

ALASKA LEGISLATURE SPECIAL COMMITTEE / SUBJECT FILE 8672

1434 SCOMM 52: JOINT SPEC. COMMITTEE ON LOCAL OPTION LAWS 1985-86

Table A.1 (continued)

3 of 3

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

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

re
 unknown

; np=no prior
 charged
 sentenced

other offense
 lty plea to other offense

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

DATE _____

PLACE _____

CASE TITLE

DETAILS (if needed to clarify)

ALCOHOL INVOLVED YES _____

NO _____

AGE OF PERSON COMMITTING OFFENSE _____

SEX M _____ F _____

IS THIS PERSON KNOWN TO HAVE COMMITTED PRIOR RELATED OFFENSES? YES _____ NO _____

DISPOSITION

Formally charged: yes _____ no _____

plea: guilty _____ not guilty _____ nolo _____

conviction: yes _____ (give details)

no _____

sentence:

comments:

DATE _____

PLACE _____

CASE TITLE

DETAILS (if needed to clarify)

ALCOHOL INVOLVED YES _____

NO _____

AGE OF PERSON COMMITTING OFFENSE _____

SEX M _____ F _____

IS THIS PERSON KNOWN TO HAVE COMMITTED PRIOR RELATED OFFENSES? YES _____ NO _____

DISPOSITION

Formally charged: yes _____ no _____

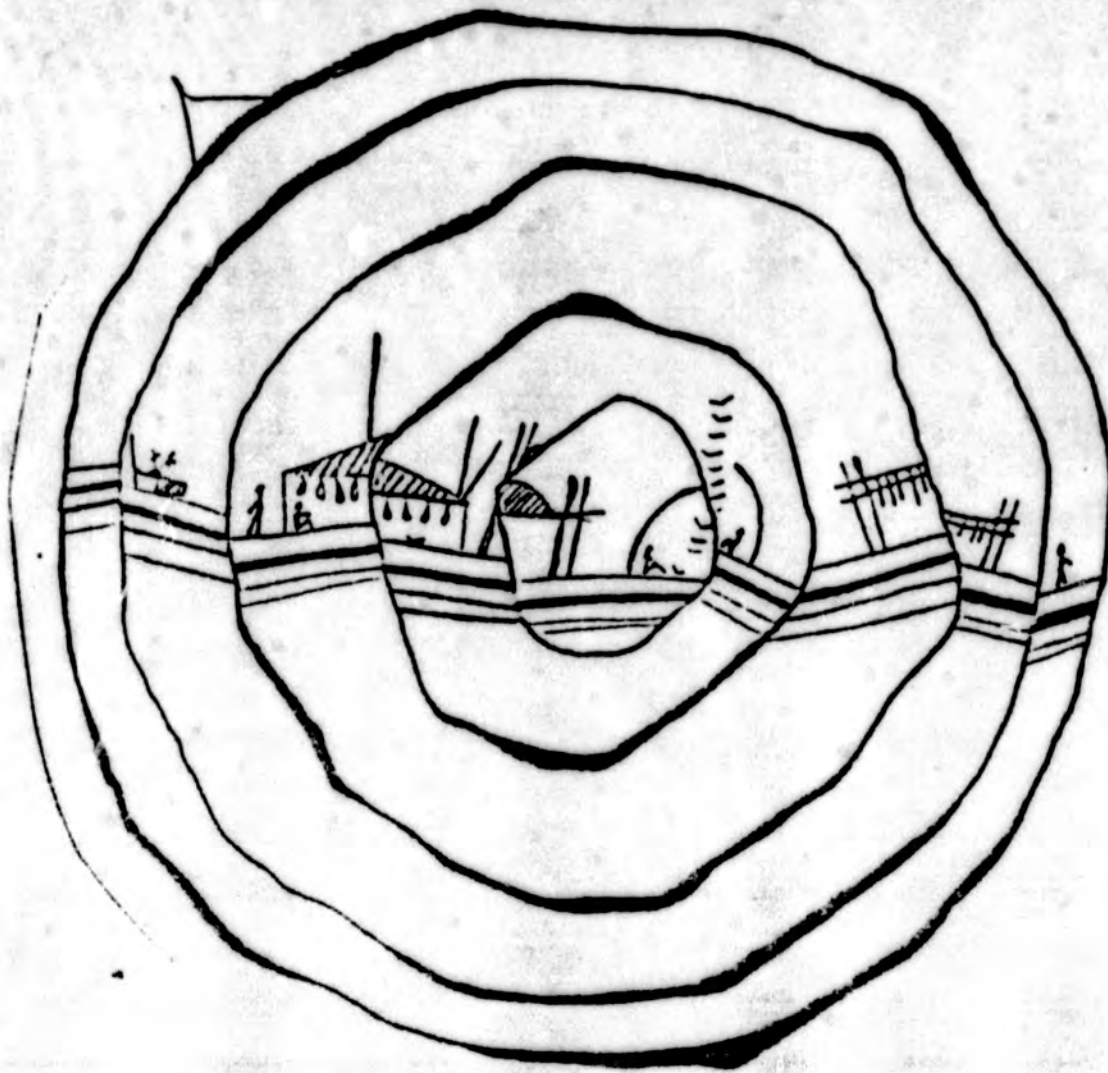
plea: guilty _____ not guilty _____ nolo _____

conviction: yes _____ (give details)

no _____

sentence:

comments:



HOMES IN DISRUPTION: SPOUSE ABUSE IN
YUPIK ESKIMO SOCIETY

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August 1985

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

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
I. Introduction.....	1
II. The Research Problem and General Methodology.....	4
III. The Setting.....	9
Transportation.....	9
Services.....	9
Economy.....	10
Local History.....	13
Demography.....	15
Marriage Patterns.....	17
Household Structure.....	19
Political Organization.....	20
Religion.....	20
Summary.....	20
IV. The Development of Spouse Abuse.....	22
Incidence.....	22
Alcohol.....	22
Marriage.....	23
Residence Patterns.....	27
Social Life.....	29
Social Control.....	30
Summary.....	32
V. Spouse Abuse: The Problem: 1982-1983.....	34
Methods.....	34
Incidence.....	38
Age.....	40
Children.....	42
Household Types.....	42
Education.....	43
Employment.....	44
Residence at Marriage.....	46
Family.....	46
Alcohol.....	48
Summary.....	55
VI. Spouse Abuse: Management: 1982-1983.....	57
Individual and Family Response.....	57
The Law.....	64
The Shelter Approach.....	71
VII. Discussion.....	86
The Problem.....	86
Management.....	96
Summary Conclusions.....	102
VIII. Footnotes.....	106
IX. References.....	107
Appendix I.....	111

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND GENERAL METHODOLOGY

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

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

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

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

Table 1. Community research participation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. THE SETTING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 3. Population change (Rollins 1978).

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4. General demographic data - 1983.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 8. Marriage patterns.

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

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

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

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

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

Table 10. Sex of in-marrying spouses.

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

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

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

Table 11. Household structure -- 1983.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPOUSE ABUSE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. SPOUSE ABUSE: THE PROBLEM 1982-1983

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 13. Incidence of spouse abuse.

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

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

Table 14. Types of spouse abuse.

	Type of Abuse in Households With Spouse Abuse			
	<u>Wife Abuse</u>	<u>Mutual Abuse</u>	<u>Husband Abuse</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kotlik	100%			= 100%
Emmonak	85%	15%		= 100%
Hooper Bay	79%	18%	3%	= 100%

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 17. Age characteristics of Individuals in Abusive Relationships.

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

Table 18. Relationship of Age to Spouse Abuse.

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

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

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

Table 19. Children living at home and spouse abuse.

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

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

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

Table 20. Residence patterns of households with spouse abuse.

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

Table 21. Household size of households with spouse abuse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 23. Employment characteristics of couples in Emmonak.

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

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

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

Table 24. Family relationships between couples with spouse abuse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**One abuses her husband.

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

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

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

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

Table 26. Characteristics of couple problem drinking.

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

Table 27. Extent of problem drinking in village populations.

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

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

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

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

	Percent
Kotlik	4%
Emmonak	14%
Hooper Bay	43%

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

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

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

Table 30. Violence among problem drinkers.

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

Table 31. Relationship between age and problem drinking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VI. SPOUSE ABUSE: MANAGEMENT: 1982-1983

Individual and Family Response

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

A woman's decision to leave home is not easily made. Women, in general, do not want anyone, including close relatives, to know about their domestic problems. In spite of the fact that battered women are visible in these villages, victims often say they thought they were the only persons with problems of violence in the community. Since women do not own or operate the main vehicles of transportation and often do not have fare for an air ticket, the decision to leave results in exposure outside the household of what are viewed as painfully private matters.

Weather permitting, a woman may sit outside her house or take long walks in the village, returning home when she judges the situation to be safe, i.e., when the husband has passed out from intoxication or left the house. During night-time attacks, or if injury has occurred, women go to the home of a consanguineal relative if such an alternative is available. The woman without close relatives in the community is in a particularly vulnerable position. She might go to an affinal (in-law) relative, although it is not preferred, or to a friend. In a very small number of cases known to us, if abuse is prolonged women arrange to leave the village

for an extended stay (e.g., 2 weeks) to visit a close relative. According to our data, these are usually women without a close relative in their community of residence. Women who are regularly victimized also arrange to travel to Bethel to escape home by volunteering for assignments to village committees that travel or by scheduling medical/dental appointments for themselves or their children.

According to our respondents, the relative of choice to whom a victim goes for help is nearly always a female--a mother, sister, daughter. We did not notice this sex distinction during the fieldwork, perhaps because of our own familiarity with the popular image of a woman "going home to mother." Subsequently, we were surprised during analysis of our data on where women regularly go during times of crisis to discover that, in the view of the respondents, women indeed go home to their mother. Not a single person said that a woman goes home to her "parents" or to her "mother and father," in spite of the fact that there are fathers in some of these homes. This use of language when referring to the helping relative of a victim, as well as the actual choices women make about where to go when in danger, highlight the reliance of women on each other (relatives or non-relatives) as help-mates and protectors in these villages. Conversely, it reflects an unwillingness on the part of women to ask men for assistance. We believe this is an important and complex point in understanding the perpetuation of domestic violence, a point involving relationships between men as well as relationships between women and men, and we will return to it later.

Some of the households that harbor endangered women also contain people who are or formerly were involved in spouse abuse. However, this factor was

never mentioned by respondents when describing where particular victims go and we do not think it relevant to a victim's decision, unless drinking is occurring in that home also. The practice of going to a relative is consistent with social life in these communities where the closest social ties, manifested in daily visiting, are with one's consanguineal family and this consideration outweighs any other in selecting a safe refuge.

Children also leave home during incidents of spouse abuse, usually at the point when violence begins. Some leave with the mother; others leave on their own. Like their mothers, they "run to a relative," as our respondents all described. For example, one young adult, raised in a home with wife abuse, recalled how frightened she and her siblings were when her father began drinking and picking on her mother, a regular prelude to physical violence. As she related, the children would stay in bed, as quietly as possible, until they judged the situation too threatening to stay. Then they would run as a group to a relative. After a while, they learned to leave their shoes by the door in the winter.

It is our observation that similar strategies are used by families in Bethel, although for some the situation is more desperate if there are no relatives or close friends in their immediate neighborhood. Women and children from violent homes in Bethel, like those in villages, establish safe homes, often relying on contacts from their home village if they are new residents in Bethel.

In two violent homes in Bethel, observed during the course of the study, children assumed considerable responsibility for taking care of each other, and sometimes their mother, during crisis situations created

by their intoxicated fathers. In one home, a teenage daughter was interviewed. We believe the sense of responsibility and loyalty to family, evidenced by this young woman's behavior, as well as her statements about her home situation, are typical for many female children in the region.¹¹ In this household, crisis situations develop due to drinking at least once a week. This teenager and her older (teenage) sister have devised strategies to assist their mother, such as hiding all sharp objects, including the axe, as soon as their father begins to drink and the older sister attempts to physically subdue her father's attacks on her mother. During evenings when drinking is occurring, these young women take the younger children and visit homes in the neighborhood in hopes that drinking will slow down at their home. If not, they seek a place to sleep from a relative or friend. They prefer to stay home and going elsewhere is a last resort from their point of view. During prolonged drinking, we observed the teenage daughter staying home from school, watching her parents who were passed out, and caring for younger children, who were too tired or too young to go to school.

In recent years, the mother in this household has become a problem drinker like her husband and she rarely leaves the home during drinking bouts, unless she is making a trip to a bootlegger. Invariably during drinking episodes, she is beaten. During one particularly violent incident, she was seriously injured by a blow to her head and the children notified a relative who called the police. The battered woman was transported to the hospital receiving sutures for a serious head injury but she refused to stay there or go to the shelter. Although we urged her daughter to use the shelter and to encourage her mother to do so, they only made one visit

to the shelter over a period of 6 months. At this writing, the family has returned to their home village, a favorable move from the point of view of the children, who will now have residence options not as easily available to them in Bethel.

Older sons (late teens, young adult) sometimes attempt to alter a family pattern of spouse abuse by confronting their father. In one case described to us, the father slowly abandoned his abusive behavior toward his wife as a result of his son's verbal harassment. Often, however, fathers do not respond and a son's anger may lead to physical fighting between father and son or the son may purposefully injure himself or attempt suicide. Throughout the region, there are examples of young men shooting themselves because of their parents' drinking and abusive behavior toward one another and sometimes toward the children. During the course of this study, one young man in one of the study villages attempted to kill himself with a gun after failing to alter his parents' drinking and mutual spouse abuse. Older daughters, like their brothers, also occasionally attempt suicide but we have no examples of daughters confronting their father. Although violence toward one's self is a response by older children in or from violent homes in the region, it is exceptional. More often, the response is to temporarily leave the home.

In summary, there appears to be a pattern for female children to assume nurturant roles toward their siblings in times of crisis and for young adult males to attempt to produce change through confrontation tactics. Occasionally, young adult males and females resort to self-induced physical injury or attempted suicide as a response to a history of family violence.

Parents who are experiencing abuse, or threats of abuse, from their children use the same strategies as those described for women and children

in homes with a violent husband/father. Like wives, parents are reluctant to involve other people in their family problems but they will seek refuge with a close relative, usually a child living in another residence if this option is available.

During the study year, one-fifth (21% or 16 women) of victims identified in this study from the project villages used TWC. Most users were from Hooper Bay. In Emmonak, an additional six women identified as victims used the Emmonak shelter, raising the total percentage of women in the study communities who used a shelter to 29%. Few used the legal system, as discussed in the next section. However, several (4 women or 5% of the total) requested injunctive relief orders against their husbands or signed criminal complaints against their abuser (6 women or 8%).

Relatives of Victims. Interviews with consanguineal relatives of victims, living in houses other than that of the victim, indicate that the major extent of their involvement is to apply pressure on the victim to remove herself temporarily from personal danger. Relatives also sometimes call the police to intervene in a battering incident if they know about it. In Emmonak, relatives have sought assistance for victims from shelter personnel. Relatives do not encourage women to separate from their spouses because of their religious conviction that marriage is a permanent relationship. For example, we heard a mother trying to persuade her daughter, who was considering separation from her very violent spouse, to remain with her husband. The conversation in Yupik included many references to the daughter's responsibility for her children. Near the conclusion, the mother, switching to English, urged her daughter to "remember your marriage vows."

According to our data, male relatives rarely attempt to pressure male consanguineal or affinal kin to alter their abusive patterns. Several male respondents reported that men often express the notion that beating is sometimes a necessary action in controlling the behavior of women although we have no quantitative data on how widespread this attitude is. One male respondent, after considerable deliberation, asked his son-in-law to stop hurting his daughter who had been coming home to escape attack. The discussion, in the presence of the son-in-law's brother, accelerated into a verbal fight. Subsequently, the son-in-law's brother filed a complaint against his brother's father-in-law who ultimately paid a fine. Although this is an extreme example, and an unusual case of attempted direct intervention by a relative, it illustrates the potentially antagonistic nature of the relationship between affinal males in these villages. The response of the son-in-law and his brother was no doubt enhanced by the fact that, unlike them, the father-in-law has no close relatives in the village, other than his wife and daughter.

Relatives who regularly receive women and children who are fleeing from their homes complain of the discomfort and upset occasioned by the middle-of-the-night intrusions, although none would deny assistance to a victim. Husbands sometimes follow their wives and attempt to retrieve them but the usual response of relatives is to refuse to answer the door or to deny the presence of the woman.

In summary, response to spouse violence most often is to leave the home. Relatives provide support to victims but rarely attempt direct intervention. Few women leave their village unless they have no close relatives in their community. Approximately one-third of the total victims in the sample used a shelter and several took legal measures to protect themselves.

THE LAW

Data on the extent of legal involvement in the management of domestic violence were gathered through interviews with village police in each study community and with the magistrates in Emmonak and Hooper Bay.

Police data are not complete enough to warrant quantitative treatment but the role of police here, like elsewhere (cf., Under The Rule of Thumb), in managing domestic violence has not been high in our judgment. Although police are sometimes called by a victim, or her relative or neighbor, domestic violence incidents are particularly embarrassing for both police and the family due to their long familiarity with one another. They are even more sensitive if the policeman is related to one of the parties involved in violence. In addition, in the recent past in two of the study communities the police were well known for having their own drinking problems and were often difficult to find. In one village in this study, in the memory of many people, a policeman assisted a battering husband in beating his wife who had decided to respond in kind to her husband's habitual physical violence, an act that hardly recommended the police as a source of help for a battered woman.

Criminal charges. In Emmonak, five men since 1979 were charged with assault (third or fourth degree) or disorderly conduct by their spouses. One other was charged for parent abuse by the parent and a sibling of the assailant. In Hooper Bay, during the study year, five men were charged with assault (primarily fourth degree) of their spouses--four by the police and one by the victim. Of the ten men identified in the records in the

two villages, all but two are included in our sample of spouse abusers. According to follow-up interviews, they were excluded because of their youth (under 20) and the anticipation that their relationships were short-term. Since the policeman in Kotlik was new, we did not obtain much information but, as far as we could tell, no criminal charges involving domestic violence were processed during the study year.

In interviews, respondents stressed the reluctance of village people to sign complaints about anything, and if complaints are signed, they are often withdrawn. Domestic violence cases are perhaps more uncomfortable than other types of violations for the reasons mentioned above. In addition, women fear reprisal from their husbands, a problem common to most women in these circumstances. Further, in these Catholic villages where marriage is viewed as a sacred and permanent relationship and where a wife's duties to her husband and family are often emphasized, women view formal legal action as an act of disloyalty even to a very violent spouse. As one woman, who was formerly battered, commented to us during a discussion about signing complaints, "to hurt your hubby is like hurting yourself."

Although Alaska law (AS 12.25.030) permits arrest for violence within the family by a peace officer who has reasonable cause for believing a crime has been committed, few arrests are made. Police action in signing complaints is discouraged by the attitude of victims who do not want charges filed against their husbands. In a recent case in Emmonak, a woman wept and begged the police to destroy charges they planned to file against her husband who had severely beaten her (and who has a history of abusing his wife). As it turned out, she had nothing to fear since the charges were dismissed by the district attorney in Bethel no doubt due to the unwillingness of the wife to cooperate and the fact that the husband planned to deny the charges.

Finally, although Alaska law (AS 18.05.520) dictates that police, when responding to incidents of domestic violence, should inform victims of the nearest domestic violence program and of their right to injunctive relief, and give them a form outlining these matters, as far as we know this procedure is either not known or ignored.

Civil charges. Since 1980, it has been possible in Alaska (AS 09.55.600-09.55.640) to petition the superior court for injunctive relief (emergency 20-day, or 90-day with possible, limited extensions) in cases involving domestic violence and magistrates can grant temporary emergency relief orders. Although no petitions were filed in the Bethel court in the first months of the law (September-December 1980), the court received, on the average, 44 requests in 1981 and 1982 (Table 33). Individuals making requests were primarily married (72%) although one-fourth were cohabitators and a very small percentage* (3%) filed against a former spouse. Of these individuals, 18% have since filed for divorce.

No petitions for injunctions against non-"spouses" were filed in 1981. In contrast, seven requests in 1982 and 4 in the first quarter of 1983 were processed. Nearly all (8 out of 11) were injunctions requested by a parent(s) against a son.

Table 33. Injunctive relief petitions (spouse abuse only) filed in the Bethel Court.

Year	Village		Bethel		Combined Total Requests
	Total Couples	Total Requests	Total Couples	Total Requests	
1981	14	15	21	35	50
1982	13	13	20	25	38
1983*	2	2	8	8	10

*January-March

According to the magistrate in Emmonak, no requests for injunctive relief were made in her jurisdiction. One emergency order (parent abuse) was granted by the magistrate in Hooper Bay. One other request (spouse abuse) was made but the petition was dropped the day before the hearing.

Bethel court records on domestic violence injunctions (48 cases) requested for spouse abuse were examined for the study year (1982-1983). The majority (65%) of spouses seeking relief, not unexpectedly, were from Bethel. The only couples petitioning more than once in 1982 are Bethel residents who have more direct access to local assistance and the court. One village resident filed twice in 1981. Nearly all petitioners (98%) were women and most (95% of all petitioners) were Yupik. All but three (of 43) have children or were expecting a child (2 cases). The one male petitioner was non-native, filing against his wife, who had already filed against him.

The majority (75%) of requests were for both an emergency order and an extension. There were no notable differences between village and Bethel residents in the type of request made to the court (Table 34). Emergency orders were nearly always granted (79%) to both village and Bethel petitioners.

Table 34. Type of injunctive order request (1982-1983).

<u>Type</u>	<u>Village</u> <u>N=15</u>	<u>Bethel</u> <u>N=33</u>
Emergency Order and Extension	73%	76%
Emergency Order Only	13%	18%
Injunctive Relief Only	7%	6%
Unknown type of request*	7%	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

*Incomplete file.

In contrast, requests for extended relief were less often finalized (44%), especially those made by Bethel residents (one-third granted compared to 2/3

of village requests) since a large proportion (68%) were dropped by the petitioner before the hearing or the petitioner did not appear in court. Requests for monetary support were rare but more common in the Bethel sample (25% of requests compared to 13% of those in the village sample).

Nearly all requests cited current physical abuse and every case cited either current or past physical abuse, much of which was severe as the two following quotes from court records demonstrate.

While drinking and arguing started, my husband told me he was going to pop my eyes out and he threatened to kill me by choking on my throat. I got a bite mark on my arm (left). I have bruises on my face when he tried to pop my eyes out and also on my throat. I was admitted to the hospital for observation and treatment.

I was threatened by my husband that he would beat me up on my face till I couldn't see and he threw dishes and other objects and physically abused me on my back while I was still in bed. I was afraid for my life and my children's also because this isn't the first time he has threatened and abused me and my children. At one time he was so angry he had intentions of killing me with an axe while I was asleep. At one time in the past I've had him arrested because he had a loaded gun pointed at my chest. I had carefully removed the weapon away from my body and when I did so he fired the gun. The bullet hit the floor under the bed. He's always under the influence of alcohol when these things have happened.

Women often mention abuse of children as the factor that drives them to court, in spite of a history of severe physical abuse directed at themselves.

Nearly all (95%) petitioners received assistance from TWC staff in the process of making a request to the court and most were accompanied by a staff member at the hearing. Ninety percent of the women petitioners also stayed at TWC's shelter (or a safe home) for one or more nights. Interviews with TWC staff members indicate that they counsel women on their options, including legal procedures such as injunctive relief. Staff emphasize that the decision to seek court action is always solely

the client's decision since a major thrust of TWC's approach is to encourage women to become decision-makers. From the staff's point of view, injunctive relief allows a couple "time out" from domestic strife, to think about their problems and try to find solutions. TWC legal advocates who accompany women to court also always try to talk with the husband to explain their role and the potential role of injunctive relief in managing domestic violence. The high involvement of TWC in the injunctive relief process in the region is related by the staff to the referral process operative among state agencies which channels women in trouble or women seeking legal advice about domestic violence to TWC. From our point of view, it also suggests that the injunctive relief process is not well known to the general public and, if known, may not be used in the absence of legal advocacy services.

Unfortunately, we were not able to follow-up on injunctive relief orders to determine how effective they were in managing family violence. According to TWC staff, in most cases that they are aware of, the abusing husband has been responsive to the court order. In a "handful" of cases, men have not honored the court order and several used economic measures to punish their wives, such as having all the utilities in their home cut off. In general, TWC staff feel strongly that this new law has given women a much-needed option and one that encourages women to become responsible decision-makers in the process of learning to cope with or solve severe marital problems.

In summary, although legal remedies for domestic violence exist, few are exercised by victims as demonstrated by the fact that only 10% of the abusers identified in the three study communities had criminal charges filed against them and only 5% of the battered women sought injunctive

relief. Police on the village level are reluctant to become involved in family problems and often have their own problems. Victims often do not support the police when they do act, refusing to sign complaints, or withdrawing petitions for injunctive relief orders.

THE SHELTER APPROACH

Tundra Women's Coalition, Bethel. The Tundra Women's Coalition (TWC) in Bethel is a regional shelter serving Bethel and 19 villages in southwest Alaska. The shelter, and its associated services such as counseling, a crisis line and community education and outreach programs, developed like others in the United States (cf., Pagelow 1981; Schechter 1982) as the result of a determined movement of a small number of women, beginning in 1976. The initial impetus was concern about rape and for three years a small cadre of women worked with the police and doctors in Bethel to assist rape victims. They also maintained a crisis line in the home of one woman in the group. In January 1979, a five-bed shelter was opened in a quonset hut in downtown Bethel, with the support of the City Council who arranged leasing of the structure and funding from the state and the federally supported Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (Tundra Women's Coalition Newsletter, Volume 1, No. 4). In March, 1983, TWC opened the doors of a new, state-funded, 10,000 square foot building, housing the 18-bed shelter, a resource center, displaced homemaker's program, and a 22-bed hostel.

During the study year, based on records from TWC from March 1982-March 1983, the shelter housed 168 victims of domestic violence, 108 children accompanying their mothers, and 33 rape victims (21 from village incidents). In addition, 12 male batterers received counseling (Table 35).

Table 35. TWC clients: domestic violence only (March 1982-March 1983).

<u>Victims of Domestic Violence</u>	<u>Total Number of Clients</u>		
	<u>Village</u>	<u>Bethel</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Wife Abuse	70	71	141
Husband Abuse		2	2
Parent Abuse*	4	5	9
Sibling Abuse**	4	2	6
Daughter Abuse	5	5	6
Aunt Abuse		1	1
Granddaughter Abuse	1		
Not Identified	2		
Total:	84	84	168
<u>Male Batterers: Counseling</u>	4	8	12
<u>Children with Victim of Domestic Violence</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>108</u>
Total:	145	145	288

*One male is over 65.

**Includes one female abuser.

Female victims of spouse abuse (84% of the shelter sample) who used the TWC shelter during the study year were equally drawn from Bethel and the surrounding villages (Table 35), with the village sample representing a proportionate increase from previous years from about one-third to one-half of the shelter users. These clients and other victims of domestic violence came from 31 (63% of the villages in the region: Appendix I). However, a much smaller number (7 or 23%) of villages supplied one-half (52%) of all village clients suffering from domestic violence. Of these seven, five are among the six largest villages in the region. Although we had expected that villages closer to Bethel might be the source of most village users, the two with the highest use (Hooper Bay and Chevak),

supplying almost one-fourth (24%) of village clients, are located near one another on the shores of the Bering Sea in one of the more distant reaches of the region. The next two villages with high use are in the Kuskokwim area (Kwethluk and Tuluksak).

The majority of battered women using the shelter were Yupik (91%) and went there because of physical abuse (87% of the village sample; 80% of the Bethel sample). Of these, 57% of the village people and 75% of those from Bethel also reported mental and emotional abuse. Nearly all (98% of village sample, 97% of Bethel) had suffered repeated abuse prior to coming to the shelter.

Analysis of how women entered the shelter was hampered by missing data on the reporting forms, especially for the Bethel sample (Table 36). In addition, our inability to control for the history of continuing clients probably inflated the proportions of self-referrals since women often come to the shelter on their own after an initial encounter prompted by another person. Hence, although it appears that more Bethel women, compared to village women, are self-referrals the nature of the data precludes any such conclusion. What is clear from the data is the significant role of personnel in agencies providing health care, social services or law enforcement in referring both village and Bethel women to the shelter (Table 36). It is also important to note that, as far as we can tell, about one-half of the referrals of village women are made by people contacted in the villages, such as police, troopers, and health aides; the other half are from individuals in Bethel.

Table 36. Source of TWC domestic violence clients: wife abuse only
(March 1982-March 1983).

REFERRED BY:	Village Sample (N=62)	Bethel Sample (N=54)
Self	37%	53%
Law Enforcement Officials	16%	20%
Alaska Legal Services	2%	2%
Health & Social Services Agencies	37%	17%
Priest	2%	
Other relative	5%	4%
Other client	2%	
Friend		2%
Employer		2%
	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The majority of battered women who used TWC during 1982-1983 were new clients but a substantial (44%) proportion were continuing, having been in the shelter in a year prior to the study year as well as during the study year.

Most new and continuing clients used the shelter once (one visit) during the study year (Table 37). Multiple visit users during the year tended to be continuing clients (Table 37) with a much smaller proportion of new clients in this category. One-fourth (26%) of women who used the shelter used its legal advocacy services and filed for injunctive relief orders.

Table 37. Shelter use (March 1982-March 1983).

	<u>One Visit</u>	<u>Two or More Visits</u>	<u>Total</u>
New Clients			
Village (N=43)	91%	9%	100%
Bethel (N=36)	89%	11%	100%
Continuing Clients			
Village (N=27)	71%	30%	101%
Bethel (N=35)	57%	43%	101%