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Until the Emmonak shelter was opened in December, 1981, TWC was the only facility in the region available to women in crisis from domestic violence or rape. Hooper Bay anticipates opening a shelter this year and Alakanuk operates a safe homes program. Although other villages have requested information from TWC about village programs, at this writing as far as we know only three more (Mountain Village, Scammon Bay, King Salmon) are seriously exploring the development of either a safe homes program or a shelter.

Emmonak Shelter. Organized efforts to deal with family violence on a community level in Emmonak began late in 1980 due to the activities of a small number of women (about 10) who formed the Emmonak Women's Shelter Committee. The female magistrate in the community played a key role in assisting in the development of what grew to be a small but determined grassroots women's movement directed at attacking domestic violence.

The idea of providing a community shelter to women and children was suggested to the magistrate by a battered woman in the village who had been a client at TWC. She was without close relatives in Emmonak and therefore felt she had limited options when endangered. Since the first regional women's conference, sponsored by the Alaska Commission on the Status of Women, was scheduled to meet in Bethel in October, 1980, the magistrate used this occasion to publicly ask for assistance. A letter written by her, accompanied by the signatures of 14 women and 3 non-Yupik men, was submitted to the conference by one of two women from Emmonak who attended the regional meeting. According to this letter,

Friends, family, and teachers usually offer shelter to those who have cause to flee their homes which is a decent human act. But that usually endangers them. Most of the time, too, families

are large and houses are too small. That causes discomfort to all parties involved. Also women and children spend hours out in the cold, with no place to go or are scared to go knock on someone's door. Private homes and families also cannot offer a lasting solution. We could go on and on with reasons why we need a shelter.

A representative from TWC travelled to Emmonak in early January, 1981 in response to the petition presented at the women's conference. Two meetings with City Council members were held on January 5 and 6. About 20 people, mostly women, attended the January 6 meeting. Although the city manager questioned the need for a shelter and reminded the council that it was not one of its priorities, testimony was strongly in favor of the idea. The magistrate spoke at length, estimating that most Emmonak women (90-95%) are beaten or have been beaten, and other women and one man contributed positive support in their comments for a shelter. After some discussion, the City Council granted the Shelter Committee the use of the old community building for a shelter. They also donated one year's supply of fuel oil and \$1200 they had received from the District Court from a bootlegging conviction the previous summer.

Since the building designated as the shelter by the City Council required extensive repair and preparation, a safe homes program was developed by the Shelter Committee to function during the interim period. Throughout 1981, about seven homes, including several of non-native residents, such as teachers and the Catholic nuns regularly harbored endangered women and children.

Initially the police and magistrate cooperated in the placement of a victim. However, in one instance the policeman got drunk and told the husband where his wife was and a chase ensued. Due to the quick action of two households in the program, the woman was successfully hidden but program participants were understandably alarmed. As a result, during the rest of the year placement was handled only by the magistrate. Unlike

safe homes in some communities, the identities of the Emmonak homes were not hidden. With the exception of the incident described above, however, no one had any serious problems. Like relatives who harbor victims, safe home families would deny any knowledge of the whereabouts of a woman and refuse admittance to a pursuing husband.

The formal cooperation of households in the program provided the magistrate and police an opportunity to offer victims residence options not previously available to them. In addition, it relieved the victim of the responsibility of making her own arrangements during a time of stress. However, people in the program voiced the same concerns as those reported above by individuals who house their relatives. Major concerns were the constant fear of confrontation with a pursuing male, interrupted sleep, and the added expense of feeding extra people which in some households became particularly burdensome. In addition, it was the assessment of the Shelter Committee that there were just too many victims for the system. The safe home approach in Emmonak was viewed as a temporary arrangement and the experience of the program encouraged the Shelter Committee to continue its preparation of a community shelter.

By December 1981, the former community hall was judged ready for occupancy and two young women moved in as part-time resident counselors, receiving \$50 a month plus room and board. The building had been prepared primarily through volunteer assistance from Emmonak residents; TWC donated an oil stove for cooking and heat. Resident counselors were responsible for maintaining the building, including hauling water and managing the "honeybucket," as well as counseling and assisting shelter clients.

The shelter was open until April 1982 when money for salaries, food, and utilities was no longer available. During summer 1982, the building

was rented and the money (\$800) received was applied to fuel and food when the shelter re-opened in October with state funding (\$25,000), channelled through TWC, and two new staff members. Problems with the oil stove developed making it impossible to adequately heat the building. A new wood stove was purchased with TWC money and installed early in 1983. Due to improper installation of the wood stove, creosote was deposited throughout the building making it a hazard to occupy the shelter and it was closed again for most of January. Since this time, the shelter has been open but for varying periods of time. During the study year, 8 victims of spouse abuse and 9 children used the shelter. One victim was from a neighboring community.

Recognition of the inadequacies of the shelter building led the Shelter Committee to request assistance from the city in obtaining a new structure. Although the initial City Council grant of the building and money had been for an "experimental one year program," the council has continued to support the committee's efforts to establish a functioning shelter. In November, 1982, the City Council applied for a Rural Development Assistance (RDA) grant for \$100,000 to build a new structure as a shelter. This grant application was supported by the Tribal Council's decision to request a transfer of funds (\$30,000) they had received from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for renovation of the old community hall to the construction of the new shelter. At this writing, the RDA grant has been received and the new Emmonak shelter should be built in Fall 1983 and open by March 1984.

Women who staff the shelter are members of the Shelter Committee and they participate in policy-making decisions affecting the shelter. Thus far, women hired as staff have been young (under 25) and major administrative

responsibilities such as bookkeeping have been assigned to other young women on the committee. Staff members and other members of the committee (hereafter, both referred to as committee members) have participated in workshops at TWC since 1981 and a week's structured job training experience was offered to committee members in 1983. In addition, a technical assistant, hired as a consultant to TWC, visited Emmonak three times since September 1982 to work with the committee on administrative procedures.

According to staff and committee members, administration of the shelter has been a serious problem. The former and current staff, due to their youth, lack experience in management and record-keeping and the problems that have plagued the building would have been a challenge to more experienced individuals. Staff are part-time but feel like they are "on call" all the time since there are no alternates. Women have volunteered to help but no structure has been established to accommodate volunteer work on a regular basis.

Interviews with committee members indicate that they are comfortable in their roles as counselors with abused women and that their participation in TWC workshops has been critical in preparing them for this responsibility. Consistent with the philosophy of most shelters in the country (cf., Schechter 1982), they see their role as that of a support agent or facilitator, assisting women to achieve their own self-defined goals. Due to their strong religious beliefs, they, like other women in the community, firmly believe in the permanence of marriage. An overriding goal of all the women involved with the shelter is to provide safety to endangered women.

Activities of committee members have not been limited to work within the shelter. They have publicized the shelter and had announcements made

at Mass about Shelter Committee meetings that are open to anyone interested. At one recent, important meeting, the committee brought together the village police, members of the City Council, and visitors from TWC in a public presentation on domestic violence, including information on options available to women legally. Committee members have also counseled women in settings other than the shelter, lending support by walking with them, having coffee at the cafe, or visiting with them at home.

Interviews with committee members and other people in the community indicate that there is still considerable confusion in the village about the role of the shelter. Members and others report that women are interested in coming to the shelter and ask questions about it but fear public exposure through gossip if they use the facility. They are "scared of talk." Victims also say "I'm not that bad," indicating a common reluctance to admit to domestic problems of any severity. Some victims have reported that their husbands have threatened them with severe retaliation if they go to the shelter. In more than one case, the presence of the shelter has acted as a deterrent to a husband who fears his wife will use the facility. Some women commented that the youth of the shelter staff is a deterrent to victims who would feel more comfortable with older women "with more experience." In general, however, everyone we talked with felt that, with time, more women would feel comfortable about going to the shelter when in danger.

Village unfamiliarity with the concept of a shelter for women and children, that not only protects their physical security but their identity, has made involvement with the shelter difficult for women on the Shelter Committee. Some have experienced verbal abuse from other women about their support of the shelter. They have been "teased" that

the shelter is really for them. For example, one member, whose deceased husband used to beat her, was told, "it's your shelter; if your husband were alive, it would be your shelter." Committee members realize that this teasing misplaces the responsibility for abuse by blaming the victim and they also recognize that the motivation for these comments is often fear on the part of the speaker that people will discover she is beaten. Participation in this movement has not been easy.

Committee women have received support from male relatives who perceive a need for the shelter. In general, however, while men have not harassed them they have been noncommittal about the project. Women on the committee indicated that they did not know what men thought in general due to the fact that they do not regularly talk to men about issues of domestic violence, or, in fact, about many other things.

Nearly everyone we talked with in Emmonak was in support of the shelter, although women were much more verbal than men. Representatives of formal institutions in the village, such as the Village Council, Parish Council, Tribal Council, the police, magistrate, and priest expressed a need for the shelter and support for it. They also envision the shelter as a service facility for nearby villages (Alakanuk, Sheldon's Point, and Kotlik).

Women in the shelter movement seemed unaware of what appeared to us to be fairly widespread support. They expressed in subtle ways what we perceived to be a sense of isolation and a felt lack of support. Some of the discouragement is related to problems associated with the building and unpleasant personal encounters such as those described above. In addition, some is related to the fact that communication patterns in the village do not provide channels by which the committee women might receive verbal reinforcement for their activities.

Hooper Bay Shelter. Hooper Bay plans to open a shelter for women and children in Fall, 1983. The development of their approach, like that in Emmonak, has been the result of the determined efforts of women. However, in this community only two women have been involved and the structure of the "program" as it is currently envisioned is considerably different from that of the Emmonak shelter.

The intent of the City Council has been to house the shelter in a portion of the former Roman Catholic church. They recently renovated the church to accommodate the shelter and a day care center on the second floor and arranged to rent it for \$100/month. However, since the renovation the building failed to pass a safety (fire) inspection and discussions are underway now to find another location. The shelter and day care programs are part of a general social services program structured by the City Council, financed by municipal funds (\$22,500 for the shelter and \$50,000 for the day care center) saved by the city over the past two years.

A male director of social services has been hired to handle the day care program and the shelter. Positions for the day care program, funded by the city, include two attendants and a cook who will work during the day. No positions are planned for the shelter, although a request for financial assistance was made to TWC by the city manager. As we understand it, the current view of the City Council has been that women who want to use the shelter will have to locate a person with a key to the structure (day care personnel, and the alcohol program counselor).

The emphasis in the social services program appears to be on the day care center, which the council anticipates will be self-supporting in a year. The inclusion of a shelter in the overall program has been due to

the continued quiet, lobbying efforts of two women in the community--a City Council member and a health aide. In interviews with people in the community, we found that very few people had any idea that a shelter was associated with the day care center but everyone knew that a day care center was about to be opened.

Alakanuk Safe Homes Program. During the course of field work, we learned that Alakanuk had a safe homes program. As a result, we sought contact with people in the community who were associated with it. Our data are limited to interviews with two women who are involved in its operation.

The program was developed in Fall, 1980, due to the efforts of the female alcohol counselor, whose position is funded by the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation (YKHC) and who recognized a need for an organized approach to domestic violence. While visiting neighboring Emmonak, she met the TWC representative who was there to work with the Shelter Committee and invited her to come to Alakanuk to talk with people about a shelter. After discussions in Alakanuk, the local alcohol board decided to develop a safe homes program rather than a shelter. Men on the board voiced concerns about the safety of women in a shelter and others felt that staffing might be a problem.

Initially the police would contact the alcohol counselor or a member of the alcohol board and an endangered woman would be placed in a safe home. Although the number of available safe homes varies, about 11 homes have participated in the program. As in Emmonak, after an incident when the policeman got drunk and revealed the location of a hidden woman to her husband who was his relative, the committee decided that one committee member would be responsible for all placements and would have sole knowledge

of a woman's whereabouts. This person is the non-native wife of a non-native minister in the village.

The program enjoys the support of the City Council and there are current plans to request financial assistance from the council to prepare "food bags," including diapers as well as milk and food, for the receiving homes who now absorb the expense of additional people. According to our data, a need for a safe home occurs two or three times a month. The role of the minister's wife is viewed as ideal since she is not related to anyone in the community.

Apparently there is some support for beginning a shelter in Alakanuk and this alternative is often discussed. At this writing, however, there are no concrete plans to abandon the safe homes approach.

In summary, the shelter approach to dealing with domestic violence is focused in Bethel in this region and village women have become increasingly involved as users of TWC's services in the last couple years, through a referral process that directs them to TWC. Two villages have functioning programs; one has one that is imminent and three others are exploring ways to begin a program. The Emmonak shelter, one of two village shelters in Alaska that have been funded by state money, has had a difficult start due to the lack of a decent building and trained staff. The organization of this shelter, including its origin has been solely the work of a small group of very determined women who have drawn on TWC for emotional as well as financial sustenance. The presence of a shelter is well-known in the village. However, victims are reluctant to use it. The concept of a shelter where a woman can be secure and her identity protected is not yet accepted. The idea of the Hooper Bay shelter was also that of women; but in this case

a very small number (two). Its organization, however, has been given to a male director and at present it lacks any visible grass roots support such as that exhibited by women in Emmonak and very few people are aware that a shelter may become available in the community. The Alakanuk safe homes program, a compromise apparently between members of the local alcohol advisory board, appears to be functioning and, according to its organizers, is satisfying the needs of the community, although there appears to be some sentiment for a shelter.

VII. DISCUSSION

The Problem. Research in Kotlik, Emmonak, and Hooper Bay demonstrates that wife beating is a problem in each community, especially in Emmonak and Hooper Bay where about one-third of couples experienced severe abuse in the year preceding research (Table 13). The one available nationally representative study, conducted by Murray Straus and colleagues (1980), reports 16% of the 2,143 couples in the sample experienced spouse abuse during one year's time. This abuse was more broadly defined than that studied in the villages, and included less severe acts (such as throwing things). Higher rates of spouse abuse have been recorded for smaller non-random samples (cf., Gelles 1974). In general, researchers have argued that national rates are probably closer to one-third of all couples experiencing abuse every year, with lower rates reflecting methodological problems (Straus et al. 1980:48). Severe wife abuse of the sort documented in the villages characterized 3.8% of couples in the national study. In comparison with a national sample then, this kind of wife abuse is four to ten times greater in the study villages than in the population at large.¹²

In the villages, mutual abuse is rare and husband abuse, in the absence of wife abuse, is nearly non-existent (Table 14). In contrast, nationally, it has been reported that severe husband abuse (4.6% of couples) exceeds similar abuse of wives and that nearly one-half (49%) of couples with abuse reported, mutual abuse (Steinmetz 1978; Straus et al. 1980). These national study findings have been severely criticized (cf., Russell 1982; Pleck et al. 1978; Dobash and Dobash 1979) and subsequently the original investigators substantially modified their conclusions (Straus et al. 1980). In spite of well deserved criticism of the original reports, the national study does

suggest a fair degree of husband abuse since it showed nearly equal proportions of husband and wife abuse of a less severe nature. Although more abuse of husbands in the villages may have been recorded if less severe acts had been considered, it seems likely that there are significant differences between village populations and the larger society in the degree of husband abuse and this is unquestionably the case for severe abuse.

The high level of wife abuse in the villages supports the finding of Straus et al. (1980:128) that minorities have higher rates of domestic violence, compared with whites. A study of law enforcement data in Anchorage, which lacks a comparison group, also indicates overrepresentation of incidents involving Alaska natives (Johnson et al. 1983). However, our village study just as importantly demonstrates that between minority communities, even those with a common cultural heritage, there can be considerable variation since wife beating in Kotlik affects 2.4 fewer women proportionately than in the other two villages. Although there is this difference, it must be emphasized that there is still a high level of wife abuse in Kotlik compared with the national sample. From our personal perspectives, there is no level of wife abuse that is tolerable. However, several studies have shown that there is support in the national society for some sort of limited, occasional, wife abuse as a mechanism of control in marriage (Straus et al. 1980:47; Gelles 1974; Stark and McEvoy 1970). In the study villages, this sentiment certainly exists.

Kotlik, with its lower level of spouse abuse differs from Emmonak and Kotlik, primarily in its small size and its isolation. Although we need more comparative data, it may well be that small size and isolation contribute

to a more effective functioning of local systems of social control. We know that not all small villages in the region are free from serious problems of wife abuse but we suggest that size and isolation are variables that may prove to be important in understanding community variation in social problems. Income data suggest that residents in Ketlik have had more access to cash in the last few years than those in Emmonak and Hooper Bay. However, given the significant role of subsistence activities in contributing to the standard of living, it is hard to know, without more data, how important this variable is in distinguishing these community contexts. In fact, the variable is not well defined in this study due to its complexity and our lack of time to research it thoroughly. Comparison of other dimensions of community contexts, such as local historical factors, marriage patterns, features of the demography, does not reveal anything useful in understanding variation in the magnitude of spouse abuse. Unquestionably, the immediate and most obvious cause of the lower degree of spouse abuse in Ketlik is this community's lower level of problem drinking.

In all the villages, spouse abusing couples usually have a high school education, minor children at home, a male spouse employed part-time, and live in nuclear households. In these characteristics, as well as their youth, spouse abusing couples are like those described in the national sample (Straus et al. 1980) and in shelter studies (cf., Safman 1983; Basham and Brothers 1983; Gayford 1975). However, these sociodemographic features do not distinguish couples with abuse from couples without abuse in the villages even though they are predictive of abuse in couples in the larger society.

The activities and background of the male member of a couple separates village couples with abuse from those without. A man who abuses is employed,

most often drawn from the ranks of men employed full-time, year-round, and has a non-working wife. He was probably exposed to spouse abuse in his home as a child and he is a problem drinker. Females with abuse, compared to those without, do not illustrate a profile significantly different with the exception that females in Emmonak with a drinking problem are often found in couples with spouse abuse.

Employment patterns for villages are difficult to interpret, as noted earlier, and our information is limited to one village. Although most men who batter are seasonally employed, of men who work full-time, year-round, more abuse their wives than those in the seasonal or unemployed ranks, although the difference is not statistically significant. This is an area that deserves much more attention than we can provide especially since it contrasts somewhat with the finding of Straus et al. (1980:131) that men with part-time or no employment are more often found in violent homes than men with regular employment.

Exposure to spouse abuse as a child is an important factor in becoming involved in spouse abuse as an adult for men in this study. These findings echo those of other research (Straus et al. 1980; Hofeller 1982; Pagelow 1981; Gayford 1975; Gelles 1974). This variable seems to be particularly important among minority male Alaskans according to our research and that of Basham and Brothers (1983).

One study of a small non-random sample found that men with a family history of abuse tended to be more severe in their abuse of wives than those without this background (Hofeller 1982:132). This is interesting and may be reflected by this research and that of Basham and Brothers (1983) considering the severity of abuse in these study populations and the high degree of family history of violence.

The maintenance of a violent relationship in the study villages is supported by people's perceptions of the Catholic church's position on marital separation. Two other studies (Hofeller 1982; Snyder and Scheer 1981) report that Catholics tend to remain in violent marriages longer than members of other religions. We do not have data on the length of violence in the abused couples identified in this study. Therefore, we can only speculate that the greater magnitude of violence, as measured over one year's time, compared to that reported nationally, is due, in part, to the fact that violent relationships are rarely dissolved. Nationally, couples with a religious affiliation less often had abuse than those with no religion and the study found no significant difference in the expression of spouse abuse between religions (Straus et al. 1980:138).

In this study, 95% of abusers are problem drinkers and respondents insist that wife beating incidents are alcohol-related. We found a strong statistical association of male problem drinking in couples with spouse abuse. The only statistics similar to these are reported from the Anchorage shelter study by Basham and Brothers (1983) for Alaska Native clients. In this shelter population, a much larger proportion (86%) of Alaska Native abusers, compared to non-natives (56%), were using alcohol during the battering incident that brought women to the shelter. In contrast, a recent study in Anchorage of people involved in domestic violence (including non-spousal) who were processed by the municipal prosecutor's office found a much lower involvement of alcohol (37%), based on police observations. The sample was predominantly non-native (Johnson et al. 1983:101).

Our data indicate that most male drinking behavior in Yupik villages is structured and patterned. Young men learn to abuse alcohol and learn to

fight while drunk. Women talk about the way men drink and will make comments like "he drinks like a man" meaning "he fights." Young unmarried male drinkers are involved in violence outside the home. Married male drinkers, young and older, engage in wife beating. Drinking and physically assaulting people are both fairly widespread behaviors in the villages for drunk men, especially young men. The wife of a young man who is drinking at home has an excellent chance of being hit.

Results of studies of alcohol involvement in abuse from outside Alaska, taken as a whole, are somewhat equivocal with about one-half of women relating alcohol abuse by their spouse to their physical abuse (Gayford 1975: 195, 196; Walker 1979:25; Gelles 1974:111). However, one recent report (Safman 1983) on two shelters states that 85-86% of abusers were violent when drinking, based on victims' statements. In contrast, another study of a non-random sample found that although 60% of batterers were heavy drinkers, only 20% were always drunk when violent (Hofeller 1982:80). Given the high percentage of heavy drinkers in Hofeller's violent sample, the involvement of alcohol may have been greater than reported. All data on the relationship of alcohol and wife abuse derive from studies, such as these, which are based on an examination of special populations without good comparison groups. These samples are also all, or nearly all, white.

The populations in this study differ dramatically from those examined in the available research literature in terms of the relationship between alcohol abuse and wife abuse. Although we have not demonstrated that every incident of spouse abuse occurs when the perpetrator is drunk, there is good reason, based on quantitative and qualitative data, to suggest this is very nearly the case. In fact the role of problem drinking in wife abuse in each village is staggering.

Our findings and those of Basham and Brothers (1983), without question, demonstrate the significance of alcohol in wife abuse for minority Alaskans. It is unfortunate that we do not know the group breakdown of Anchorage Alaska Native clients but, given its location, it can be assumed that some clients are Athabaskan Indians. We suspect that family violence in Athabaskan communities or households may differ in form somewhat from that in Yupik Eskimo villages. In spite of a possible difference, it may be that problem drinking in these settings is a major factor in family violence as it is in the Yupik region.

The severity of abuse recorded in this study may well be related to the alcohol-related nature of the violence. This connection is suggested by several studies that found the most severe violence related to alcohol abuse (Walker 1979:25; Hofeller 1982:126-7; Cayford 1975:100; Basham and Brothers 1983:8). In the Anchorage study, over one-half (59%) of abuse suffered by Alaska Native clients, most of which was alcohol-related, was severe in comparison with 39% of abuse of non-native clients where the abuse was less often associated with alcohol.

Researchers working outside of Alaska have argued that the role of alcohol in spouse abuse is that of a precipitator and that is is not a primary cause. According to this line of thinking, alcohol abuse per se has no explanatory value in understanding battering since a drunk person has many options, only one of which is beating his wife. In a thoughtful discussion of the issue, Gelles (1974:117) argues that intoxication is an excuse for behavior that the drinker desires to pursue. It creates "time out" or an environment in which the abuser is not responsible for his behavior. It also provides the family with an explanation for violence since other members do not have to believe there are any problems, beyond

based on romantic love, a troublesome concept for people in spite of its popularity in American society. Residence changes put men and women together. They also played a major role in loss of control by older men over younger men. These changes created conditions that permitted violence between the sexes to develop.

Alcohol was increasingly used by the 1940s and became a major form of recreation for many men and some women. Through time, male drinking became associated with violence to others and sometimes toward one's self. Although the variables responsible for the development of this relationship between drinking and violence are unknown today, and can only be speculated on, this pattern of drinking became part of village culture in many portions of the region by mid-century. In our view, most men who hit women did so because they were there and because sanctions against hitting women were ineffective. In large part, we relate the magnitude of drinking and domestic violence, compared with the larger society, to an even greater absence of sufficient sanctions to control anti-social behavior than found in non-village settings. With diminishing family control, but persistence of the sentiment, and the introduction of a legal system unsuitable to family governance, attempts at social control in Yupik villages are often stalemated.

Problems in controlling behavior, especially of young men, are perhaps most difficult in the larger villages such as Emmonak and Hooper Bay. It is harder to monitor behavior and the context includes many more contending local families than in smaller villages. High incidence of problem drinking such as that found in Emmonak and Hooper Bay can be predicted for other large communities in the region, although high levels are not restricted solely to large communities. It would be important to examine some small

the drinking behavior of the batterer. In another interesting and important discussion, Russell (1982:156-166), drawing on an unpublished paper by Irene Frieze, suggests that the association of drinking with wife beating is a complex one and should not be viewed as a single phenomenon. Drawing on Frieze's distinction and her own data, Russell describes a category of men who beat when drunk but are otherwise very nice people when sober, according to their wives. In a contrast category, wives describe batterers who are not nice sober or drunk. Russell suggests that alcohol can probably be viewed as the main cause of abuse in the first category but not in the second.

Most batterers in the villages seem to fall in the first category of drinking abusers, described by Russell, and we view their violence as alcohol-related. Nearly all are characterized by their wives and others as wonderful people who become "different" under the influence of alcohol and our own observations of these men, although limited, support this view. Interestingly, wife batterers in the past, described by elders as unusual in their behavior are also described as "mean-hearted people." Several men identified as abusers in this study fall in this category but they represent a small minority, according to respondents' descriptions.

In this study, the "folk" explanation for family violence insists that problem drinking is the "cause" and people relate the development of family violence in the region to increasing access to alcohol. Like other researchers who have looked at the issue, we do not suggest that alcohol abuse is the underlying cause of wife beating in the villages. However, it is most definitely the immediate cause, and apparently much more so than in other populations.

The association of increased alcohol use with the development of domestic violence in the Yupik region, emphasized by residents, is viewed by us as very reasonable. However, the growth of the custom of beating one's wife is more properly associated with the introduction of western institutions that disrupted the traditional structure of relationships between men and women as well as traditional mechanisms of social control. Review of the history of institutions relating to marriage, the family, and male-female interactions highlights the association of western beliefs and social arrangements with abuse of women in a domestic setting. Further cross-cultural research can be expected to elaborate these culturally prescribed institutional connections, just as such study has demonstrated the significance of certain cultural configurations in the incidence of rape (Sanday 1981).

Traditionally, separate work arrangements and separate residences for males and females, ideological beliefs reinforcing male and female separateness, and an option of separation in marriage in Yupik society operated to inhibit the development of conflict between the sexes and to manage it when it occurred. The strong emphasis on one's consanguineal family, in contrast with affinal kin, created a program for living that was supported by the weak marital tie. Family government functioned effectively to control men's behavior through the institution of the qasgiq. Claims by older people in the region that domestic violence was exceedingly rare in their youth are easily believed.

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communities with problems similar to those of Emmonak and Hooper Bay since our only other field research in a smaller community (Shinkwin and Pete 1982) revealed a drinking profile similar to that of Kotlik. The isolation of Kotlik has also contributed to its lower drinking levels since it is harder to obtain liquor than in the larger villages, both of which have at least one other village close-by.

Although this study found a strong association between a history of abuse in a man's home as a child and his later involvement in abuse, it is our opinion that exposure in one's home is not a necessary precondition for violence towards women as an adult when a person grows up in a community where the practice is widespread. Surely it becomes an option to men in marriage in spite of the fact that people insist and may believe fervently that wife beating is bad. Since the custom is well established in two communities in this study and significant in the third, it seems to us that only very radical measures will alter the pattern. The same conclusion has been drawn in sociological analyses of wife abuse in American society.

Management. Attempts to manage wife beating, by and large are those of the wife involved with the notable exception of the shelter movement in Emmonak. Women in the study communities rely heavily on other women to assist them when in crisis. These women are nearly always relatives. In contrast, friends are nearly as important as family to victims in one non-random sample studied in Wisconsin (Bowker 1983). However, like battered women in the larger society (cf., Martin 1976; Walker 1979), village women internalize their problems and feel embarrassed about their victimization even though they are not responsible. Many feel they are the only person with violence. This is astonishing since the practice of beating up a

woman is certainly known in the villages and women can be seen with visible evidence of their injuries. This inability or reluctance to process what you know in such a way that it applies to yourself, as a woman, emphasizes the power of the system within which woman oppression operates. It also reflects the effect of battering on the psyche which often leaves a woman helpless to think or act independently of her abuser (cf., Martin 1976:154; Walker 1979:174).

Women in the study villages rarely dissolve a violent relationship. The profile of a woman who stays in abuse that emerges from the sociological literature is one with no employment, low educational status, and prior victimization as a child (Gelles 1976; Kalmuss and Straus 1982). A recent fine analysis, based on the national sample, illustrates that a woman who is economically, or "objectively" as the authors say, dependent on her husband will endure even severe abuse since her options are so limited (Kalmuss and Straus 1982). This study supports this conclusion. Village women have extremely limited options since most are unemployed and have not much education. If they have married a man from their natal community, like so many women in Hooper Bay have, most of their experience as an adult has been circumscribed by that village. In addition, many women are emotionally bound to their village because of strong family sentiment. These factors are especially important for middle-aged women, some of whom rarely use English, but they also apply to many younger women.

Two studies have cited a woman's affiliation with Roman Catholicism as a factor in her remaining in a violent marriage (Hofeller 1982; Snyder and Scheer 1981). From the point of view of respondents in this study and

our own observations, religion plays a major role in the objective reality that ties women to violent men in the Catholic villages.

Intervention by men, relatives or nonrelatives, on behalf of a battered woman is rare, although male relatives will certainly supply refuge. This same lack of direct intervention by relatives has been reported for one non-random sample in Wisconsin (Bowker 1983:76) where only 8% of families of victims directly intervened even though about three-fourths of the victims had told their families about their abuse. We believe male involvement in the villages (familial or not) is limited since it would upset the delicate political balance between families achieved by men. In addition, women do not ask men (relatives or non-relatives) for help as far as we know. Like women in the larger society, they assume blame for the violence and try to hide it.

Few studies have looked at the role of clergy in the management of domestic violence although several report general disinterest by clergy in getting involved (cf., Hofeller 1982; McGlinchey 1981). One short, but very fine, article by a former nun (McGlinchey 1981) who works in a shelter in New York City reports that through her counseling she became aware of the negative role some churches play with regard to women in crisis. According to her, many clergy support the norms of the larger society by making women feel responsible and guilty for the violence they suffer. She argues that few clergy are sensitized to the problems of battered women. Further, she introduces some data that suggest that women rarely share their religious concerns with counselors unless the counselor is a self-identified religious. For this reason, she suggests the role of religion in the plight of a battered woman is often overlooked.

Local clergy in the study villages or in the region certainly do not support domestic violence. At the same time, they have not aggressively attacked these problems publicly in the study villages and in one village in the region, it is alleged the Catholic priest does not support the safe homes program. Whether this is true or not, it is the impression of people running the program. Clergy will be participating in a workshop on domestic violence at TWC, Fall 1983, and this is an opportunity for a new involvement. We suggest the church, above all other institutions, in Catholic villages can make a difference in the present domestic violence situation and this is probably true for other villages (and other religions) in the region. A public attack on the problem as well as private counseling and advocacy in support of battered women, as suggested by Medlineney (1981), would be a welcome beginning.

Management of battering through the legal process is rare in villages as it is in the society at large (Paterson 1979; Under the Rule of Thumb 1982; Bowker 1983). Ten percent of the males identified as abusers in the study had criminal charges, associated with wife abuse, filed against them. Police, in general, in the villages avoid domestic violence incidents primarily because of personal reasons (kinship relationship or long-time friendship). Preliminary findings from a recent study of police actions in domestic violence situations and their effect on recidivism, six months later, suggest that arrest of batterers may be an effective approach to reducing violence (Criminal Law Reporter 1983). Unfortunately, village police have not always represented a reliable resource due to drinking problems.

In our view, police, like clergy, must play a more active role in dealing with domestic violence. District attorneys must not drop charges

if there is good evidence that criminal action has occurred even if the victim is an unwilling witness. Although we understand the pragmatic concerns that lead prosecutors to choose not to pursue cases without the support of the victim, a negative decision on prosecution clearly supports family violence. The experimental program recently initiated in Anchorage by Assistant Municipal Prosecutor Mike Marsh illustrates the significance of communicating to abusive men that they will not escape legal sanction for their behavior (Tundra Drums, Aug. 18, 1983:40). Legal sanction, as exercised by this office in 1982, more often than not resulted in disposition conditions in concluded cases directed at modifying the behavior of the defendant by requiring entry in a treatment program for alcohol abuse or a shelter program for violent men (Johnson et al. 1983:105).

Injunctive relief actions are very rare with only 5% of abusers identified in the study restrained from their homes through this process. Given the major role of TWC in the region in filing petitions, use of this management mechanism in the villages can be expected to remain minimal in the absence of local assistance. The enforcement of such an order in a village might present even more formidable problems than in Bethel or more urban areas.

All three communities have exercised their recently won legal right, under Alaska Title 4 alcohol local option law, to ban importation and sale of alcohol in their villages. Hooper Bay has only just passed this ban but it has been in effect in Kotlik and Emmonak since October and November 1981, respectively. According to people in these villages, there is less public drinking and, in this respect, life is better. In fact, drinkers have gone underground; there is more reliance on homebrew and drinking is confined more often to one's own residence. This response may, in fact, have resulted

in an increase of wife beating although we have no hard data on the issue. Importation persists because of a lack of surveillance by police which may or may not reflect community sentiment. In any event, we have no data that suggest that any substantial change in the number of problem drinkers has occurred and we have no reason to believe it will occur if present community conditions persist. We have every reason to believe that if the amount of problem drinking does not drop, the magnitude of wife beating will be sustained and may increase with increasing exposure of young men to this behavior pattern.

Shelters as a response to wife battering are new in western society and have only become available in most areas in the United States in the last eight years (Schechter 1982; Roberts 1981). Their acceptance has not been without struggle (cf., Schechter 1982). The concept of a shelter, which is a voluntary, non-kinship based, organization directed at dealing with problems viewed as highly sensitive by society, by and large headed and run by women, is an especially radical idea viewed within the context of Yupik society. This might seem surprising at first since women regularly seek shelter as a response to violence. However, the sharing of problems with non-relatives, women or not, in your own village is extraordinarily difficult.

Nearly one-third (29%) of battered women in the study villages used a shelter (TWC or Emmonak), an impressive proportion since most had to travel considerable distance to reach the shelter in Bethel. Data from TWC demonstrate that every year more village women are learning about this option. While in the shelter, women also learn how to exercise legal options such as injunctive relief.

The introduction of a shelter to Emmonak was accomplished by women, demonstrating that women can be an effective lobby in a village. However, the personal costs for some of the women involved in the shelter movement have been high. The development of the Emmonak shelter is reason for optimism in looking at the future, but this optimism must be qualified. The shelter is still not fully functional after some 18 months. Its physical plant, however, has stressed the resources of staff and surely has not been inviting to potential clients. Staffing has been a problem. The idea of using a shelter receives mixed reactions in the community which is not unexpected. Whether or not a substantial number of women will use the shelter will not be known until the shelter has been fully operational for a while. The significance of the shelter movement in Emmonak at this point has been its success in forcing the community to publicly recognize problems of domestic violence. The role of TWC has been essential as a support institution and the training and emotional support for staff have been as important as any financial assistance. Exposure to TWC by a battered woman was the initial stimulus for Emmonak's shelter.

As far as we know only one of the batterers identified in this study has participated in a counseling program for batterers. The effect of such participation, without attention to alcohol problems, would probably be minimal. However, it should be tried. Most village men will not be found in these programs without the intervention of the legal system.

Summary Conclusions. The conclusions of this study, like those of other studies of domestic violence, are not pleasant. Wife battering is a

serious problem in all three of the study villages and a particularly serious problem in two where one out of every three couples experience severe violence. The anticipated relationship between problem drinking and domestic violence in Yupik villages is amply demonstrated and may be generalizable to other Alaska Native villages, based on limited data from the Anchorage shelter study (Basham and Brothers 1983). Although alcohol abuse alone does not account for the development of spouse abuse in Yupik society, it is the immediate precipitating cause for severe wife battering today. There is evidence that abusing couples who stop drinking also stop abusing. We believe, without question, that lower levels of problem drinking in the villages will result in less wife beating.

The problem is clearly defined but immediate solutions are elusive. Two communities in the study took legal action to inhibit drinking but the law is not enforced. Enforcement of this law would be an obvious first step. Alcohol education programs exist in the region. In the view of alcohol counselors in villages and our view, this approach has not yet had much effect on reducing the magnitude of village drinking problems (Shinkwin and Pete 1983). Further, we doubt whether educational programs have much effect on young children when they grow up in a community where problem drinking for a substantial portion of the population is a way of life. Treatment programs may hold some promise. However, apparently many alcohol treatment programs in Alaska are over crowded and are not available to offenders prior to trial (Fabe 1983). It can also be presumed they have low attraction for village men,. Further, we are not aware of any hard data on their success in reducing problem drinking after the client returns to the village. It should be emphasized that this study indicates that problem drinking in marriage in Yupik villages appears to be controlled

by men. Therefore, any efforts at incorporating married problem drinkers in treatment programs should be aimed at men, although we are certainly not suggesting that women should be excluded, and some in this study have developed problems as serious as their spouse's. Since there is no reason to believe that lower levels of problem drinking will be achieved in the near future, it is important to look at ways of managing wife abuse when it occurs or is a threat.

The study demonstrates that victims have the primary responsibility for "managing" their abuse. Their primary response is to run away. This action protects the wife but it obviously has little effect on the husband since many of these women have been beaten for years. Similarly, Wisconsin women report that "hiding" had the least positive effect on their spouse among all strategies they used to cope with battering (Bowker 1983:103). Village women are embarrassed to run constantly to relatives and relatives tire of housing victims. At the same time, relatives are reluctant to directly intervene in domestic violence.

Local police do not play a major role in combatting spouse abuse and if they do get involved often the victims will not cooperate. Legal options that women have are not well known or understood and in Catholic villages, like those in this study, divorce or separation are rarely considered. Clergy have not been publicly involved in condemning wife battering. One recent study of police actions in domestic violence cases (Criminal Reporter 1983) suggests that arrest may be a deterrent to future abuse. Further, preliminary results of a new municipal policy in Anchorage forcing women, who have signed charges, to testify against abusing husbands suggest that men respond positively when the legal system transmits a clear message that their behavior will not go unnoticed. This study recommends that village police, with the

support of Alaska State troopers, play a more active role in domestic violence cases. This will be extremely difficult and not achieved without considerable support from outside the village. This study also recommends that clergy in the region become actively and publicly involved in a program to reduce wife battering. Clergy in the study villages should inform their parishioners that Catholic dogma does not demand that a woman endure beatings; that men also have a responsibility to uphold marriage vows. Clergy should occupy active advocacy roles for victims.

The most common form of management of abuse by victims, second to running to a relative, is use of a shelter. TWC data also indicate that more and more village women are aware of shelters as an option. Whether shelters in villages will work or not is still an open question since the Emmonak shelter has not functioned long enough to warrant any definite statements about its success or failure. Exposure to the shelter in Bethel is an important educational experience for women in abuse. Here they learn about options and become aware of the fact that they are not alone. Education of village women (especially young women) at TWC about their rights may be one of the most effective ways of reducing woman abuse. The Emmonak movement reflects the power of education and the effect of exposure of women to TWC. With continuing education and support from TWC, village shelters may develop and flourish as support institutions for women, as TWC does. In the larger picture at this writing, there seems to be no other immediate alternative to shelters in the management of village wife abuse.

III. FOOTNOTES

1. In our earlier research (Shinkwin and Pete 1982), Hooper Bay was referred to as Sea Village. During this project, the Village Council opted for identification in order that other villages be made aware of their current efforts to manage domestic violence, realizing at the same time that their problems would be made public.
2. A longer paper detailing the local history of regional groups in the area is under preparation by the authors.
3. For the purposes of this study, only chi square values with a level of significance at the .01 level are accepted.
4. The adult population in this study includes people 16 and older in order to provide comparative data with our earlier study (Shinkwin and Pete 1982). In that research, it was discovered that problem drinking status in the villages was achieved by age 16.
5. See Ager 1980 for a discussion of traditional and contemporary economic roles of women and men. Her data from Nelson Island are applicable to the region as a whole.
6. See Bogoravlensky 1969 for similar data on Eskimo marriage strategies (in this case, Inupiaq).
7. See Lantis 1946 for a further discussion.
8. Data on sexual assault in marriage or verbal abuse were not gathered. The methodology, described later, did not use self reports which we view as the only legitimate source in any systematic examination of these aspects of wife abuse. Broken arms or black eyes, in contrast, with rape or verbal harassment are easily observed by other community members.
9. A closer description of the research participants is not provided since we guaranteed their anonymity.
10. Average length of relationship of couples with abuse in the villages is based on estimates of length of marriage which were calculated as being one year longer than the age of the oldest child in each marriage.
11. We have no comparable data for male children since the oldest children in families in Bethel or the villages for whom we have this kind of data were female.
12. We have no data on the frequency of violence in each household. This limitation of the study is related to the methodology. We view self-reports as the only reliable source of information on this aspect of spouse abuse, recognizing there are also problems with self-reports, especially underreporting.

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Appendix I. Home villages of TWC Clients: Domestic Violence only
(March 1982-March 1983.)

<u>Village</u>	<u>Total Clients</u>	<u>Spouse Abuse</u>	<u>Male Batterers</u>	<u>Other Abuse</u>
Hooper Bay	13	10	1	2
Chevak	8	5		3
Kwethluk	7	5	2	
Tuluksak	6	5		1
Emmonak	4	3		1
Alakanuk	4	4		
Napakiaik	4	4		
Akiachak	3	3		
Eek	3	3		
Toksook	3	2		1
Scammon Bay	3	3		
Sheldon's Point	3			
Sleetmute	3	3		
Nunapitchuk	2	1	1	
Chefornak	2	2		
Kotlik	2	2		
Russian Mission	2	2		
Marshall	2	1		1
Aniak	1	1		
Napaskiak	1	1		
Kasigluk	1			1
Tuntutuliak	1	1		
Kwigillingok	1	1		
Newtok	1	1		
Mekoryak	1	1		
Mountain Village	1	1		
Pilot Station	1	1		
St. Mary's	1	1		
Upper Kalskag	1	1		
Anvik	1	1		
Grayling	1	1		
Not Identified	1	1		
Total:	88			



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ALCOHOL CONTROL IN ALASKA ESKIMO COMMUNITIES:

a case study of antagonistic policies
communal vs. 'official' law

by

Jane Yamashiro

Paper presented at the XI International Congress of Anthropological and
Ethnological Sciences, Symposium on Folk Law, Vancouver, B.C., Canada
August, 1983

Alcohol Control in Alaska Eskimo Communities:
a case study of antagonistic policies-
communal vs. 'official' law

Jane M. Yamashiro
University of Hawaii at Hilo

The state of Alaska is one of paradoxes and polarity. It is the largest state in the union. When the state is superimposed on the United States, it reaches from coast to coast, spanning four time zones. Yet, the population of the state is one of the smallest with 400,000 residents. 200,000 residents live in Anchorage, an urban city, with tall building, street lights, running water and conveniences of any city in the United States. Yet, a few air miles out of Anchorage, the simplest conveniences like running water are unavailable and residents live in the harshest of conditions, with the minimum of services from the state or federal government. Many residents of Anchorage have never ventured into the rural areas nor understand the conditions of poverty, isolation, and hardship endured by the Natives residing in these rural areas. The lifestyle, values and beliefs of the 20 percent of the state's population is as foreign to urban Alaskans as someone living in another country.

Alaskan residents, however, share one common thread. Across the state, throughout every social strata, Alaskans engage in high levels of alcohol consumption. Understandably the problems of alcohol underlies most contact with the criminal justice system. The fundamental difference however, is that alcohol is seen as the basic cause of Native problems whereas with non-Natives, alcohol use is viewed as the result of other social, environmental problems.

STUDY PURPOSE: The purpose of this paper is to present a perspective of Native alcohol problems in Alaska which will demonstrate that the problems of alcohol management and control are the result of governmental actions, laws and structures being unresponsive to community needs.

There is a historical bias in the treatment of Eskimos and their relationship to alcohol, which underlies the decisions of the 'official' laws. The strong intent to unify the villages into a state system, resulted in the breakdown of rural law and order.

This paper will demonstrate that the official structures introduced for management are incomplete systems and lack the necessary components

to function successfully. Furthermore, these introduced structures failed to respect the communal law and order existing within the communities.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE. Throughout the fieldwork the paradoxes of the problems of alcohol use and abuse kept surfacing. Extensive search of the literature highlighted a number of concerns about the approach and categories of the research findings which help put this study in its proper perspective.

Social Problems. One of the difficulties of alcohol research is its basis in a highly emotional and value-ridden belief systems. It is seldom possible to perceive alcohol in a customary or value free context. One of the outstanding contrasts of Western social scientists studying non-Western cultures is the preoccupation with alcoholism (the negative consequences of alcohol use) vs. alcohol use (the ritualistic or random use of alcohol) and the failure to understand the roles and meaning of its use. In Western culture there is an immense emphasis on the "social problems" created by alcohol abuse--generally with the people being identified as the problem (Bacon, 1962). Examining research on populations as large and diverse as the Europeans, there are the customary precautions of trying not to generalize drinking habits and patterns for such a diverse population. Basically, however, the cross-cultural approach constitutes "an anthropological perspective" for non-Western societies (Heath, 1974), with little consideration for the diversity within and among any ethnic groups. The need to describe Native Alaskan cultures as one culture has grave implications for the research on Alaska Native peoples. One of the problems is that the "objective" social scientists, operating from a Western methodological perspective may color the reporting of Native people who have very different values and philosophies without recognizing the differences (Bacon, 1973). There is a vast difference in examining the "problems of alcohol" vs. alcoholism.

Furthermore, the literature of Indian or Native American drinking has a wide range of approaches, but Heath's (1977) analysis points out that in terms of social problems, the social scientists tend to examine CAUSES for non-Western cultures and CONSEQUENCES for Western cultures. This is substantiated in the review of literature (Graves, 1967; duTuiot, 1964; Horton, 1943; Honigman, 1979).

Aggression and Criminality. Studies viewing non-Western cultures emphasize the negative consequences of alcohol use. It is highly

probable that colonial administrators concerned with adjudication, generally dealt with Native drinking as a result of its negative consequences. The most abundant literature on American Indians and especially that of the eighteenth century focuses on the "firewater myth."

This, of course, is the belief that calm, peaceful Indians become crazed when they have alcohol or "firewater." From this, two major generalizations may be drawn. First, that aggression expressed by inebriated individuals in whatever society, is neither random nor diffuse. Rather it is patterned in the sense of being directed in a limited number of ways against a limited range of persons. Second, that drinking and drunkenness are common place in a society for several years before the pattern of aggression became unusual (Heath, 1975).

Research, however, suggests that no clear relationship between the use of alcohol and expressions of aggression or other criminal acts exists (Heath, 1974; Honigsmann, 1945). Furthermore, in the analysis of alcohol use and criminal acts, the focus of current research is on the individual within the criminal justice system. Though statistics of Natives arrested, jailed, and paroled have been limited it has been available. However, how Native people interact and relate to the "system" has not been examined. In Alaska, where many of the Native people are speakers of another language, no effort is made to provide an interpreter or to be sensitive to cultural values. Furthermore, there is limited research on how Native communities and the state and federal governments relate to one another in the area of alcohol management and control (Conn, 1982). For example, the American Indian Court Judges Association has found that though fifty percent of all federal cases arising from violations committed on Indian reservations involve alcoholic intoxication, there has been a failure to prosecute in the majority of these cases. This has resulted in communal anger at the lack of enforcement for the anti-social behavior

"The fact remains that the Indian community looks to the Federal Government for the prosecution of serious offenses, and when its not happening, you have, again, this negative impact...that's where the whole problem starts. The mistrust begins at that level, and when you begin to mistrust the police and the criminal justice system, all the other little sections of the wall begin to crumble"
(U.S. Civil Rights, 1981).

Thus, the examination of aggression and criminality becomes a complex issue. Although it is acknowledged that aggression does exist

and is regarded to be anti-social behavior to most people in the Native American community, the lack of enforcement and control over individuals undermine the stability of the community. Research in this area is sadly lacking.

There is another complicating factor in the Alaska Native population. When alcohol-related violence occurs, members of the community consider drunken offenders less responsible than sober individuals, thus requiring that the enforcement be more consistent and stringent. Where the Western system puts a lot of emphasis on the individual for his deviant behavior, the Eskimos in the two communities studied, have quite a different view. One of the more significant studies is that of MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969), who postulate that drunkenness is a partial "time out" and serves as an excuse for behavior which is normally not sanctioned. The two communities reinforced these concepts and blamed alcohol and inconsistent laws rather than blaming the individual.

Anxiety, Anomie, and Tension. Throughout the available published literature, there are vast differences in emphasis in the approaches to ethnographic studies. Studies of Western societies tend to focus on outcomes, effects or results of drinking and drunkenness. In viewing other cultures, however, social scientists tend to emphasize external causes. The significant bearing of drunkenness is a common and a popular belief that acculturation, culture change, and stress are causes for drunkenness (Berreman, 1955; Graves, 1967; James, 1961). Villagers interviewed as to why they drink all felt that rapid culture change had significant effect on their drinking. Merton (1964) hypothesized that in the cross-cultural person, the tension created by the goal differences and means of achieving these goals were significant factors in Native drinking.

Hugh Brody (1975) points out the classic double-bind the Eskimos of Canada face--paralleling the tension facing the Alaska Natives.

"There is...a striking contradiction between white attitudes toward Eskimo-ness in general and toward Eskimos in particular; all Eskimos are touched with the magic of real Eskimo-ness, although any given Eskimo is likely to be criticized for stupidity, incompetence or delinquency. The source of the contradiction is obvious: the modern individual Eskimo faces to achieve the standard of excellence implicit in the White's ideas of the 'real' Eskimo. A majority of Eskimos, perhaps the vast majority

of them, are therefore from the white point of view deviant in some degree--they deviate from the cannon of perfect Eskimo-ness and fail to live up to part of, perhaps a great part of, the whites accepted stereotype. The paradox is brutal. Whites criticize those who respond to pressures the white's institution are dedicated to exerting."

The literature in this area encompasses many trends. Some research focuses on cultural systems, viewing alcohol abuse as a type of pathology within the culture, while other research view individuals as forms of neurotic responses to stress (Horton, 1943). A danger in viewing other cultures from a psychoanalytic approach which offers solutions for individual drinking habits and problems touches on many diverse qualities and beliefs within a culture which may not be understandable to persons of another culture. The classical psychoanalytic approach, without an understanding of the Alaska Native's cultural expectations of such issues as status, for example, may be inadequate as well as damaging.

Psychiatric studies have claimed that Natives are unable to resolve their "oedipal constellation." Their drinking is reported to be obsessive, compulsive and that the individuals have insufficient ego development. Rather than being perceived as expressions of painful and conflicting experiences, their drinking and alcohol abuse are reduced to character defects indicating inferiority in these races of people (Clarke, 1975; Devereus, 1948; Hippler, 1973).

The most popular hypothesis is that people drink primarily to lessen anxiety, whatever the cause (Lemert, 1962; Kunitz, 1971). From his research on Navaho drunkenness, Graves (1971) summarizes that the wider society within which Indians are trying to survive. His contention is that rather than assisting communities in confronting the issues, the social service agencies are concerned with helping the Natives adjust to their status of inequality and inferiority.

A cry for solutions. Alcohol is such a recurrent problem in Native American history that it has been researched by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians, medical and public health professionals, social workers, biologists and physiologists. Religionists such as the Jesuits have cited alcohol as the principal reason for their inability to convert the Indian tribes to Catholicism. Destruction of the culture as a result of alcohol abuse is a common belief, yet very little has been said about the impact of other cultural changes which have concurrently affected the Indians.

"Initially, alcohol was introduced to the Indian through the fur trade. However, it quickly came to have far reaching social, economic and political implications for Indians and whites alike. In evaluating its place in history, the popular view has been to stress the role of liquor as the villain and accept the fur trade as an absolute necessity. This is not unexpected since despite the threat of both secular and ecclesiastical punishment ranging from stocks to excommunication, nonetheless efforts to abolish the liquor traffic were unrealistic.

For one thing, without a successful fur trade the solvency of the colony could not be assured. For another, even if the French had ceased to use alcohol in their relations with Indians, there was no agreement with the Dutch or the English that there would not also struggle for the control of North America. The regular distribution of alcohol was a means of maintaining Indian loyalties as well as gaining new friends" (Dailey, 1979).

Mandelbaum points out that "alcohol is a cultural artifact" that form and meaning of drinking alcoholic beverages are culturally defined, as are the uses of any other artifact" (Marshall, 1977). Like other cultural artifacts, the form of use is quite explicit, including roles and role behavior.

While most researchers look within a cultural context for historical uses of alcohol, Lurie (1979) contends that liquor as a cultural artifact has always been closely related in the interaction between whites and Native Americans. Nancy Lurie identifies more clearly the relationship alcohol has played in American history.

"Liquor was more than a borrowed item like steel traps...Generous distribution of liquor was soon discovered to be a good way to do business with Indians. It augured a satisfactory contract for both parties...but, as trade declined, as international boundaries in North America were firmed up to prevent Indians from playing different white nations one against the other, and as severe competition for land set in, the nature of Indian-white relationship changes. Indians still kept their own cultural, social and political counsel, but Whites deemed them a nuisance with nothing to offer in exchange to justify their separate existence" (Lurie, 1979)

Solutions to the problem are complex.* When the Natives pleaded for restrictions of the liquor trade, they are essentially asking for the restriction of any contact with the whites and white culture. Liquor has come to symbolize the contact with whites and its demoralizing

effects. As with the people in the seventeenth century, the problem persists in its perspective. It seldom occurs to the white man that their way of life and the business practices would have a negative effect on the Native people. For them, liquor becomes the scapegoat (Dailey, 1979).

Yet, the problem is complicated by the values and morality of the issues,

"The question of moral blame here is a very interesting one as it helps us to understand how the Indian could ask the white man to stop supplying him with liquor at the same time as he was drinking it. How can one blame the white man if the Indian sought him out and demanded liquor at any price? Or on the other hand, how can one blame the Indian if the white man continued to supply it even after the former had pleaded with him to stop?" (Dailey, 1979).

Thus, the solutions are piecemeal and have many conflicting issues. The concept of alcohol being the symptom as well as the problem makes it complex and difficult to analyze and rationally prescribe solutions. The discussions of whether the basic objective of governmental policies about alcohol should be to look at minimizing of the alcohol trade and consumption or to focus on the harmful effects of drinking and choices of individual ^{by one still being debased} (Klaus, 1972).

THE ALASKAN CASE STUDY

Historically, alcohol has played an integral part in the development of Alaska since the earliest involvements of the United States. At the time of purchase, the United States was ill-prepared to govern the vast new territory. There was only one U.S. Federal agent in Alaska, a customs agent, who was delegated to enforce the U.S. Federal government's legislation. The Customs Act of 1868 forbade the importation of intoxicating liquor and firearms. Yet, whiskey was sold openly. "Hootch," a local homebrew, was introduced by an American soldier; the soldiers were well known for their abuse of alcohol. Whiskey peddling and fur poaching continued at a rampant rate.

Throughout this time, the United States government remained disinterested and distant about its new territory and did little to assist it. In reality, Alaska was little understood or cared about; it was merely a piece of real estate which had transferred hands. Furthermore, a federal government neither recognized the Indians of the area as members of sovereign nations nor as citizens of the United States.

In fact, the Indians were referred to as "uncivilized Native tribes." They were excluded from citizenship, but subjected to the laws and regulations of the United States. (Arnold, 1978) Another important law passed was the Criminal Code of 1899. Consistent with the problems of today, the issues of law enforcement were intimately related to the need for revenue. Since alcohol was prohibited, there were no opportunities for the sale of liquor licenses. However, Governor Bradley pointed out that revenue from liquor licenses would pay for government administrating costs and give towns a source of income. Congress accepted this recommendation, legalized alcohol, and immediately set up a system of licensing for alcohol as well as other resources. The revenue derived from alcohol was to be used for enforcement of the new criminal code.

Thus, from its early relationship with the United States, Alaska's position has been one of basic dependency on alcohol. As it has been one of the economic necessities in running and maintaining civil and judicial order in the land, the protection of alcohol rights has been a continuing paradox. Though the human and social problems resulting from alcohol abuse have been and overriding concern for the territory, from an economic standpoint, the sale of alcohol has been necessary for its management and control.

Alaska has the fourth highest alcohol consumption rate in the United States as reported in a 1972 study. (Keller, 1972) A comprehensive study conducted by the State Office of Alcoholism, Department of Health and Social Services indicated that the per capita consumption of absolute alcohol in Alaska is very high by both national and international standards. (Kelso, 1975) Given the fact that alcohol consumption is excessive, there is need to call attention to the RATE in order to reduce the prevalence of problems related to alcohol use.

State policies have been more supportive of the expanded economics of alcohol than of its management and control. There are, for example, a large number and variety of outlets per 1000 persons in Alaska than in most other states; there are only about half as many people for each license in Alaska compared to the national average. Furthermore, there are fewer hours of prohibited sales than in most states.

The state has also been supportive of liquor usage by creating the advantage of favorable taxation for the liquor industry. State and federal taxes account for 50-75 percent of the price of alcohol. In Alaska the state excise tax on alcohol has not changed since 1961.

The relative price of beverage alcohol rose by .3 percent during 1970-75, while consumer relative price for all other commodities increased 41.2 percent.

Within this context, is the negative consequences of alcohol use. Village Alaska has the highest rates of alcohol-related problems in the state of Alaska. While the total adult population of rural districts in Alaska represents only ten percent of the state adult population, 35 percent of the accumulated impact incidents occurred in the rural districts. Crime rates are extraordinarily high. In a comparison of Alaska Villages, Alaska statewide and the United States crime rates, the Alaskan villages suffer from their experiences with alcohol.

Table 1

COMPARISON OF ALASKA VILLAGES, ALASKA STATEWIDE AND
UNITED STATES CRIME RATES

CRIME	Alaska Villages	Alaska Statewide	United States
Homicide	28.4	10.8	8.8
Rape	99.2	51.6	26.4
Robbery	127.6	96.8	195.8
Aggravated Assault	326.0	284.0	228.6
Burglary	936.8	1331.7	1439.4
Vehicle Theft	446.5	3369.8	2921.3
			(Conn, 1980)

The communities from which information for this study is gathered are both Eskimo villages along the Yukon-Kuskokwim Rivers. The villages are isolated in a sense that there are no roads and that all travel is by aircraft, riverboat or snowmachines during the winter.

The everyday, well accepted conveniences of most Americans such as sewer systems, running water, centralized heating systems do not exist in these villages. Communications with the other villages is generally with a CB radio although both villages now have telephones, the rate of malfunction because of environmental issues makes it unreliable as a means of communication.

Only within the past few years have there been high schools in these communities. Previously the residents were required to board in neighboring communities where there were regional high schools available, or

were sent to schools in the "lower forty-eight". In both of these communities, English is the second language, and Yu'pik Eskimo is the primary language.

This paper examines three institutions--the village council, the magistrate system and the police force which have the responsibility for the management and control of alcohol use and abuse.

Village Councils. The village councils were the major institutional governing bodies (Hippler and Conn, 1973, 1975). During that time, other institutions like the police, judges, and mayors were non-existent. The village council played major roles in not only enacting ordinances, but were responsible for meting out justice in order to maintain social control.

The councils were concerned about the increasing incidences of crime, abuse, and deaths resulting from alcohol abuse. Thus in 1962, the Association of Village Councils (AVCP), an entity made up of 57 villages of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, gathered "to discuss the interplay between state law and traditional social control meted out by village councils as they dealt with alcohol-related problems."

The official law through the state was in its very primitive stages. The only representation of the legal system was a single state trooper stationed in Bethel, with jurisdiction over a region of 90,000 square miles. A magistrate was appointed for the same region, and otherwise official judges and lawyers flew into the region periodically to deal with felonies.

The 1962 meeting brought about testimony for the need of a more uniform legal system within this region. It was the first attempt for village leaders to discuss common problems. The purpose was to standardize the village council rules, but more importantly the concern was in the problem of making and drinking homebrew in the villages.

Ironically, the greatest concern for the villagers--homebrew, was not a concern for the state. The state trooper reported that from the state's perspective on homebrew, he would be unable to assist the village, unless homebrew was made for resale. One who brews for one's own consumption is within the bounds of the state law, thus the state could not assist the village ordinances.

The conflict was obvious, yet the state was unsympathetic to the needs of the village. Though the villages legally could not have ordinances which conflicted with the state law, the magistrate recommended that the villagers make their own rules and make their

own punishment. (Transcript, Conn, 1982). However, should their ordinances be violated there was no recourse for more severe penalty from the state.

Further, it was clear that the state's interest was merely the criminal aspect of drinking behavior, they were not available to assist villages in service or in preventative measures. It was emphasized also at that meeting that if the village laws were not unified with the official law, and if they, the leaders, chose to enforce their own laws, they were vulnerable to lawsuits! Thus, on one hand they were encouraged to make their own laws, but were also told that they could be punished if they did so.

The implication of these actions were evidenced in the records of the village of Seaside, a coastal village of the Delta. The governmental powers were further diluted in this village. The governance of the village is divided between the traditional council (IRA) and the city council. The traditional council often set policy and sought funds from the federal government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The city council functioned to translate village consensus into statutes and ordinances for self governing. The city council is governed by the state's second class structure. State revenue sharing and grants from state and federal agencies are used to hire staff and run programs.

For purposes of this research, the council minutes were analyzed primarily to determine how policies and practices about alcohol were developed. In 1976, members from the Regional Health corporation approached Seaside and suggested that there might be funds to support an alcoholism program. The council would have two trained employees to work within the community. The program stressed problems with youth and their apparent lack of constructive activities.

During the same period of time, the council wrestled with the problems of disruptive alcohol behavior. Although village ordinance reinforced regulations to maintain a dry community, there were many people continually bringing alcohol into the village. The council was concerned about intoxicated people driving snowmachines in the village and the dangers of such action. The village had adopted an ordinance about operating a vehicle or boat under the influence of alcohol, however, there was no clear-cut penalty or redress for such behavior nor were there the institutional supports to enforce the ordinances.

The set of rules proposed for the village was more in keeping with the state laws. They dealt with the consequences of alcohol abuse, and alcohol usage, but there was little done for preventative measures. Two ordinances addressed the issue of alcohol and minors, and four rules dealt with alcohol-related conduct, but there were none associated with drinking. There were no rules provided to help keep alcohol out of the village, to prevent sharing of alcohol with those known to be violent, to prevent making home brew. Preventative measures were non-existent in the ordinances. (Appendix 1)

In its dual role as a judicial and an executive body, the council listened to problems brought before it about stealing, drinking, and gambling. The conflict between the role of the council and the expectations of the people about the council created a number of problems. It was recorded in the council minutes, "People have their eyes on the council and are ready to criticize them." The double-bind created by the state was eroding the trust and respect of the village leaders.

In 1977, the subject of alcohol and its problems were still priority issues at the council meetings. A village sleep-off center was proposed. There was increased concern about bootlegging of alcohol. The major concern about alcohol was that the airlines continued to bring alcohol in, despite the village ordinance supporting a dry village. Since alcohol was considered low priority freight, it would remain in Bethel until there was enough freight to merit a trip, and then alcohol shipments would come into the village in large quantities. The individuals' rights to order alcohol was protected by state and federal laws, disregarding the village laws and ordinances. The village councils attempted to stop alcohol from entering the village, but these attempts were met with disapproval from the state laws. They were again not supported.

The conflict of laws created atmosphere of ambivalence and distrust. The council was unable to remain united in its efforts to control alcohol. The council minutes of November 8, 1977 read, "Council members fighting among themselves wanting to keep booze in the village." Also a community member epitomized the distrust and confusion in this statement:

"I don't like people or councilmen who do nothing about drinking here. Some drink who are supposed to be helping. Ordering should be stopped by people or the company should quit accepting the orders.

Who can help? The people who are councilmen, alcohol program people, or the people themselves?" (interview of villager)

Unable to limit the obvious source of alcohol, the council found themselves in a peculiar position. When interviewed about the solutions to problems of alcohol, the mayor in great frustration responded,

"What solutions??? We vote ourselves dry, we tell the airlines people to make sure no one brings booze in the village. Troopers tell us we cannot do that. What solutions!!! How can we come with solutions when the airlines keep bringing in the booze."

The council then decided to provide money to purchase "booze" in order to find the bootleggers. Ordinance was strong on out-of-town violators, who would be kicked out if they didn't leave voluntarily.

Yet, the problem was not under control. By the end of 1977 the council recognized that the alcohol issues was one with which all villages needed to deal, but one in which they felt every avenue was blocked by the legalities of the "official" laws.

"All bad things come to all villages. If people work together, this can be solved. The future of the village lies with the councils, if the council just sits back and enjoys the trouble, the village will head for trouble. If we want a trouble-free village, we have to work together." (Council minutes 12/12/77).

This was not an easy task, as every step of the way seemed to be met with roadblocks and problems. Every solution they tried to meet their village needs, seemed in conflict with either a state or federal law or policy.

The conflicts of the roles of the council was evidenced in the issue that was brought before them at the same meeting. An uncooperative young man was brought before the council by his parents. In keeping with the preventative nature of the council's interest in the community members, they listened to the parents and admonished the young man about his role and place in the community. However, the council was essentially powerless. In the past, if the young man had failed to comply with the wishes of the council, he could have been banished, a severe consequence. However, at this time, the admonishment did not have any legal redress nor any strong informal consequence.

There was no official law to support the council, and the village authority was sufficiently eroded to be ineffective.

While the council continued to wrestle with enacting community wishes into laws, they were well aware of its limitations and the continual erosion of their respect. Many persons questioned the enforcement of council rules and the repeatedly broken laws. State troopers and law agents did not assist the councils and the authority of the council was under question. Unable to deal with the inherent conflict, citizens in the community suspected the competency of their elected officials, and criticism of the council was common.

Riverside, a village seven miles by river from Bethel, had a longer history of contact with alcohol. However, their governmental structure gave them a much different approach to the enforcement and control of the use of alcohol.

The village council early on recognized the problems with the many new and changing rules entering the villages. They were being bombarded with governmental systems and advisory organizations being demanded by the state and federal agencies. Methodically, the council met and agreed that the burdens were being spread out, thus they viewed the council like a yoke to be able to carry many demands and burdens imposed on them. The council was representative of all the major organizations and families. Thus, they were able to maintain consensus and support for the village rules.

Where Seaside demonstrated ambivalence, confusion and hostility toward the council members, Riverside exhibited support for the ordinances and the leadership. The rules were clear and were well supported, even by the offenders.

Though the village ordinances essentially were the same, the council responded in a more unified manner. When someone within the village brought alcohol in or was known to drink, members of the council who were family members, would talk with the person. The concept of "respect" and "care" was continually emphasized. Offenders of the liquor ordinance was forced to face the city council as well as to the alcohol counselor.

The villagers respected the ordinances, and though they had no support from the state, they maintained strict control over the local ordinances.

They were close to Bethel, and thus they were able to appeal to the flight services not to deliver people who had been drinking or to help bring alcohol to the villages. The council's unilateral agreement on these ordinances and their proximity to Bethel, made this more feasible. The unified actions of the council made for success in carrying out the enforcement of their ordinances.

MAGISTRATE. "The role of the council began to disintegrate when the state introduced the magistrate court to rural Alaska" (Case, 1977). Awareness of the formal processes by community members through education and litigation resulting in the Land Claims Settlement Act heightened knowledge that the village council ordinances had little authority to enforce local laws.

As the council saw their powers eroding, realizing that they had many ordinances which were essentially unenforceable, many villages looked to the magistrate as a solution to their problems. In fact, the magistrate system added to the problems.

Traditionally, the village council was empowered with the executive, judicial and legislative powers. With statehood, a number of changes came about. The councils no longer were able to carry out it's judicial functions.

Heightened awareness of the formal judicial processes caused villagers to doubt the legitimacy of the village council to enforce the village ordinances. Without the respect or acceptance of the council's powers, it left the villages without a formal court process and essentially left villages devoid of any judicial process.

Further, Alaska is unique in that it does not have any legal process or means to allow local governments to establish local courts. The legislature, however, created District courts with district judges who were law trained and magistrates, most of whom were not law trained. The magistrate's authority was to "hear, try and enter judgment in all cases involving violations of ordinances of political subdivisions" (AS 22.15.120 (7)).

It became apparent that the role of the council began to disintegrate when the state introduced the magistrate court to rural Alaska (Case, 1977). With the judicial powers divided, the governing of the villages became more and more difficult. "Of the 215 villages in Alaska, only approximately 50 have the services of a part-time or full time magistrate. The remaining 165 villages have no means to judicially enforce their ordinances (Case, 1977).

Riverside is one of the villages without a magistrate. The council therefore found themselves forced to exercise administrative and judicial powers. Though they applied and continually sought to have the magistrate in their village, in fact, the council maintained better control of the village without that institution.

Seaside, however, works in two systems. Neither, however, are complete nor are they integrated. There are no clear-cut guidelines for the communities as to their respective functions or how they relate to each other. The undefined lines of authority have kept both the magistrate and the council from fully exercising their roles.

The council in its traditional role had brought before it issues for intervention. Misconduct, poor citizenship, disrespect for family are some issues brought to the attention of the police and the courts and council. This capacity to discover and treat problems before they become deviant or violent has been the essence of the Eskimo village justice system. Restitution could also be dealt out with the individual in mind, within their system.

However, the Western system worked separately from the Eskimo village council system and, in fact, gave little heed to it or attempts to integrate the two. The magistrate in the village is a resident who is appointed as a lay judge of limited jurisdiction by the presiding judge of the Superior Court in each judicial district. That person's appointment is not subject to any kind of formal approval by any of the other village governing bodies.

The jurisdiction of the magistrate is to preside over cases arising from violation of local ordinances passed by the village council. He or she can also sentence defendants who plead guilty to state misdemeanors or hear state misdemeanor cases when the defendant consents. Finally, he or she has jurisdiction to hold preliminary hearings to see if an arrested person should be bound over to Superior court on a felony charge and to see if the state can show probable cause from admissible evidence.

The civil jurisdiction of the magistrate is limited to small claims of \$1000 in damages or in property loss. The magistrate also performs various administrative duties as coroner, record keeper of vital statistics, notary public, performer of marriages, and custodian of the property of deceased persons (Hippler & Conn, 1973).

There is little training for the magistrate, and what training had been available has focused on bureaucratizing the position, rather than in seeking ways to fit into a comprehensive governmental system within a community. Though there is a magistrate, the other supporting functions and positions such as the attorney, public defenders, and paralegals are not available for Seaside.

Magistrate and former magistrates interviewed revealed that much of their information and direction was sought from Bethel, Anchorage or Juneau. Council minutes reflect the magistrate's attempts at integrating the council and the judiciary but with little success. The magistrate on a number of occasions approached the Council and asked that there be a closer working relationship between the two institutions. Though there was agreement that it would be more effective to work together, the inherent weakness in both institutions seemed to prevent any comprehensive changes.

Community members further indicated that there was no place to get legal advice, and that there were no lawyers traveling to the villages. The closest contact for legal assistance was in Bethel.

Further, even with the youthful population of Seaside, there has been little attempt on the part of the State to assist the council in viewing corrections and juvenile law. In the case of drinking offenses, people are generally sentenced and released on their own. Magistrates comment that the same people appear before them repeatedly with very little being done to assist them in terms of long-term treatment or cure. This inoperative correction system compounds the problems created by alcohol. Past magistrates interviewed felt they were subjected to unusual pressures and often found themselves feeling blamed for the fact that the system was not workable.

"In recent years, the improved application of American due process rights and criminal justice procedures have made it increasingly difficult for the Troopers to comply with the expectations of residents of Native Villages. Even when Troopers remove the accused, he is frequently released without bond and freed to return to the village. This practice is usually neither understood nor approved by the people in the communities. They attribute it to lenient judges. It has led to the creation of demands for heavier sentences for people who have been turned over to Troopers (Conn, unpublished).

Furthermore, the courts fail to inform the community as to the sentence of the defendants. When trials are held outside the communities, it is not clear that "something" has in fact taken place. Someone who may have been violent during a drinking episode is feared and those who referred them to the police officer fear the retaliation for their action. Thus the erosion of trust in a system repeatedly demonstrated. As stated in the case of U.S. vs. Mazarie, when distrust begins in those areas where safety and trust is paramount, the whole system begins to fall apart.

POLICE. In the enforcement of the ordinances, the police had the power to enact and enforce laws and relations requiring each person to conduct himself and use his property in such a way that he is not a danger to himself or others. Thus of the municipal powers which were classified governmental, the police power was the broadest. It was the essence of the ability to govern locally (Case, 1977).

On the local level, however, the police was not highly organized or supported. Funding was always tenuous, generally short term, and the pay rate was less than the average jobs pay in the community. In spite of the broad powers available to them, the local police officer was not held in high esteem.

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On the local level, however, the police was not highly organized or supported. Funding was always tenuous-the positions were generally paid by CETA or funds from revenue sharing. The positions were generally short term, and the pay rate was less than for average jobs in the community. In spite of the broad powers available to them, the local police officer was not held in high esteem. Though the police was considered paramount in the stability of the community, the state gave little assistance in making that arm of government functional.

The position of the police officer in Seaside was faced with many conflicts. There was little contact with the state trooper or other enforcement people. There were high incidences of violence reported in the village. A police trainee reported that "he received very

little help from the Council and he was afraid to do much on many occasions due to inadequate equipment and size sufficient to defend himself in violent situations (Conn, 1973).

The police officers were placed in a no-win situation. They were given little training to be a police officer, and they lacked institutional support in the form of lawyers, paralegals, judges or other police officers or enforcement personnel. They felt strong in their desire to serve, however they had little or no means to do more than imitate the profession they emulated, given the lack of training, support and even hostility which they encountered in their village.

Drinking among the police officers was not uncommon. Men on the police force faced tremendous social and cultural pressures in their role as a police officer. The pressures on the young police officers to drink and join their peers were immense, especially given their low status. The choice between their temporary employment and long time friends, relatives and hunting partners was not an easy choice. Further, in a community where alcohol rules were confused and ambivalent, the police officer was under a lot of criticism. They were left to individual decisions in enforcing the ordinances totally unsupported. Their lives and the lives of their family were often threatened by intoxicated community members.

The police powers, with its nature being incomplete, has further considerations as well as reviewed at the Bush Justice Conference:--

"More seriously, however, is the state's responsibility to provide legal assistance to support the local ordinances. For example, A.S. 28-35-040 and 28-35-045 which relates to reckless and negligent driving respectively may be important in enforcing the drinking and driving both automobiles and snowmachines. The communities, however, may lack the necessary scientific equipment (breath analyzers) to have sufficient proof to change. Furthermore these ordinances at the local level have little power as the ordinances being "consistent" with state statutes (Title 28) requires imprisonment as possible punishment. Such action requires the municipalities to provide for an attorney and small rural communities would be financially unable to do so. Basic legal services such as lawyers, are unavailable to the residents of rural communities. (Case: Bush Justice Conference)

Furthermore, in terms of providing protection, the state police has not been of great support to the villages. It is clearly understood by anyone living in rural Alaska that it does not take many

people to keep the community in flux. Conn survey estimates the police response is inordinately unrealistic. As seen in the table below-- what urban Alaskan expects and receives in terms of police protection is enjoyed only by 7% of the rural Alaskan population.

Table II

Time require	Estimated calls completed	Estimated police response
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour	67%	7%
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour	20%	10%
1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ hour	7%	19%
1 to 3 days	0%	47%
over 1 week	5%	10%

(Conn: 1980)

In most urban areas, it is estimated that a police officer responds to calls within the half hour. In the rural areas, the responses took much longer.

Local officials estimate fourteen percent of the requests for police services from outside the community require more than an hour to complete. Many calls are made by telephone or radio, but often requests are sent by mail planes. Villages such as Seaside face additional problems of inclement weather.

In my field work, I was in a village where a drunken spouse was being violent. The woman and her five children fled from house to house looking for a place to stay. Many residents were reluctant to help as their own lives would be in danger as well. They finally came to the home where I was the guest. The children were put to bed and we sat in a darkened house, frightened by every sound of a snow-machine going by. Two women went to the phone house to place a call. The first response was that the state trooper's office was closed in the evening so they would have to call on the following day.

The night was filled with anxiety of danger as the drunken spouse pounded on the door of the house and threatened to shoot the door down. There was no safety nor any way to gain public safety. The terror of the evening was unbelievable.

Early the next morning the two women stole out of the house to place their calls. This time the trooper took the information and stated they would fly out to apprehend the drunken spouse. The terror continued.

By noon, the trooper called to say that the weather was bad and he would be unable to arrive that day. The trooper arrived three days later. The drinking had stopped, the wife and children, no longer able to impose on friends and relatives returned to the home with the spouse. There were no arrests, no charges pressed by anyone.

The description of this experience is one repeated many times in the rural villages. There is, in many villages, no public safety. Entire villages have been terrorized by drunken residents. Yet, the state--its legislators, the bureaucrats, the executives, faced with high costs to provide this service to communities continually turned a deaf ear or worse, blamed the communities for the lack of law and order.

The State of Alaska has given "Alaskan municipalities regulatory powers over 'dangerous and disorderly conduct' and other powers and functions affecting the general health, safety, well-being and welfare of their inhabitants." (Case, 1977) It is obvious from minutes of councils that the state has turned over that responsibility to the municipalities and has done little to ensure that the rural communities are, in fact, safe.

In order for "local control" to be meaningful, the second class citizen must be able to punish violators of local ordinances. Without the needed institutional support, the government of the local communities has been greatly undermined.

The research of the governmental structures of the villages has shown that the communities are always held in a double bind. If they through their council enacted laws to govern their communities in a responsible way, they were in conflict with the state or federal laws. If they tried to institute new and changing laws dictated by the state and federal governments, the communities found that they were lacking elements of the supporting institutions which made them ineffective again.

Throughout this situation, the state unable to comprehend the plight it is causing, continues to ignore the basis of the problem and provides piecemeal solutions, further exacerbating the problem of alcohol management in rural communities.

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Suicide In Northwest Alaska

Robert Travis

Abstract

Self-destructive behavior is an acute social problem in Northwest Alaska. In particular, the Alaskan Native suicide rate in the NANA region is more than seven times the national average. Alienation, loss of family, low income, alcohol abuse, high unemployment, and more education are shown to be factors related to suicidal behavior.

Previous work on socio-cultural change indicates that not all Inupiat in Northwest Alaska have benefited from oil and gas development (Kruse, Kleinfeld, and Travis, 1982). In comparison to the North Slope region (which has greatly benefited), median family income in the NANA region is \$17,750, only 55% of North Slope Inupiat families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980b). Suicide in the poorer NANA region is more than three times the rate in the North Slope.

Alaska Native suicide is a contemporary problem that has emerged since 1965 (Kraus & Buffler, 1979). Suicide in the older Native age groups now appears to be declining in Alaska, while the increase in suicide is accounted for by the young, with the age cohort 20-24 at highest risk. Moreover, Kraus and Buffler observe that the Alaskan Native suicide rate is at variance with the Alaskan Non-Native and U.S. population patterns, where the incidences of suicide increase steadily with age. They also found that increasing numbers of young women are committing suicide.

In Fairbanks, Alaska, Parkin (1974) observes that while Eskimos make up only 2.6% of the urban population, Eskimo females account for 21% of the suicidal females for the period from 1960 to 1971. Although drinking was involved in only 13% of white female suicidal acts, 43% of Alaskan Native women's attempts involved

alcohol. Regarding acculturation stress, Parkin argues:

In coming to Fairbanks or any other city, many (Alaskan Natives) are faced with the problems of acculturation, prejudice, limited skills and job opportunities, and a general inability to cope in a cash-based economic system. This is not to deny the success which many natives do achieve but is intended to point out that a great many natives are disadvantaged when they move into an urban environment (1974, p. 64).

In work done elsewhere on other Native Americans, Resnik & Dizmang (1971) maintain that social disorganization, geographic isolation, parental loss and high incidence of alcoholism, all characterize Indian reservations showing the highest rates of suicide. Apparently "the ultimate culprit is the school system" because Indians are most often educated by non-Indians "in schools where the skills and values of the majority culture are taught" (Resnik & Dizmang 1971, p. 61). In the end, the Indian adolescent has a double identity crisis - the expected adolescent

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turmoil, plus a cultural crisis. Indian youth frequently cope with it all through alcoholism, violence, accidents, and suicide.

Among the Navajo, those who attempt or commit suicide tend to be the more acculturated (Miller & Schoenfeld, 1971). Only 17% of these Navajo came from a traditional background. In 56% of the cases the suicidal act was precipitated by a quarrel with a spouse, relative, or boy/girl friend. Alcohol abuse was striking: 74% of the suicidal acts by men were alcohol-related, while only 16% of the suicidal acts by women were. The authors conclude that Native American culture does not play a significant role in suicidal behavior: "If culture plays a part, we suspect it is the culture of a socio-economically depressed group, rather than anything specifically Indian or Navajo" (Miller & Schoenfeld, 1971, p. 193).

Navajo suicide, moreover, predominates in the 25-39 year age group, with suicide decreasing rapidly with advancing age (Levy, 1965). The most frequent motives for suicide are marital stress and extended family discord. Only 47% of Navajo suicides for the period 1954-1963 were alcohol-related. Further, the more traditional Navajo communities have suicide rates far below the national average, while the more acculturated have rates considerably above that of the nation. Levy concludes that Navajo suicide is a symptom of anomie, stemming from lack of social integration of males in the matrilineages of their wives and the competing demands of the cash economy.

In another Southwest American Indian reservation, Miller (1979) observed that "lack of meaningful work may have been a significant source of disappointment and frustration for many of these young suicides" (p. 16). Among the Pacific Northwest Indians, Shore (1975) found that 75% of the completed suicides were alcohol-related. For the attempted suicides, 49% involved drug overdose. Moreover, suicide attempts occurred in clusters among extended family or high risk groups. This suggests that completed suicides and suicide attempts are a learned pattern of self-destructive behavior within extended peer or family groups (Shore, 1975).

Method

This exploratory study focuses on suicide in a remote Alaskan village. Kotzebue is a village of about 2100 located some 30 miles north of the Arctic Circle on the Northwest coast of Alaska. It is the largest village in the NANA region, one of 12 Alaskan Native regions.¹ The village itself is fragmented into two halves - old town and new town. Old town, with its many jerrybuilt homes, reminds one of shanty towns in the Third World. New town, with its government financed new homes, symbolizes the growing spirit among the Inupiat themselves.

The population under study includes those who committed suicide in this village and those who attempted suicide for the period 1977-1980. Four categories of suicidal behavior are represented: suicides, unsuccessful suicides, suicide attempts, and suicide gestures. Suicides reflect those who fully wished to die and who committed suicide. Unsuccessful suicides represent those who fully wished to die, but who were prevented from committing suicide through community intervention. Suicide attempters reflect those who attempted suicide but who did not wish to die. Lastly, suicide gesturers represent those who only ideationalized about suicide.

Data were collected from a variety of resources. U.S. Public Health Service Hospital records in Kotzebue were the primary source of information. These were supplemented by Kotzebue Police records and personal interviews. Because the community is small it is reasonable to assume the coverage is nearly complete. For one thing, Alaska Natives are more apt to trust U.S. Public Health Service Hospitals than any other institution in Alaska (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1973). Thus, Alaskan Natives are not reluctant to seek medical attention for their attempted suicides.

In all, 119 cases of suicidal behavior are reported on, three of which are Non-Natives and 16 of which are repeated incidences. Eight

¹ NANA, or the Northwest Arctic Native Association, is one of 12 Alaskan Native regional corporations created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. This Act of Congress provided for regional corporations to manage, protect, and convey Alaskan Native lands.

percent of the cases are suicides, 15% are unsuccessful suicides, 58% are attempted suicides, and 19% are suicide gestures. Ages span the range from 9 to 61, with an average age of 22.5. Females make up 57% of the study population.

Results

Native suicide in NANA stands at 90.9 per 100,000 for the period 1975-1979 (Table 1), a rate which is seven times the U.S. national average. Furthermore, this rate is between 1.7 and 5.8 times higher than the rates of Native suicide in other Alaskan Native regional corporations. Even more important is the fact that the suicide rate in this region increased substantially over the course of the decade.

In contrast, no Native suicides occurred in this region during the period 1960-1964, while the Native suicide rate registered only 11.9 per 100,000 for the period 1965-1969. As such, suicide is a contemporary problem in Northwest Alaska. For the period 1965-1979 fully 90% of all Alaskan Native suicides in this region occurred among those 15-34, with no suicides occurring among those 45 years or older. Thus, suicide, once a rare phenomenon in the life of Alaskan Natives, now appears to be almost an everyday occurrence, particularly for youth and young adults.

The average age for suicidal behavior in Northwest Alaska is 22.5, with only a slight difference between males and females (Table 2). Fully 78% were unemployed at the time they engaged in self-destructive behavior: this is in contrast to an unemployment rate of only 22% throughout the region in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the

Table I
Suicide Death Rates of Alaska Natives
by Regional Corporation and Five Year Intervals: 1970-1979
(per 100,000 population)

Regional Corporation	SUICIDE RATE		
	1970-1974	1975-1979	Rate Change
Aleut	-	-	-
Arctic Slope	6.8	26.3	+287%
Athna	44.7	41.4	-7%
Bering Straits	82.8	52.6	-36%
Bristol Bay	17.5	15.8	-10%
Calista	15.4	24.9	+62%
Chugach	93.9	37.4	-60%
Cook Inlet	23.5	50.0	+113%
Doyon	47.8	40.8	-15%
Koniag	22.8	21.5	-6%
Nana	59.6	90.9	+53%
Sealaska	26.0	39.1	+50%

SOURCE: Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, Office of Information Systems; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing (Advance Report) (a).

Census 1980b).² There are no differences in unemployment between the sexes, even though males tend to be significantly better educated than females. Moreover, the median level of educational attainment is 11.5 years for those 25 or older and this contrasts with an educational attainment level in 1980 of 11.0 years for those 25 or older throughout the region (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980b).

² The unemployment rates for Alaskan towns and villages in 1980 are based on a "floating" reference week rather than a fixed reference period. Therefore, the U.S. Census rates are only crude indicators of unemployment. In the case of Kotzebue the U.S. Census rate covers the months February to June.

Males are significantly more likely than females to have never married. Both rates are high though, suggesting a lack of integration into the traditional family-oriented Inupiat culture. As regards to the job market, a lack of integration likewise exists there: the greater majority of both sexes do not have an occupation. This apparently explains why over three-quarters of suicidal males and females live on annual household incomes of less than \$10,000. Lack of high school education, lack of an occupation, and alcohol abuse are three factors apt to work against achieving a viable economic existence, especially in a region where employment is seasonal and difficult to obtain.

Table 2
Selected Characteristics of Suicides and Suicide
Attempters in Northwest Alaska by Sex

Characteristics	SEX		Significance
	Male	Female	
Age	23.2	22.0	N. S.
Education	10.5	9.5	$F_{96}^1 = 5.74, p = .02, \eta^2 = .24$
Unemployed	75%	82%	N. S.
Never Married	92%	77%	$X_1^2 = 3.86, p = .05, T_b = .21$
No Occupation	61%	79%	$X_1^2 = 3.54, p = .06, T_b = .19$
Acculturation (Median Months)	6.8	4.6	N. S.
Annual HH Income Less than \$10,000	77%	88%	N. S.
Alcoholic or Alcohol Abuser	77%	65%	N. S.
Residence: Kotzebue	62%	66%	N. S.
Lethality			
Drug Overdose	39%	77%	
Gunshot	20%	3%	$X_9^2 = 26.07, p = .002$
Cut Wrists, Stabbing	22%	11%	$T_c = -.43$
Number of Cases	(51)	(68)	

SOURCE: U.S. Public Health Service Medical and Counseling Records, 1977-1980; Kotzebue Police Records, 1977-1980.

There are no great differences in time of year when suicide behavior occurs. This suggests that the suicidal act is not affected by economic trends and is probably so because most suicides and suicide attempters are outside the job market. Moreover, few are acculturated to life outside the region and this suggests that equally few are

equipped to deal with life in the dominant, secular culture - a culture which more and more engulfs Inupiat life in Northwest Alaska.³

³ Acculturation is measured by counting the number of months the subjects lived outside the region prior to committing suicidal acts.

Table 3

Selected Characteristics of Northwest Alaska Suicides and Suicide Attempters by Type of Suicidal Behavior

SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR			
Characteristics	Suicides - Unsuccessful ^a	Attempters - Gesturers	Significance
Male	58%	36%	$X^2_1 = 3.86, p = .05, T_b = .19$
Age	22.3	21.7	N. S.
Education	10.8	9.6	$F^1_{91} = 7.16, p = .008, \eta^2 = .27$
Unemployed	73%	84%	N. S.
Never Married	81%	86%	N. S.
No Occupation	62%	75%	N. S.
Acculturation ^b (Median Months)	10.5	3.4	$X^2_1 = 3.61, p = .06$
Annual HH Income Less than \$10,000	88%	84%	N. S.
Place: At Home	56%	51%	N. S.
Residence: Kotzebue	44%	68%	$X^2_1 = 4.80, p = .03, T_b = -.21$
Alcohol-Related	76%	89%	N. S.
Lethality			
Drug Overdose	46%	67%	
Gunshot	31%	5%	$X^2_1 = 25.98, p = .002, T_c = .21$
Cut Wrists, Stabbing	8%	18%	
Number of Cases	(26)	(86)	

a. Includes Suicides and Unsuccessful suicides.

b. Median Test for significance.

SOURCE: U.S. Public Health Service Medical and Counseling Records, 1977-1980; Kotzebue Police Records, 1977-1980.

SUICIDE

A fair number of those who engage in self-destructive behavior (36%) come from the smaller villages in the region. Many come to relieve stress in their lives and to "run free". However, anomie seems to run generally throughout the study population, since 71% of suicides and suicide attempters are alcoholics or alcohol-abusers.⁴ No doubt social ties are difficult to maintain when alcohol assumes such a large part of one's life.

Evidence exists to show that drug abuse is the primary method that females use to commit suicide, while drug abuse, gunshot, and cutting one's wrists or stabbing one's self are the major means males use to harm themselves. Among all

suicide individuals though, gunshot is more likely to be used to harm one's self if one is serious about committing suicide, while drug abuse is a significant factor if one is not as serious in committing suicide (Table 3).

Males tend to be concentrated in the suicides - unsuccessful suicides group, while females are concentrated in the suicide attempters - gesturers group. The overall suicide attempt to completed

⁴ An alcoholic is defined as being intoxicated with problems more than 6 times a year (problems may be legal, medical or family). An alcohol-abuser is defined as being intoxicated with loss of control between two and six times a year (loss of control may refer to blackouts, drinking to get drunk, going on binges, or fighting while drunk).

Table 4

Partial Correlations between Suicidal Behavior in Northwest Alaska and Degree of Acculturation, Sex, Residence, and Education, Controlling for Selected Characteristics

	Partial Correlations (Listwise Deletion)				Number of Cases
	Txy	Txy .1	Txy. 1, 2	Txy. 1, 2, 3	
<u>Suicidal Factor</u> ^a					
Suicide with Accult	.007	-.013	-.131	-.129	(87)
Suicide with Sex	.096	.096	.008	-.024	(86)
Suicide with Reside	.216*	.215*	.163	.163	(86)
Suicide with Educ	.283**	.300**	.267**	.249**	(86)

a. Suicide with Degree of Acculturation, controls are:

(1) age, (2) education, (3) sex.

Suicide with Sex, controls are:

(1) acculturation, (2) education, (3) drug overdose.

Suicide with Place of Residence, controls are:

(1) acculturation, (2) education, (3) sex.

Suicide with Education, controls are:

(1) acculturation, (2) residence, (3) sex.

*Significance, $p = .05$

*Significance, $p = .01$

SOURCE: U.S. Public Health Service Medical and Counseling Records, 1977-1980; Kotzebue Police Records, 1977-1980.

suicide ratio is 11.4:1. Moreover, individuals in both groups are about 22 years old, while suicides - unsuccessful suicides tend to be somewhat better educated than their counterparts. Unemployment is again a socio-economic problem shared by one and all, as is no occupation. An annual household income of less than \$10,000 is a way of life for 83% of suicides and attempters. This compares to a regional proportion of 32% with household incomes of less than \$10,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980b).

An important situational factor in suicide behavior in this region is loss of family and friends. Family problems, relationship problems with a significant other, death of a close individual, and a sense of loss or failure all contribute to the suicidal episode. Fully 70% of all suicidal behavior in this region is attributed to these four situational factors. It may be the case that loss of family and close ones is difficult to manage in small communities, especially in settings which are bi-cultural and where youth are unsure which norms to follow. Under such conditions of cultural crisis, the traditional family-oriented culture competes with the white peer-oriented culture and there may be only a disarray of guidelines to help young suicides and attempters when life becomes too hard to handle.

The correlation, however, between acculturation and suicide is insignificant when controlling for age, education, and sex (Table 4). Either this means that the relationship is truly insignificant or that the measurement of acculturation stress is difficult to obtain. The relationship between suicide and sex is also insignificant, as is the relationship between suicide and residence (in these cases measurement is not a problem). There is, however, significant evidence which shows that suicide and education, when controlling for acculturation, residence, and sex, are modestly and positively related ($r = .249$). As level of education rises so do the chances of completed and unsuccessful suicides. Nevertheless, the average level of education for this suicidal cohort is only 10.8 years. This may mean that social pressure may still be on young dropouts to perform in the job market. When favorable results are lacking, these young dropouts could feel even more alienated than before.

Finally, multiple regression was employed to

predict what corresponds with the more serious forms of self-destructive behavior. A multiple correlation of .397 was obtained. Three factors stand out: education, residence, and lethality. Level of education, as noted before, may indicate a high level of frustration and alienation, since the median level of education is somewhat below a 12th grade education, making some young adults ill-prepared in the job market. Residence indicates the more serious forms of suicide occur among youth who live outside Kotzebue but who visit this large village to "run free." Lethality, however, indicates that drug abuse does not often play a part in the more serious forms of self-destruction behavior.

Discussion

Many of the youth and young adults that attempted or committed suicide in Northwest Alaska explicitly referred to the suicide act beforehand. Some were vague in their last remarks as "I'm going now." Some bargained with their peers not to intervene. And some threw down an empty bottle of pills at the feet of a significant other, broadcasting their actions. In many cases, moreover, family and friends appeared willing and able to intervene in the self-destructive act.

Situational factors that precipitate the suicide act are fourfold: (1) recent failure, (2) recent loss, (3) lack of control over things in one's life, and (4) failure of open communication. Recent failure covers the gamut of life experience, from marital stress to failure at work and from fights with one's family to letting someone down. Recent loss involves death of a close friend or relative to rejection in a primary relationship. Lack of control over things in one's life, or powerlessness, arises from the low socio-economic status of most young adults who engage in self-destructive behavior in Northwest Alaska. Lastly, failure of open communication refers to situations where the young suicide or suicide attempter is, for instance, confronted by someone else and is not able to respond verbally, or to express his or her feelings. These findings are similar to previous work on Native American reservations which experience high rates of suicides (Resnik & Dizmang, 1971).

Alcohol abuse is, of course, a factor in self-destructive behavior in Northwest Alaska, but it appears to be more a facilitator rather than an underlying cause. Nonetheless, fully 86% of the suicides and suicide attempts in Northwest Alaska are alcohol-related and this finding is higher than in other Native American societies (Levy, 1965; Miller & Schoenfeld, 1971; Shore, 1975).

A finding that was not confirmed in this study was the notion that the more acculturated individuals are the more suicidal in Native American cultures (Levy, 1965; Miller & Schoenfeld, 1971). As pointed out earlier though, acculturation stress may have been inappropriately measured.

CONCLUSION

What are the implications of this research? What are some of the questions it raises? First, this research implies that treatment programs cannot do the job alone by concentrating on the psychological aspects of suicide behavior. What is needed is social adjustments in the lives of suicidal individuals.

Second, it seems a paradox that the more Inupiat Eskimo are educated, the more likely they are to commit suicide. Does this imply that primary and secondary education in Northwest Alaska fosters a sense of rootlessness? Is more suicidal behavior the result of a 77% increase in the median level of education in this region between 1970-1980? Or is self-destructive behavior more an interaction between rootlessness and poverty?

Third, how does one learn self-destructive behavior? Who is learning this behavior and how is it being taught? Is it learned through games or is the learning non-verbal? The answers to such questions elude us now, but the questions remain important if social intervention is to succeed.

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ALASKA NATIVE VILLAGE ALCOHOL PROGRAMS: AN
EXAMPLE OF DIRECTED CULTURE CHANGE - IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING

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Introduction

Although State-funded village alcoholism programs, staffed by trained local alcohol counselors, have been expanded to a number of villages in Alaska today, little research has examined their substance or the role they play in village culture. One project (Shinkwin and Book 1982) reports the experiences of three Alaska Natives (two Athapaskans and one Aleut) who participated in a program funded and managed by the Rural Alaska Community Action Program (RurAL CAP). They received formal training and subsequent state certification as alcohol counselors. Each conducted a three-year program in their home regions. The study concluded that much of the training they received was not useful and required considerable adaptation to the local setting by each counselor. It also raised questions about realistic and effective ways of approaching alcohol abuse through village programs.

The research reported here explores some of the issues raised in the earlier study, employing a similar methodology applied to a larger program, managed by the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation (YKHC) which trains locally hired counselors in nine Yupik Eskimo villages. Like the RurAL CAP programs, one counselor is responsible for service delivery to his/her home community as well as nearby communities. The counselors, interviewed here, were assigned up to six communities with most (56%) working in three or four expanding, at least theoretically, services to a total of 21 villages. However, most like the RurAL CAP counselors, spend most time working in their home community. Although some of the YKHC counselors have been involved in village alcohol work for a little more than three years, employment time for the majority is about three years.

The conclusions of this study echo many of the previous one, but some interesting, and important, differences were also discovered. These research findings and their implications for training and alcohol program development on Alaska Native villages are discussed in this paper.

Methodology

This methodology employed in the study replicated that of the Rural CAP project (Shinkwin and Book 1982) for the sake of comparability. However, local residents in each serviced village were not interviewed since the setting for the study was a region-wide training session conducted in Bethel. Individual interviews, using open-ended questions, were conducted in the language of choice (English or Yupik Eskimo) of each counselor. Nine counselors¹ contributed data on what they do, their approach, the relationship between these activities and their training, and their perceptions of community and client response to their position as an alcohol counselor. These interviews were followed up by an afternoon group discussion in English and Yupik, led by the investigators who presented their major preliminary findings for comments. Those comments are included in the paper. The group discussion, like that in the Rural CAP study, was extremely important in highlighting approaches that seem to work as well as problem areas in service delivery, from the perspective of the counselors.

¹Data gathered from two other counselors who were attending the training are not included since they are participants in another regional program that differs from the Y.K.H.C. program in some important details.

Research Findings

Introduction. All counselors perform a variety of tasks, including (1) development of alternative activities, such as movies on alcohol and drug abuse, games, or storytelling; (2) the delivery of alcohol education presentations to local groups, and (3) counseling.

Alternative Activities and Presentations. Movies are used by counselors in the school setting. Outside this setting, movies about alcohol and other drugs do not have much appeal. However, a few counselors have built up a "movie going" clientele, especially among youth. One uses games prior to showing a movie to relax the audience and another administers pre- and post- tests to the audiences, techniques both counselors related to their training. With the few exceptions noted here, movies of this type as alternative activities are not widely used. Native games played at holidays (a time of heavy drinking) in one village, with prizes donated by local businesses, and a "mini-workshop" series in another village have been successful in attracting widespread participation. The workshops replaced village alcohol meetings to which no one came and they are sponsored by the local alcohol advisory board. They are regularly scheduled and often include participation of village elders. They address "Yupik things", such as winter survival or hunting and fishing techniques.

All counselors give presentations on alcohol and drug abuse, especially at schools. All cited their training as critical in giving them the skills and self-confidence to deliver public talks on these subjects. They uniformly expressed general satisfaction with their mastery of technical information on alcohol use and abuse, data which they use in presentations. All identified a need for more training on other drugs. Previous training taught them to identify marijuana (by sight and smell) and drug-related behavior. However, they emphasized a need for more information of a practical nature, such as that on marijuana, on all drugs they might encounter in

the village.

One counselor reported that, after several years of delivering educational presentations on the facts of alcohol and drug abuse, he has completely abandoned this activity since it was leading nowhere, in his opinion. Today, his presentations focus on who he is and how he is going to come and talk to people about their drinking problems. This change in approach has been coupled with the definition of a "target group", discussed later, whose members are invited to the presentation, which is then followed up with visits in private with each member of the group.

Counseling. All counselors reported reluctance on the part of village residents to use their counseling services due to embarrassment or fear of gossip if the person is seen entering the counselor's office. According to the counselors, a major factor in this avoidance pattern is the lack of understanding or acceptance of the concept of "confidentiality", which is a radically new idea in village culture, and one learned by the counselors in training. Counselors respond to these local concerns by agreeing to meet clients in places other than their office. One regularly counsels in her home and invites problem drinkers to dinner as a prelude to a counselling session. Another insists that counselors must "go to people with problems", that, because of the nature of drinking and the drinker's fear of asking for help, the counselor must actively seek those in trouble and offer assistance. Most counselors will approach problem drinkers, while they are sober, and ask them if they would like some help.

Counselors also take a relaxed approach to scheduling, although they all expect client referrals to make regular contact. A majority of the counselors have had difficulty with referred clients who will not come for counseling. To report a delinquent client, which might mean return to jail, is a difficult decision and counselors were very emphatic about not serving a police function in their community. Although training apparently covered the procedures involved in dealing with miscreant

clients, considerable confusion was expressed by the counselors. Of more importance, in our opinion, was the hesitation to use those procedures. Counselors felt that the monitoring role is in direct conflict with the counselor-client relationship built on trust. However, two have reported chronic abusers of probationary regulations and a third expressed his intention to pursue this course in the future.

Most counseling by all counselors is with referred clients. Only two have been successful in recent years in attracting a fair number of "walk-ins". These two, over some time, have made their offices a place of varied activity involving problem drinkers, non-problem drinkers, and non-drinkers alike. In their opinions, this has erased the stigma attached to going to an alcohol counselor's office and produced an atmosphere congenial to the person who wants help but was formerly embarrassed to seek it. A third counselor, mentioned above, who has defined a "target group" of youth from homes with drinking problems reports that since he has begun to privately talk with these individuals away from his office, people are beginning to come and see him. Prior to this, no one came to see him.

Counseling is perceived by all counselors as a major function, illustrated by the comment of one that "counseling is the only medicine for drinkers." In our opinion, the strong support for this role, in part at least, must be the result of training. Most of these counselors receive little reinforcement for this activity in the way of clients or community support and it cannot be related to personal experience of the efficacy of counseling since, of the former drinkers, only one achieved sobriety with the assistance of treatment programs.

None of the counselors currently conduct group therapy; rather, each delivers individual counseling. One-half reported trying AA groups. The approach did not work. If people did come, and often they did not come, they would not talk. The majority of counselors did not think this approach, at this time, would work in their villages. They related its failure to the fact that no one is anonymous and to the "non-Yupik" notion that people should discuss problems in a group. In spite of the

reported failure of these AA groups, several of the newer counselors are planning on trying this technique. One of the long-time counselors reported he has been talking individually to each of his clients for some time about an AA group and will form one when they are ready.

Since counselors all thought counseling was a critical function, considerable discussion was directed at the substance of this role, as they fulfill it today. All use an approach, which some related to training, that structures communication in a question-answer format. Talking always begins with neutral topics ("What did you do today?" or, "Did you get anything hunting?") and, depending on the responses, the questions may become more personal but they are always non-confrontational, do not mention alcohol, and communicate a support function on the part of the counselor. Examples given were, "Hey, how is your life?" or "How can I help you with your problems?" Counselors emphasized in many different ways the importance of communicating a non-judgmental, non-threatening, caring attitude.

Observations of group therapy sessions at a treatment center in Bethel uniformly produced a negative reaction to the communication style (confrontation) used by the counselors. Although YKHC counselors all expressed respect for the work at this center, and many found their observations useful, it was generally held that any direct transfer of these techniques to a village setting would be inappropriate.

Interestingly, a large number of counselors volunteered that they do not tell clients what happens when alcohol enters the body. This statement always ended with the phrase, "or how it gets to the liver and the brain." These comments suggest a frustration with training which has focussed on technical information, which is not viewed as relevant in a counseling context by these counselors.

The approach to counseling, described to us, is highly personal, with former drinkers sharing their experiences with their clients. Some use a religious approach, appealing to religious beliefs and sources of church-related support in counseling sessions. Counselors noted that there are some subjects, such as sex, which are not

talked about in Yupik conversational style, without occasioning a patterned avoidance response, such as laughter, reflecting embarrassment. Talking about very personal things in Yupik outside the family setting is a new pattern and difficult even for those educated in a different use of language, such as the counselors. In this respect, counselors mentioned how helpful "role playing" had been to them in training for counseling and how painful they found the technique in the beginning.

At this point, counselors suggest the best approach is to talk to clients about how difficult it is to talk about certain things as a possible way to begin to expand communication. This theme dominates the public group presentations now given by the counselor, mentioned above, who has despaired with the presentations on the facts about alcohol.

Some counselors have clients write down what they did while they were drinking and bring this to the counseling session. This method, learned in training, has been helpful in assisting communication.

Counselors do not use the disease model of alcoholism, although they have learned it. A typical comment was, "I forget about it". Several counselors with Moravian or Covenant clients noted the conflict between the concept of excess drinking as a disease and drinking as a sin, and avoid the subject. In one village, it is much more relevant to talk about alcohol use as a sin and the counselor takes this approach, supported by much prayer.

All counselors emphasized a need to develop counseling skills in training. Although nearly all said their training had been helpful in counseling, other than role-playing and the use of questions in communication, the relationship between what they have learned and what they do is far from obvious. Rather, counselors draw on what they know about their own villages to adjust strategies they have seen or heard about in training, through a trial-and-error process.