presently, minor offenses are ignored for lack of cells.
- Intoxicated people could be held until they sober up.
- It would be easier to hire and retain local police officers if jails were available.
- Deviants could be kept in jails near their homes and families, and sentenced to perform community services.

The jails available are not in good condition. Police officers in communities with jails rate them as being inadequate and urge state support for upgrading them. Not one of 56 villages visited had a jail which was viewed by its police officers as being in excellent condition (Chart 18).

CHART 18

ASSESSMENT OF CONDITION OF
COMMUNITY DETENTION FACILITIES
(N=28)

CONDITION	DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE OPINIONS
	%
Excellent	0
Good	29
Fair	11
Poor	57
No Response	3

Typical of police comments about the local detention situation is: "Jail is poor, no heat in cell, no toilet facilities, no way to feed prisoners."

The use to which village detention facilities are put is reflective of the pattern of problems in the rural communities. The most common reasons for incarceration are (1) drunk and disruptive in public, (2) protective custody, (3) assault and battery, and (4) crime. The rural police officers most frequently use their jails for alcohol sleep-off and protective custody purposes. Only about 25% of the communities with a jail do not make such use of the facilities. Despite constitutional issues which might be raised, detention of intoxicated persons is felt to be justified because to leave such people out in the cold would at times constitute a death sentence.

Even though required by state law, in some communities there is no method for keeping incarcerated

juveniles separated from adults, or women separated from male prisoners (Chart 19). The supervision of prisoners in local communities with jails almost always falls to local police (Chart 20).

CHART 19

ARE SEPARATE DETENTION AREAS
AVAILABLE FOR JUVENILES/WOMEN?

SEPARATE	WOMEN FROM MALES		JUVENILES FROM ADULTS	
	#	%	#	%
Yes	21	75	16	57
No	3	11	6	21
No Response	4	14	6	21

The feeding of prisoners is a major problem for police in most communities. Commonly, ad hoc use is made of whatever feeding arrangement that seems appropriate at the time it is needed--as opposed to having an established practice for all prisoners (Chart 21). For example, a police officer in one community complained that his prisoners had to be fed by either his wife or a relative of the prisoner; otherwise he had no choice but to see that they are ". . . released twice a day to go home for meals."

CHART 20

WHO SUPERVISES PRISONERS?

SUPERVISION BY	COMMUNITIES	
	#	%
Local Police	20	71
City Guard	3	11
State	1	4
Other	1	4
No Response	1	4

The practice of holding a prisoner's family responsible for feeding detainees was followed in a number of communities. The local government accepts responsibility for providing prisoners with food in approximately 43% of the communities.

CHART 21

WHO PROVIDES PRISONERS'S FOOD?

PROVIDER	COMMUNITIES	
	#	%
No Set Practice	8	29
City/Village/Council	12	43
Prisoner's Family	4	14
Police Officer	1	4
Other	3	11

When prisoners are held for violations of state statutes, local communities are entitled to reimbursement for their services. It is ironic that in spite of the local financial situation, and prisoner maintenance problems, rural communities frequently do not seek remuneration from the state for detention services provided under state law.

LEGAL AND JUDICIAL OPERATIONS

Few Native communities in Alaska have resident attorneys--either government employees or private--available for legal advice. The state does not seem in the past to have viewed the provision of routine legal information to rural communities as a high priority. The average number of visits by state attorneys per community has been approximately one each year; however, villages near urban centers have received more frequent visits than do more remote places. Advice from an attorney is usually obtained by calling or visiting a larger commercial center such as Kotzebue, Nome, Barrow, Bethel or Sitka. In the absence of attorneys, village residents and officials usually depend on Alaska State Troopers for legal guidance.

Thirty-six percent of the Native village officials believe that crime problems are related to inadequate legal services. There is a widespread perception, which has prima facie validity, that neither prosecution nor defense officials visit Native communities unless forced to do so by the location of a trial. Village police officers have ambivalent feelings about their perception that Alaska district attorneys prefer to work with Alaska State Troopers rather than local police. Such perceptions may account for the relatively low regard most village officials have for the state's legal staffs.

The Alaska Court System is organized so as to serve rural areas from their offices in commercial cities (i.e., Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, Sitka, Ketchikan, Kodiak, Valdez, Bethel and Nome) in the various regions of the state. Grand and petit juries are nearly always seated in these cities rather than in rural communities. Therefore, it is the exception rather than the rule that an accused is tried in the community of the crime. Residents of commercial cities can count on being indicted by local people and tried before a judge who they have an opportunity to endorse or disapprove at the ballot box. People from rural areas, in contrast, are taken out of their judicial districts for indictment by a white grand jury. They are tried before judges who they do not know and who they have had no opportunity to select or reconfirm--judges who have been selected and retained by urban residents.

This situation is further complicated by administrative rules which permit state court officials to give priority to cost factors rather than representativeness in selecting a jury. Jurors are chosen from residents within a boundary approximately fifty miles from the place where the jury will be seated. The jury rolls are created from lists of licensed drivers, people who filed state income tax forms, and people who have hunting, fishing and trapping licenses and reside within the geographic area designated for jury selection. As a result, people accused of committing crimes in rural areas are tried in urban centers before juries consisting of urban residents who have limited understanding of Native lifestyles, customs or problems.

The realities surrounding this system have forced the creation of supplemental, local judicial operations to deal with the numerous relatively minor instances of deviancy that frequently occur in remote villages. One alternative for dealing with these problems, which has been instituted by the Alaska Court System, involves indigenous lay-judges, called magistrates. However, a minority of the state's rural communities have resident magistrates. Court decisions concerning the appointment of magistrates seem to be based on considerations of the demands of a community, a gross assessment of the community's needs, the availability of a willing resident who court administrators deem to have the necessary capabilities, and adequate available funds. These magistrates have limited formal authority to conduct hearings and trials and usually have some formal training in judicial processes.

CHART 22

COMMUNITY JUDICIAL MECHANISMS

TYPE OF MECHANISM	NO. CITIES	% CITIES
Magistrates	16	55
Problem Board	5	17
City Councils	6	21
No Answer	2	7

Other strategies have been adopted by some villages to supplement the Court System operations. These alternatives include the use of Problem Boards and city councils. Such local judicial mechanisms exist in 29 out of 56 rural communities we surveyed (Chart 22). Sixteen or fifty-one percent of these communities relied primarily on problem boards, and six (21%) relied on their city councils. These figures probably do not accurately reflect the proportional distribution of responsibility between these three alternatives throughout the rural areas of the state since the sample itself was skewed toward communities with magistrates. In an extension of traditional practices city councils in general seem to play a substantially greater role in social control than these statistics reflect.

None-the-less, in terms of activity, most trials and hearings held in the communities are conducted by magistrates, followed by village councils, problem boards, and state courts (Chart 23).

CHART 23

REPORTED TRIALS AND HEARINGS IN 29
COMMUNITIES DURING A SIX MONTH PERIOD

TYPE TRIAL OR HEARING	NO. HELD	% OF TOTAL
Magistrate	175	76
Problem Board	16	7
Council	33	14
Other Courts	5	2

Magistrates handle case loads ranging from one to sixty-five trials and hearings every six months. Magistrates have the authority to enforce both state laws and village ordinances. Although they are agents of the state court system, they often use informal trial methods which have little or no legal bases in state procedures or law. Some magistrates reportedly are inclined, on occasion, to give as much consideration to hearsay and community sentiments as to the formal rules of the Alaska justice system. Their power comes from the fact that they are respected members of the community and regardless of the legality of their decisions, they are seldom challenged. Although a magistrate occasionally comes in conflict with a traditional chief or a village council, they generally enjoy the highest popular support by village residents of any justice officials in Alaska.

In communities where city or village councils play the primary role in handling the routine, less serious incidents of deviancy, the following are typical of the explanations given by village officials about the Council's role and functions:

- City council makes most of the decisions concerning the handling of deviancy. The major decisions are made by having a meeting with

the people. The police turn a problem over to the council. If it is serious, it is turned over to the state troopers.

- The council may make the decision to punish criminal by fines and have him work. Serious crimes, call troopers.
- Council acts as a judicial body for its community. The village council talks with young people with the help of village police.
- The village council handles problem people by sentencing them to cutting wood, shoveling snow, etc. Sentences are figured by a standard rate per hour until the damage done by a person is paid in full.

Problem boards normally engage in dispute mediation rather than adversity techniques for handling deviancy problems. This approach is more compatible with the traditional social control methods of many Native groups than is the Anglo-judicial method. In the late 1960's it was encouraged by the Alaska Court System, but in recent years the courts have all but ignored it. At the present time problem boards have no formal legal bases in state law or court rules.

Council and problem boards use village ordinances and customary rules covering acceptable behavior by village members rather than state statutes for legal authority in handling incidents that come before them. Some of the actions of these groups do not meet the legal standards of Alaskan or American law.

Some communities have both a council and a problem board for dealing with deviancy problems. Where both agencies are involved, the council concentrates on crimes committed by individuals against the community and the problem board tends to mediate disputes between residents. In some communities magistrates also perform mediation and general service responsibilities. These services often include preparing legal documents, writing letters, and even handling drunks and welfare problems. In describing her duties, one magistrate explained:

Magistrates are expected to be on call 24 hours a day for any problem that might arise,

including being called out in the middle of the night for a homicide, suicide, breaking up a brawl and seeing that drunks are taken home because they are annoying someone. This includes sitting up with and baby-sitting (the drunk), making coffee and otherwise trying to get him sober enough so you know he will not go back into the village again. People expect you to make out all types of forms. . . I can't think of anything a magistrate is not expected to do.

Such activities obviously are well beyond their job descriptions, but they may be important to a community's social operation.

It seems clear that local legal operations are viewed by village residents as being more relevant and effective than the services provided by state government. Shortcomings of local operations in terms of financial support and compliance with formal bureaucrats and legal requirements and descriptions are affected by the local attitudes about the legitimacy of the operations. On the other hand, local residents and officials feel that the state must stand behind and support local legal operatives.

Although many of the rural Native people lack information about the role and operation of state legal officials and courts, they would like more contact with them and support from them. In particular they are interested in cooperating with these justice agencies in dealing with community problems. They want information about the laws of Alaska and how the laws and procedures might be used to improve the quality of life in villages.

TRIAL AND POST-CONVICTION SERVICES

State attorneys, judges and troopers who visit remote villages tend to associate and deal with each other rather than residents of local communities. One person expressed a widely-shared concern about the appearance of unfairness given by justice officials on those few occasions when they travel to villages to conduct trials.

How do you suppose village residents feel when they see an airplane load of state troopers, district attorneys, a public defender and a judge arrive the night before a trial? Everyone departs the plane laughing and joking--often about the village. They associate together in the evening, and spend the night in the same rooms. The next day they meet the defendant, select a jury, and cooperate in expediting the trial so they won't have to spend a second night in the village. They finish the trial by the end of the day and the entire group goes back to the plane together, joking and laughing. They get into the plane and fly back to their homes in some other city.

In addition to the awkward appearance made by the few urban lawyers and judges who have traveled to Native communities to hold trials, both prosecution and defense lawyers are normally inadequately prepared for such trials. Attitudinal and financial constraints hamper their performance. Public defenders tend to be overloaded with cases and suffering from inadequate support staff to assist with case preparations. This situation prompted one person to observe, "There is something wrong with a system which allows a defendant to come into court for trial and meet his counsel for the first time."

The problems for rural people are equally severe when legal proceedings are held, as they generally are, in urban courtrooms. Village residents are usually unable to participate in the legal proceedings in the commercial cities. Accused persons who are viewed by local people as dangerous to their communities are, therefore, released by regional courts and transported home with little, if any, consideration of the preferences of the village residents. When an accused returns to the village, residents are left to wonder about the reasons for the release. As a consequence, the Alaskan judicial system is generally viewed as being too anxious to release accused people who the village residents would prefer to have banished from their communities.

State trials held in urban areas for defendants arrested in villages do not afford the same degree of

civil rights protection for the accused as is given to someone arrested in an urban community. An accused Native far too often does not understand the justice system; nor does he have the same grasp of English possessed by those who are conducting the trial. He or she is seldom judged by a jury containing a Native, and even less frequently by a jury of their village peers. Consequently, it should not be surprising that village Natives are convicted with greater regularity than whites.

Once convicted, the likelihood of being sentenced to a correctional institution also appears to be higher for rural Natives than urban residents. This may be in part the result of having state probation officers who reside in urban areas responsible for pre-sentence reports. These reports seem to reflect a white, urban bias that works to the disadvantage of rural Native residents. For example, criteria for assessing the appropriate sentence include factors such as employment record--certainly not a good criterion for evaluating a person who normally survives by hunting and fishing for food. Further, since probation officers seldom have sufficient time, resources, or desire to travel to remote Native villages to interview people personally, most pre-sentence investigations of people from isolated areas are conducted by letter or telephone.

Those who are sentenced to incarceration are usually assigned to correctional facilities in Fairbanks, Anchorage or Juneau, or to federal institutions in the Lower 48 states. Such locations effectively prevent friends and family members from villages from visiting them, and hamper reentry into their communities upon release. Most village residents prefer having correctional facilities nearer their communities, but their desires have not to date had any significant impact on state correctional policies (Chart 24).

Institutionalized convicts are treated by Anglo standards. They receive the food preferred by Caucasians rather than the traditional Native foods, such as seal oil, caribou or whale meat. They are placed in rehabilitation programs that teach job skills for which no jobs exist in their home communities. They are expected to participate in group discussion programs and engage in self-criticism in ways that are

in direct conflict with their traditional values. They at times do not understand their rights and tend to accept unfair treatment in silence. Occasionally they spend time beyond the end of their sentences simply because in their silence they are overlooked.

CHART 24

PREFERRED JAIL MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

Responsible Unit	Proportion Preferring	
	#	%
Village	25	53
State	16	34
State & Village	1	2
Borough	1	2
Federal Government	1	2
Don't Know/N A	3	6

Parole is a state function which is beyond the understanding of most rural residents. It provides almost no worthwhile services for Native villages. Parole hearings are conducted in urban areas thereby limiting participation by rural residents. The Parole Board regulations and procedures are complex and pose an interpretation problem for well-educated people who are skilled in the English language. Natives for whom English is a second language are at a unique disadvantage. Parole benefits urban areas and convicted persons with urban backgrounds and lifestyles.

Those convicted Natives who are granted probation or parole are, in reality, usually returned to their communities free of further active supervision by the state. Villages normally are not advised of conditions placed on a probationer or parolee who is released to return home. Probation officers seldom visit villages to advise local people and, hence, probationers and parolees who misbehave are frequently not reported to Alaskan Corrections. Community officials feel strongly that if more information on probationers and parolees

were provided they could use it to deal with repeat offenders. If probation and parole is to be effective, correctional officers must spend more time and effort in rural Native communities.

The state correctional services provided to Alaskan Native communities by the state is generally inadequate for serving rural Native needs and priorities. The quality of correctional services in urban areas is far superior to that provided for rural communities and people.

CONCLUSIONS

The State of Alaska is under a constitutional obligation to provide public safety and justice services for all people within its borders. To meet this obligation, state officials have instituted a highly centralized, comprehensive system consisting of state police, legal service agencies, courts and corrections. On paper, this system is such an extraordinary model of rational simplicity, it creates envy in the policy planners of other state. There are no county sheriffs that have concurrent jurisdiction with Alaska State Troopers; there is one Department of Law which uses merit in selecting district and prosecuting attorneys; there is a single professional court system which is supervised by the Supreme Court and supported by an administrative arm staffed by professional court administrators; and there is a statewide correctional operation financed entirely by state funds.

From the perspective of the people who reside in the remote rural communities of the state, this system is like a beautiful watch from which the mechanism has been removed. Such a perspective is consistent with the reality of the situation. The components of the system are organized around the largest cities of the state. They are staffed by non-Natives who frequently have never visited, not to mention lived in, a rural Native community.

These agencies purport to take their services and justice to the rural communities. In reality, the people of rural communities are taken and must travel to the urban centers for services and justice. Neither the attitudes nor organization of Alaska's criminal

justice system are appropriate for providing the quality and quantity of support needed in rural Native communities. The response of state agencies to local needs is slow and often inadequate even in emergency situations. Even when the employees of state criminal justice operations make their most sincere efforts to serve the needs of rural communities in ways such as holding a trial in a village, they give the appearance of being aloof colonists. Rural residents do not have confidence in them or the system they represent.

The alternatives to services provided by state agencies are not clear examples of success. Few communities have adequate local police, legal or correctional services. In fact, few operational alternatives exist because resources for funding them are not available in rural communities. An ongoing village public safety program cannot be instituted without funds. Legal and judicial operations have been heavily dependent on the interests of the court system. However, in spite of the deficiencies in the local public safety and justice operations, they enjoy more favorable endorsements from residents and community officials in areas where they exist than do counterpart state agencies and employees.

Although there is a preference for local services, there is also a widely shared desire to have state criminal justice agencies organized so they would provide support for local operations. Village people are interested in preparatory programs such as training and operational support programs such as emergency medical and social control response and support.

The situation concerning the mechanisms for dealing with crime, justice and public safety in rural Alaska is quite clear. The system is deficient at best, nonexistent at worst. There are definable desires for changes. The basic characteristics of the most strongly felt desires for changes and some proposals for addressing them will be explored in the final chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1 It should be noted, however, that communities in Sealaska and Doyon regions are visited much more frequently than the other regions. Villages in Calista, Bristol Bay, Bering Straits and Arctic Slope regions are seldom visited.

2 The single exception to this was the Doyon region where state troopers reportedly visited more frequently than village officials indicated was expected.

3 One police officer told us, "We get paid \$75 a month when we get paid; however, the city hasn't paid us for three months."

CHAPTER IV
FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE

No state in the United States faces the unique social control and public safety situation which exists in the remote regions of Alaska. One of the factors which complicates this Alaskan situation is the existence of two separate and operationally disjointed justice systems. The system in the commercial population centers of the state is highly articulated, readily identified, minimally staffed, adequately funded and extensively managed. Its problems are reasonably well documented, although not completely solved. The system in the rural Native communities of the state is understaffed, inadequately funded and nearly invisible. It has not been the subject of the kind of scrutiny given the urban system. Data concerning its operations have to date been infrequently and incompletely accumulated.

Due to the dearth of information about purposes and means of the rural justice system, comparisons of its efficiency and effectiveness with urban justice operations have been minimal and it is difficult to define its problems. Quite apparent, however, is the fact that the state does not provide people residing or traveling in rural areas the protection nor justice services provided for people in urban locations.

The problem is not simply one of the traditional inequalities between urban and rural areas. If the fundamental instruments of criminal justice that are almost universally available throughout the United States (i.e., copies of state statutes, police officers, record forms, readily available legal advice, accessible judges, defensive weapons, etc.) are required for adequate public safety and social control, the situation in Alaskan Native villages is critically deficient. As we have seen, few of the Native villages have reasonable access to Alaska's constitution, criminal laws or administrative regulations. Many villages do not have local ordinances and those which do frequently have only a single copy because they lack the equipment needed for reproduction of such documents. The fact that many existing village ordinances fall short of meeting minimum standards of legal defi-

nition and constitutionality should not be surprising. Legal advice to villages for ordinance drafting is practically non-existent.

Even if village ordinances were legally and culturally sound, approximately one-quarter of the state's Native villages have no local mechanisms for enforcing them. Where mechanisms such as public safety officers and problem boards have been instituted they usually have inadequate support. Frequently Native communities cannot afford even the most basic public safety supplies, equipment or facilities.

Illustrations of the consequences of justice and public safety deficiencies are numerous. I recently reviewed several letters written over a period of a year by one village police officer to a higher official whose office was in an urban center. The police officer pleaded for bullets so he could shoot roving dogs which he claimed created a hazard to the people of his village. Bullets are so inexpensive and readily available in most American communities, it is difficult to appreciate why a police officer would be moved to invest efforts in begging for them. No wonder the officer's letters were not treated seriously by outside officials.

The bullets were not provided, and shortly after the officer's last letter a five-year-old boy was attacked by a pack of dogs, dragged under a building, severely mauled and nearly scalped. Fortunately, the incident was spotted in time for adults to save the boy, and the child was evacuated to a hospital in Anchorage where, after several weeks of treatment, he survived.

Emergency communications equipment defects provide another illustration. Occasionally one can spend several days trying to establish telephone contact between villages. Sometimes it is impossible to communicate with someone in a village by any method short of physically traveling to the village. Alaska is probably the only state where a substantial number of its communities must occasionally rely on a mail plane to deliver messages requesting emergency assistance for crime and public safety matters. One village police officer we spoke with explained how he spent 11 hours one winter day attempting to contact Alaska State

Troopers for assistance in removing a person who had attempted suicide and was in critical condition. In this instance, the trooper post was only about 15 miles across the tundra from the caller, but the radio quality was not up to the task.

Public communications linking rural residents and other people of the state are also seriously deficient. Information concerning rural areas and problems is not being adequately covered by the media. The state has done a commendable job of ensuring that village residents can enjoy television news from urban areas, but the mass media seldom relay information from rural areas to urban residents and policy officials. State justice system executives and employees seldom visit or communicate with people in rural areas. Alaskan citizens and state officials do not receive the information needed for sound decision making about rural areas.

Interpersonal communications shortcomings create many misunderstandings which lie festering. As an example, like other citizens, many village leaders are quick to express the belief that their crime problems can be controlled by the court's imposition of "harsher punishments." Such expressions for harsher punishments do not appear, however, to carry the same meaning as a similar statement by urban residents. Village residents normally give a misbehaving village resident several warnings and opportunities to change his or her behavior before seeking assistance from the state's criminal justice officials. When they request assistance from the State Troopers, they expect them to punish the person by removal for a period of time from the community.

Today, in contrast to bygone years when an enforcement officer from outside the village could be counted on to fulfill their expectations, a person taken out of a village by a trooper is likely to be immediately released by the court and returned to the village on return flight of the same plane that hauled him from the community. The villagers who want the offender to suffer temporary banishment do not understand why the criminal justice system, specifically the judges, have not complied with their wishes and kept the person away from the village. Hence, this device translates into advocacy of "harsher punishment."

Improvements are needed in both criminal justice processes and the facilities available for criminal justice operations in rural villages. Local citizens cannot continue to use schools, public buildings, and their own homes to detain such people. State jails and correctional facilities located in predominantly white commercial centers do not and cannot effectively address the needs of the Native communities and citizens. The court system cannot continue to rely on magistrates to identify space for local legal proceedings. Convenient space must be arranged for local trials. The situation must be changed so grand jury hearings and trials can be held near the scene of crimes by judges who are immediately familiar with Native village life and juries of local people rather than in distant urban centers before urban judges and juries.

Residents and public officials of Alaska's rural Native villages place a high priority on obtaining state action toward changes in the current situation. They have an understanding of the problems and priorities of their communities, but their ability to take steps toward improvement is blocked by inadequate local resources. There are simply no taxing possibilities in many of their communities. The state government is their primary hope for the resources and support. The state response in the past has obviously been minimal. One rural village official told me the first essential step toward solving the problems of his community is simple, the state should recognize that his village is part of the state and get with providing assistance with public safety problems.

The State of Alaska has not adopted a comprehensive plan for improving public safety and justice services for its citizens. This is not to say that planning has not been done, for it has. However, it has always been fragmented by the traditional Anglo-American approaches to legal, judicial, police and correctional problems and issues, and it has nearly always reflected the mass society-oriented mental sets, assumptions and biases of people who have been educated to work in urban, rather than sparsely populated, wilderness communities.

The situation has been improving. There is a growing recognition by Alaskan law makers and other policy level officials of the importance of addressing

the problems confronting the state's rural Native communities. Increased investment in social research and planning is paying off with information which can be used to clarify problems and identify possible alternatives for proceeding to improve the quality of life for all Alaskans. Whether readily apparent to all village residents or not, a variety of significant steps involving legislative, executive and judicial decisions have been initiated over the past decade. These actions are improving communications, emergency medical services, and education through the state.

Unfortunately, far too often the approaches instituted have, like the planning, been fragmented and piecemeal. They have resulted in facilities being funded in some communities while other less vocal communities with equally pressing needs are neglected. Money to pay local police and public safety officers has been provided by the state to some villages and not to others. Magistrate and judicial positions have been established in one community in one region while for no apparent reason large areas of the state are without any local judicial or legal services. Even those communities receiving state funded facilities and programs have usually found themselves with inadequate resources to maintain them.

The State Departments of Community and Regional Affairs, Public Safety, Law, Health and Social Services, and the Alaska Court System have on numerous occasions moved ahead independently of each other to make substantial policy and organizational changes with insufficient consideration of how those changes will impact other governmental and justice operations. Agencies with the resources develop data collection instruments and procedures without consultation with their counterparts in other units of government concerning their related needs or procedures.

The public safety and justice needs of Native villages in rural Alaska are more basic and unique than those existing anywhere else in the United States. The state must adopt a comprehensive and rational approach for guiding and supporting the development and implementation of strategies for solving public safety and justice problems in the individual communities as well as across the entire state. One such alternative might be the following four point approach to enhancing state and local cooperation.

and report data by these geographic regions. A centrally located public safety facility for state police, legal, judicial and correctional operations should be constructed in each region.

Such regional arrangements could substantially improve state services and the support provided to local communities. State police should be able to respond immediately from regional offices when their assistance is sought by a local community. A district or superior court judge should be assigned to each region and systematically circulate from community to community within the region conducting necessary judicial proceedings. A correctional generalist should be assigned to each region to explain and enforce correctional standards, provide assistance to local communities and coordinate the state's correctional efforts in the region.

3. The state should support the design, implementation and maintenance of a reliable emergency communication system for each region of the state.

The remoteness of rural communities in Alaska, and the extreme hazards facing residents of these communities make it extremely important that emergency communications be substantially upgraded. By developing regional communications systems which link the local communities in each region together on the same network and tie the network of each region to centrally located public safety facilities, the effectiveness of the communication system will be maximized. The relationships between the villages of each region and state criminal justice agencies would be strengthened. Further, the inclusion of all communities in each region on the network will enhance the utility of the system and increase the protection and security of all villages.

4. The state should provide foundation grants for local public safety and justice services to every established community in the state.

Most of the remote communities do not have sufficient local resources to fund their own public safety operations. The present per capita state revenue

sharing programs are not adequate to fund the public safety services needed by these rural communities. In many instances the existing per capita grants and revenue sharing funds provided are inadequate to pay for the accounting required as a condition of their provision. Only the state has enough resources to guarantee the justice services critically needed by rural communities. As a start, the state might grant each city, regardless of its size, the money required for one full-time police, emergency service or public safety position; minimal supplies, materials and equipment for its public safety operation; and basic correctional services. The current cost of such a package for a city could be as low as \$50,000 or about \$10 to \$15 million a year for all cities in the state.

Communities could be given the authority to, within limits, use the justice grants in the manner most appropriate to their communities. For instance, if a community felt temporary detention facilities should be given a high priority, it could use a portion of its correctional services grant each year to pay for the construction of such facilities. On the other hand, a programs if such programs were deemed to be its highest priority. In order to encourage local communities to accept responsibility for handling their own problems, some criminal justice services provided by the state might be charged against their correctional services grant.

Implementation of the preceding four point approach will not produce an immediate fix for all the public safety and justice problems in rural Alaska. There is simply no way to produce such instant results. The approach is, however, a relatively simple and inexpensive way of creating a basic support superstructure which rural communities critically need. The backup system will be sufficient to provide the minimal protection and service for each community while it develops the details of its own local system. With the state system in place and minimal economic resources, local communities will be able to design their own arrangements for integrating traditional Native ways with new approaches that will best serve their people. In the long run such an approach should be more productive than the state's imposition of a complete, inflexible public safety system on all communities.

Whether Alaskans find this particular approach acceptable or not, the crime and public safety problems of rural communities must not be ignored. Given the inadequacy of past information and resources, perhaps the short-comings of our efforts to address these problems in Native communities will receive generous treatment by future historians. Henceforth, however, excuses may not be available. Without changes, the situation in Alaskan Native communities will grow more serious. Eventually, if we delay decisive action, Alaskans may be faced with more drastic and undesirable consequences.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE VILLAGE ORDINANCES

Note: The names of cities, persons and places have been omitted from these ordinances to avoid singling them out for unfair criticism.

CITY ORDINANCES FOR YEAR 76 & 77

001. CURFEW

All school kids and persons under 18 years of age shall be in their own homes by 9 P.M. on all school days. Unless they are on an errand for their parents or accompanied by their parents.

On weekends and on the night before holidays, the time will be extended one hour which will be until 10 P.M.

When a child is not in his or her own home, the head of the house should tell him to go home at 9 P.M., unless he or she has the permission from their parents to stay in another house.

Those who violate the Ordinance 001. (School kids and persons under 18).

1. The City Police will give warning and write the name.
2. The City Police will give second warning, and check their name.
3. He or she will be brought before the Village Council.
4. The Village Council will put them to work.

002. MOVIES

The movies should be over before 9 P.M. on week days in order for the school kids to be home by curfew time which is 9 P.M.

The time will be extended one hour on the night before holidays and Friday nights for the movies to be shown from 9 P.M. to 10 P.M.

There will be no movies on church days which are: Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday, or on special services on holidays.

To any personnel showing a movie it is stressed that they should not show a restricted movie to any minor.

Violation to this ordinance will cause the owner to be evicted of its license.

Owners of show halls, organizations, committees or clubs who violate the above three ordinances, upon conviction, will be punished by a fine not exceeding \$50.00.

003. ALCOHOL

There is to be no selling, drinking, or bringing liquor within the City.

Any liquor brought into the City will be taken or shipped back.

Anyone offering or giving any liquor to a minor will be turned over to the State Trooper including the minor.

Anyone who violates these rules will have to face the charges by the members of the City Council.

The intoxicated will be fined if he is caught driving any machine or vehicle.

Nobody should go to other houses and try to persuade and offer any liquor.

004. PILOTS BRINGING IN DRUNKS

The pilots are not allowed to bring in any intoxicated persons.

If the pilot is caught bring in intoxicated person(s), he will be fined up to \$500.00 and turned to the FAA.

005. TAKING THINGS WITHOUT PERMISSION

A person(s) will not take things without the owner's permission.

If a person(s) is (are) caught or reported taking anything that doesn't belong to him or them without the owner's permission, he or she will have to face the charges from the owner. This will be done in front of the City Council.

There will be no stealing of any type in the City of (omitted) or on hunting grounds.

In an emergency on the hunting grounds, things will be permissible to be taken or to be used. When the person(s) returns to the city he or she is (are) required to contact the owner.

006. DOGS

If a dog or cat bites any person(s), the dog or cat will have to be killed and its head sent to be examined by an animal doctor for possibility of rabies.

If a person(s), who has been bitten by a dog or cat, wants to press charges, he or she has to bring the case before the city council.

007. VEHICLES

All vehicles are expected to be driven with care within the city, and the vehicles are also have lights turned on one-half hour before sunset.

Anyone under 15 years of age caught driving will be asked to go home on the first charge. If the parent wants his child to drive even he is under age, he or she will have to accompany the child while he is driving. Also the vehicle will be impounded if not accompanied.

Anyone caught driving while under the influence of alcohol will be arrested. He or she will be fined between or up to \$500.00. He or she will be also put to work if he or she cannot pay their fine. If he or she refuses to pay his fine or work, he or she will be put in jail for 30 days.

When the roads are built, anyone driving will have a drivers license.

009. GAMBLING

GAMBLING IS PROHIBITED BY STATE LAW.

There shall be no gambling of any kind with money or anything of value in this city.

Anybody caught gambling will be fined by the City Council according to Section 4.

The owner of the house will be fined \$50.00 on first offense. The players and watchers will also be fined \$25.00 each. (In reference to City Ordinance 001. Section 6)

A person(s) refusing to pay his fine will be turned over to higher authorities.

010. FIREARMS

No one under 18 years of age is expected to handle any type of firearms within the city without the accompany of an adult or in the hunting grounds.

No one under 21 years of age is expected to handle any revolvers or pistols.

Anyone caught by city officials or reported by residents handling any type of firearms while intoxicated will be turned over to the State Trooper immediately.

012. DRUGS

A person(s) is (are) not to bring any form of drug(s) into the city or the cannery.

A person(s) is (are) not to sniff or suck any form of an intoxicant such as rubber cement, gas, etc.

A person(s) caught sucking, sniffing or giving any form of an intoxicant will be turned over to the custody of their parents and face the charges from the City Council.

A person(s) caught taking, giving, or selling any type of a drug(s) will be turned over to the State Trooper.

013. VISITORS GOING OUT TO THE ISLANDS OR UP RIVER

Any non-resident of (omitted) going out the following islands or up the (omitted) River should submit a reason to the city:

For the Islands:

To avoid any restrictions of free movement, the city has proposed this ordinance be known, to protect reindeer, walrus, and other restricted wildlife.

WHY? From the past incidents, the walrus killed were left behind therefore blaming the people of (omitted). They were killed for tusks and the flesh was left behind. Also there has been an incident that one of the reindeer has been shot with probably a tranquilizer. Oil has been shot with 22 shells.

For the (omitted) River:

To also avoid any restrictions to free movement, we, the City Council, enforce a sumitting of reason.

WHY? There has been removing of Land Allotment markers. The land selected for allotments has been used by Sports fishermen and Sports hunters.

014. LITTERING

People of (omitted) will have garbage cans in their yards to keep their trash in.

The city council will hire workers to empty trash cans in proposed areas for camps. And the people that have been drinking within the city will work if they cannot pay their fines.

015. BURGLARY

A person(s) should not to enter or break into any unoccupied house for attempted burglary.

If there is a fire in an unoccupied house, it is okay to break the lock or window to try and salvage any furniture that could be taken out or put the fire out.

If a person(s) breaks into a house and takes any materials, he or she will face the charges from the

owner in front of the City Council and will be turned over to the State Trooper.

016. SHOPLIFTING

There is to be no shoplifting from stores within the city of (omitted).

If a person(s) is caught, he will have to pay for the merchandise according to what the store manager says. If he (or they) is (are) turned over to the city council, and, he (or they) will be warned and the price for the merchandise will be doubled and given to the manager.

On the second offense he (or they) will be turned over to the State Trooper without any questions asked.

019. VANDALISM

If person(s) knowingly break or destroy anything belonging to the residents of (omitted) be it a child or an adult is required to replace the item or will pay for it. It will be to the accordance of the owner.

If they will not pay or replace it, they will be handed over to the City Council. If they still resist they will be handed over to the higher authority.

If things are broken when the home is not occupied the things should not be disturbed until the investigator is called to take over on this matter.

AIR GUNS

COMES UNDER FIREARMS

Any type of air gun will not be shot within the city.

Anyone caught by the city officials or reported by residents shooting at a person(s) within the city or on hunting grounds will be warned on first offense. His air gun will be taken away from him for a period of 30 days.

SKIFFS

COMES UNDER VEHICLES

It shall be unlawful for any motor-driven boats or any other marine vessel to be driven in a reckless manner

to exceed 15 miles per hour within the city limits. This pertains to the (omitted) river which is more dangerous than any other boating areas.

Anyone caught driving under the influence of alcohol will be fined between or up to \$500.00. He or she will be put to work if they cannot pay their fine. If he or she refuses to work or pay the fine, he or she will be put to jail for 30 days.

DATE ISSUED:

11-4-76

EFFECTIVE DATE:

11-15-76

(omitted)

Mayor

(omitted)

President

(omitted)

Secretary

(OMITTED) CITY ORDINANCE
FOR
CITIZENS BAND RADIO

AN ORDINANCE OF THE CITY OF (OMITTED) ALASKA,
REGULATING THE CITIZENS BAND RADIO OWNER
RESPONSIBILITY.

BE IT ORDAINED AND ENACTED BY THE CITY OF (OMITTED)
ALASKA AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. C.B. owner. No (omitted) resident may
create violence toward her/his neighbor.

SECTION 2. No (omitted) resident may create violence
concerning an attempt to protect a safety of her/his
children.

SECTION 3. A (omitted) resident will be warned not to
create violence towards her/his neighbor by the
(omitted) City Police.

SECTION 4. A citizens band radio will be taken away
from the owner for an extend of two months as a
penalty.

DATE ISSUED:

(omitted) Mayor

(omitted) President

(omitted) Secretary

CITY OF (OMITTED)

1. It shall be unlawful for any person to Drive or Operate any vehicle or Snowmachine
After nine o'clock (9 P.M.)
Without Headlights
Without any purpose.
If anyone is caught the first time, will be warned.
If anyone is caught the second time, they will be subject to fine.
2. It shall be unlawful for any person to go over regulated speed limits,
Five (5) M.P.H. within the city
Ten (10) M.P.H. within the freeway pond and Airport road
If anyone is caught the first time, they will be warned.
If anyone is caught the second time, they will be subject to fine.
3. It shall be unlawful for anyone UNDER the age of ten (10) years to Operate or Drive any vehicle without parent supervision.
If anyone under the age of ten (10) years is caught the first time, they will be warned.
If they are caught the second time, they will be subject to a penalty of fine.

Drunks or Disorderly Conduct

1. They will not be tolerated.
2. It shall be unlawful for any person to appear in any public place while intoxicated or in a loud and disorderly manner, disturbing the peace. Anyone appearing drunk and disorderly will be warned once, and if they are caught the second time, they will be subject to fine or penalty, or both.

DOGS

1. Keep your dogs tied.
2. Get your dogs vaccinated.

3. If any dog is seen roaming around in the city, the owner will be asked to tie it to a place where the owner can watch it. If the owner does not do what was asked of them, the dog will be shot, if seen loose again, or roaming around.

If you have any questions, go see the cops of this village.

(City Name Omitted)

(City Official's Name
Omitted)



RECORDS CERTIFICATION



I, the undersigned, an employee of the State of Alaska, do hereby certify that the microfilm images on this microform are accurate reproductions of the original records of the State of Alaska as accumulated during the regular course of business, and that it is the established policy and practice of this State to microfilm its records and to dispose of the original records after microfilm reproductions have been made.

James O. Smith
Signature of Camera Operator

12/15/89
Date

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37

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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NEW CRIMINAL CODE

1980 OFFENSES

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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.