DIFFICULT DECISIONS

BARROW LOCAL OPTION STORIES

[In the 1870s] the Eskimos had bought a large quantity of liquor from a trader and while under the influence had neglected to hunt for the winter. Following this tragedy the people themselves asked the traders and whalers not to bring any more alcohol to the village.

-Robert Fortuine, Chills and Fevers, pp. 296-7

At the end of the last millennium, after many millennia of not knowing alcohol, the small Inupiat community of Utqiagvik was transformed into Barrow, Alaska. During the closing decades of the 20th century, Barrow became a small but modern multiethnic city, the northernmost city in North America. Since the Alaskan Inupiaq people’s first contacts with explorers and traders in the early 19th century, alcohol has played a role in the transformation of traditional life. It has been a trade good, a recreational choice, and a destroyer of communities, families and individuals.

People in Barrow, Native and non-Native, have struggled to manage the use of alcohol. Since Statehood in 1959, one tool in that struggle has been Alaska’s Local Option Law. This is a story about recent efforts, told in the words of some of the people involved.

Between 1867 and 1959 a variety of laws banned alcohol consumption in Alaska Native villages. Enforcement was minimal. Local leaders and missionaries railed against it, but alcohol always found a way to enter even the most remote communities.

A sporadic, sometimes devastating, problem for Barrow, alcohol abuse became a major public health menace as money began to flow into the community from oil wealth in the early 1970s. Life changed rapidly. The North Slope Borough was formed in 1972. The Native peoples of Alaska and the federal government agreed to settle century-old land claims. TV arrived. Barrow put in place or improved modern community infrastructure: water, sewer, electricity, schools, college and the Internet. Increasing wealth and daily jet services made travel to anywhere in the U.S. or the world a ready option.

In 1959, the State of Alaska passed a local option law to help small communities exercise control over alcohol by banning sales locally. This status is now called DAMP and permits alcohol to be brought (e. g. by mail order) into the community for personal use. There are no State licensed facilities for sale or consumption. In 1980 communities gained the legal authority to ban consumption, sale and importation completely. This status is called DRY. WET status refers to the ability to buy, consume or import alcoholic beverages at or through any State licensed establishment within the community.

In the 1980s and 1990s Barrow saw an intense effort to confront alcohol related issues in various community forums, including the City Council, the traditional Elders’ Council and the local option election process. Points of view were often expressed with intense emotions and often provoked equally intense emotions in those holding other points of view. Opinions could differ greatly even among those who held the same position on how to vote. Positions could also vary even within a household. Many “wounds” of the two-decade struggle with difficult decisions were still raw five years after the last election when the following stories were collected. The following are three perspectives on the difficult decisions that individuals and communities face in controlling the problems associated with alcohol.
**Marie’s Story**

“Barrow is my home and I grew up here. Most of us kids did not know many non-Natives. In the ‘50s and ‘60s alcohol was more associated with NARL, the Naval Arctic Research Lab, and the DEW line, the Distant Early Warning site that had its own bar. Local people who had jobs there attended Christmas parties. That was my first view of alcohol. It seemed kind of orderly. But NARL and Barrow were essentially segregated up to the ‘70s and people were discouraged from mixing socially.

“I went off to high school in the ‘60s and graduated in 1972, about the same time the borough was being formed and the big infusion of money came. Then I went to college and there were huge changes every time I came back. Barrow would look different and was changing tremendously.

“New people started coming. New facilities were being built; people working here and there, brand new jobs that we’d never heard of before. People had money and were starting to do financially very well. But the new jobs started putting restraints on our lifestyle. You just couldn’t easily run off to camp, fish, or hunt and do what you did before. That was the way I was raised.

“The alcohol problem was growing until the ‘80s when it became really obvious. In the ‘60s, it wasn’t really that common. When someone got drunk everybody knew. In the ‘70s, we went through a very fast change. I saw some disruptive behavior but not to the extent that I would later see in the ‘80s where it started dominating people’s lives. By the ‘80s, it was common … not just alcohol but drugs were also in Barrow.

“In college, I rarely went to parties, but when I came home, it was very different. People were partying all the time, and I joined the scene. It was like what you saw on TV, a different style, the western style of socializing. People appeared to be having a great time but things started unraveling; their families were being affected.

“I realized after about three terrible years that that wasn’t the lifestyle I wanted for myself. By ‘84, I knew that drinking booze was not what it appeared to be when I first came back. It carried a lot of baggage. It was not what I wanted to do. I did not want alcohol to control my life.

“So I started a radio show in ‘86. We really did not have local news, but I thought it was important to get our own voices heard publicly. I went to the radio station about doing a talk show. I watched all the talk shows I could on TV, listened to the radio, and came to a bilingual format.

“The first series of radio shows was on alcohol abuse. At first it was difficult to get people to talk, but soon it was hair-raising. People started talking about the hurt that they had carried for many years, about sexual abuse as minors where they were in families that were drinking heavily, about people who had lost their dignity and were starting to regain it by not...
drinking. A lot of them were still up and down trying to manage the changes that had happened to them. Gradually, it started to become less cool to be out partying and drinking and hurting your families.

“People were starting to see the ravages of alcohol.

“We were in a full discussion of alcohol, not just the availability, but also the problems related to alcohol and it continued into the ‘90s. It became something that you talked about. Most of us had strong opinions on the issues … some pro, some against. It was talked about for several years to the point where you finally got so tired of it you were ready to settle on wet, dry or damp.

“Through the election process we talked it to death. The positive thing is that it educated a lot of us about the effects of alcohol. Like my radio show in the ‘80s, it was one of the quickest ways to get people aware of the problems with alcohol binge drinking and whatever. The discussion happened, and we hashed it out. People learned that the lifestyle of the ‘80s was not acceptable, not good for your family. It brought about a change in values.

“The local option battles have drawn political lines more than anything. People still have strong feelings. But as a community we came to a compromise.

“I recall my father had to deal with alcohol and he came to a decision really quickly. He would be in his 80s now. He was exposed to what went on with NARL and the DEW line and alcohol was available to him. But he still had his parents who were trained in traditional values and they were not afraid to say, ‘Straighten out. You got a family.’

“But our grandparents’ generation did not have to deal with alcohol at the level that our age group had to. We were the group going through this huge change in our community, not just alcohol and drugs but how to manage your life working on a regular job—you can’t just take off and go camping. It’s a huge adjustment, and no wonder so many people have had big problems. Some started staying up all night drinking in the ‘80s and they’re still doing it, even though they have gone through multiple stays in rehab.

“I also see quite a few young couples who are choosing not to get into an alcohol lifestyle. There are some families that have quite a lot of trouble with alcohol, but there are also a good number of families—young families—who are living a pretty decent lifestyle. They’ve seen the trouble. Some are children of people who partied in the ‘80s and now they are on their own raising their families without it. That’s the positive thing I see: we went through a huge learning curve.”

A Barrow Timeline
(continued)

1980
Alaska establishes importation limits for single shipments to Damp villages:
• 12 liters of distilled spirits
• 24 liters of wine,
• 12 gallons of malt beverage.

1990 Population: 78% Inupiat

October 1994. DRY: Barrow votes to go DRY

October 1995, WET: Barrow votes to go repeal ban. The election is challenged.

February 1996, DRY: Barrow votes to restore ban on sales, importation, and possession.

October 1997, DAMP: Barrow votes to go damp 911 to 789

2000 Population: 60% Inupiat
16% Asian/Pacific Islanders
24% White

May 2000
Community Distribution Center Opens
Elders’ Views

The following are comments and observations by Inupiaq women Elders during an afternoon discussion on alcohol, local option, enforcement and the family. Each paragraph represents a change in speaker.

Local Option

“When we first voted alcohol dry in 1980, my nephews, even the one who drinks, didn’t complain. I was really glad and I wasn’t complaining either. We had a more beautiful life when alcohol was not here.”

“The people who didn’t grow up here are the ones that really can’t take the dry. But the ones who grew up here, even the hardest hard-core drinker didn’t complain. But the people from outside, from the other side of our earth, they were complaining.”

“Nowadays, many Natives will not speak up for or against wet, but they let outsiders speak for them. When they were voting for wet and dry, there were ads everywhere, you know: ‘This is America! We have the freedom to do whatever we want!’ There were ads like that. Some people say that people from the outside hear about the election and come to Barrow and live here until the voting is over and then leave. That could explain why it was voted wet.”

“They made themselves very, very obvious: cunning and obvious. I remember when I went to vote I saw them standing around the polls the whole Election Day, especially those from out of town, they were standing where people could see them. Just their presence influenced a lot of people.”

“I am grateful for the local option laws and it was very good when Barrow went dry. That was the best year. Children were a lot happier. Husbands and wives were doing more things together. The home life was much better. Of course there were people looking for booze and hiding so they could drink it all themselves, but I am very grateful for even damp right now. I’m a lot happier with it damp than wet.”

“I prefer dry because when people want to drink they can go out to Fairbanks and Anchorage. It seems better to me because Barrow returns to being a safe place for families and family life.”

“I am very grateful when spring comes. That way you know nobody’s out there freezing because there is that every year.”

“I think it is OK the way it is. If it became dry, it would be very difficult because Barrow has become so diverse. Anyway, it has been voted on before and dry has been overturned. Because of the diversity, dry would not pass.”

---

“My people care for people, more than things. Outsiders care more for things, more than people.”

-A Barrow Elder

A Caring Argument Against Dry

“When it was dry, I was afraid for some of my relatives. They would leave town and go on the streets of Anchorage or Fairbanks. To me that was more dangerous. One member of the family was attacked with a baseball bat. I was afraid, too, that the young people would be exposed to AIDS. At least when they were around we could look after them.”

-An Adult Inupiaq
“But it is very helpful when these elections are being held with hopes of it being dry. We want to continue to keep voting hopefully to end up with dry. But we don’t want to stop. We don’t want to stop voting. We want to keep fighting as long as we can.”

Enforcement
The North Slope Borough Police Department has played a major role in support of Barrow being a dry community since the police saw first hand the effects of alcohol on crime, accidents, injuries, deaths and disputes. Despite sharing a common position on local option issues, Elders are often critical of the police because their values and motivations differ. The police are concerned with law enforcement and justice and usually carry a different set of cultural assumptions. The elders place a higher value on building a caring community and more often see solutions to deviant behavior in terms of restoring health to the community. This distinction is reflected in the tendency to contrast the former Mothers’ Club with today’s law enforcement.

“I do not want my name made known. I do not think the police do a very good job. Maybe if there were a change, it would work. If the police patrolled more in Barrow the way they do in Fairbanks, they would find someone who was passed out. Right now, it is usually the taxi drivers who find people.”

“Before the 1970s, the alcohol problem wasn’t very great. But during the ’70s, alcohol started hitting the community. There would be folks coming to my house or to other houses where they knew they were safe. Sometimes the floor space would be all filled, any time of the year, at all hours of the night with babies, starting in the 1970s. Even up to this day, we are doing this.”

“It is not only alcohol but also drugs. It really hurts me and I am getting tired. Something should be done.”

“They make a lot of money on dope here. From outside they come looking and looking and looking for money in Barrow. Bootleggers even use children to sell drugs and alcohol. And the police know about it.”

“The police always want strong evidence even though they are being told. But these bootleggers and people selling drugs are still out there. Taxis are very well known for illegal activities. The past year only two have been arrested.”

“Sometimes a policeman will pick up a person and they will ship them out to Fairbanks without letting anybody know. Sometimes the husband or wife won’t hear about it until after they’re out of town and it hurts them both.”

“They put Alaska Natives in jail, when they should have treatment. They get out and in a few years, they die. My brother died from cancer five years ago. He had it in jail and they neglected it. It was a neglect thing. He was an alcoholic.”

“A lot of times a young person may have suicidal tendencies, they could cut themselves and bleed all over the floor. That’s happening too. I’m worried about it.”

The Mothers’ Club
The Mothers’ Club was the early police in Barrow. They started in the 1930s with my older sisters and with a lady that was named Mrs. Grey, a missionary doctor. She was very concerned about children and decided to call all the mothers together and that’s how the Mothers’ Club got started.

The Mothers’ Club was very strong for many years. They raised funds with talent shows and they would sew and make things for sale to get funds. If someone’s house burned down, they would make sure that they got money together and sent it to them. Any time there was need, the Mothers’ Club was there.

There were shortages of fuel and food and there weren’t as many people. But we worked together and everything worked out and we were happy. That was a time when there was no alcohol.
“My dad had a friend who drank quite a bit and I would call the police when they were fighting. Sometimes they would resolve the fighting even before the police came. I wish that the police would be more responsive.”

“It is very discouraging that the Mothers’ Club doesn’t exist anymore. After the police came, the role of the Mothers’ Club got just a little bit smaller. There are other organizations now, but we sure miss Mothers’ Club again.”

**Family**

“My husband and I never drank. We would never allow alcohol, so there was really no problem until our grandchildren. That’s when the problems of alcohol started. Their father drank—their mother started for a while but stopped when they were born. Their father had the problem and because of his drinking, because of alcohol [CRYING], the hurt was because of the alcohol … The hardest part was watching the divorce of my daughter and my son-in-law. I am grateful for the police because they were there to help. Now that the grandchildren are in their 20s, it has sort of subsided. It has been very hard for me.”

“There is a lot of separation because of the alcohol. There are more and more bootleggers. When things were getting a little better with the older son, then the younger son started. My grandchildren start calling on Fridays at about 11 wanting to go to my house. Recently my older son came in and I noticed him reading the Bible and that made me very happy. The younger brother is struggling, not only with alcohol but also with drugs. But he is going to treatment. Is there a way to solve this? The children are suffering the most.”

“Once my husband, who was a carpenter, invited his friends over. They were going to have some drinks, and I did not know what drinks were. I tried it and it tasted real good. I told my husband give me another one. He said, “No! You’ll get crazy.” It was probably some sort of wine. It felt hot, but I didn’t know what it was. We’ve heard if you try more, you want more.”

“I do not use alcohol myself. I decided at an early age I was not going to use it even at the urging of my husband and his friends. I decided that my children are more important than spending on alcohol or cigarettes.”

“This is what I want to understand. I want to know why my children are dong this. I have never used alcohol myself. I think it is because, as children, what really hurt us was to hear teachers and preachers say we should not be talking in Inupiaq anymore. They strictly enforced this rule with punishment and ridicule.”

“I’ve heard people, especially in the villages, say how awful Barrow is because alcohol is so freely available. But what really hurts me is to hear them say we should not be talking in Inupiaq anymore. What I really don’t want to see is Barrow being more diverse and with fewer Inupiaq people. This is my home. We grew up here.”

“I was born and raised here. Barrow is very subsistence minded and we share. In Barrow when you need fish, they’re out there. When you need ducks, they’re out there. It’s wonderful that we still keep doing what we have done for thousands of years. What I would really like to see is that we pass more of this way of life on to the children.”
JIM VORDERSTRASSE’S STORY
How Barrow Went Damp
(After Going Damp, then Wet, then Dry)

Barrow changed its local option status four times between October 1994 and October 1997. Mayor Jim Vorderstrasse explains how the intense feelings of a decade long community-wide debate resulted in compromises through the local option election process.

“When I ran for mayor I didn’t think I was going to get elected. I just wanted to make some positive points. I didn’t run on the alcohol issue, but went public in support of Dry.

“On election night, I had some people over. Everybody left early and I was here all by myself. This guy from Pepe’s showed up with a tray of food from my wife, and said, ‘Don’t feel bad. Don and Nate have been in politics a long time.’ When the numbers came in, I got 800 votes while Don and Nate got 400 each—Nate had been the mayor for 12 years!

“The night that I was to be sworn in, the City Council wouldn’t certify the election because the vote to go Wet passed. It was ugly. I said, ‘This is ridiculous! There is no question that the election took place. We should certify it.’ But they adjourned the meeting so they wouldn’t have to.

“The next day they swore me in but wouldn’t certify the Wet vote. The place was packed and Elder after Elder pleaded with us not to certify the election. The attorney advised that if there was a reason not to certify the election, state it but it can’t be ‘just because you feel it didn’t go the way you wanted.’ The election was certified.

“So I had to deal with the Wet status and it was tough, really tough. I went to the Elders because I wanted their support. I wanted them to give me a chance. I felt I could make some changes and could do some positive things. So I met with them and it was ugly.

“My sister-in-law went with me to translate. First, one Elder stood up—very agitated—and stomped out. Another Elder stood up, my former landlord, and spoke and spoke in Inupiaq. I asked my sister-in-law, ‘What did he say?’ He says, ‘You should resign.’

“I said, ‘Resign? Look! Please give me a chance! I didn’t do anything wrong! Why should I resign? I publicly supported Dry in the election!’ There was a misconception that I supported Wet. The people who supported Wet—the ‘Freedom Committee’—felt I would be fair, so they supported me.

“Then, I got sued by my own in-laws. It wasn’t fair. I said, ‘If your son, Etok, was mayor you would have never do this.’ My sister-in-law—whose daughter we had adopted—complained the city hadn’t translated the ballot into Inupiaq. It was just a loophole to contest the election. But they went ahead with it. I felt betrayed.

CBS’s 48 Hours

“So then we went wet … right away we have 48 Hours television crew come up. It was my first experience with the press. They follow me all day around in my office, asking, ‘What do you think people are going to say, what do you think people are going to do?’ 'I told them forcefully, Well, there will be people hurt from this. There is no question in my mind that people are going to suffer!’ They kept on asking me over and over and I finally said that there are also some people who say, ‘GIMME A BUD!’ This is mainstream America!”

So when they air the program on TV, they cut to me yelling, ‘Give me a Bud! This is mainstream America!’ And I say ‘Geez!’ My mother is calling from Oregon and saying ‘the church women are saying they saw you on TV yelling ‘BUD!’ They showed people at the liquor distribution center carrying out cases of liquor: ‘Free! We’re free at last!’ I was very careful after that.”

-Jim Vorderstrasse
“Tom Nichols, the head of the Freedom Committee is a very thoughtful person and was willing to compromise. I began to feel I was having some fun and doing positive things. We decided to hold a special election.

“Elections are confusing sometimes. One time you vote ‘yes’ to ban alcohol. The next time a ‘yes’ vote can mean you are in fact voting to lift the ban. The language is such that even after talking about it all the time, the ballot language is still confusing. So, I came up with a bottle and a bottle and line through it. How simple can it be! The Elders also said that some people at the polls were mistranslating the ballot to get people to vote the way they wanted. So we had a certified taped translation done by the Inupiat Language and Culture Commission. I thought these were neat innovations.

“It was really quite stimulating, a true democratic process. We had the vote in February 1996. The outcome was to go Dry by a very slim margin of seven or eight votes. People were scared because restaurants had been lining up to get liquor permits and open bars. We didn’t want any bars here in our town. I didn’t! Not under my mayorship!

“So we went through a two-month Dry period and surprisingly there wasn’t a huge outcry at least not from the drinkers. I guess they were still getting their booze in somehow. There wasn’t much said about it and finally they got tired. We voted again in the fall of 1997 and we went Damp.

“We continued Damp with no changes for a couple of years. Then Tom Nichols of the Freedom Committee talked with me about the idea of a community liquor store and a distribution center in part to keep the money spent on alcohol within the community. I thought these ideas had merit but I told him that he wasn’t the person to bring it up.

“Then Tom was defeated for the City Council and Jimmy Nukapigak was elected. He was for Dry. He brought up with the idea of the distribution center, only this time it was coming from the Dry camp. Under a community distribution center, you don’t change your Damp status, but the City Council can control the amount of liquor you can bring in—without the vote of the people.

“Jimmy proposed it to me saying, ‘we should permit only one bottle a month …’ or something ridiculous like that. My job was to find a compromise so that everybody could agree. We set the state legal limits—a lot of booze—as a starting point to see how it went. Eventually, we reduced
the limits to about half the State limits. It was still a lot of booze. But it did cut down on a single individual ordering the State limit from more than one distributor. This made bootlegging a little more difficult.

Alcohol is still hurting a lot of people. There is a tremendous Fetal Alcohol Syndrome problem. It is horrible. I toyed with the idea of denying alcohol to pregnant women. But they may not admit to being pregnant, not go to prenatal care, things like that.

And then there are bootleggers—to my mind they’re just as bad as drug dealers. They create such pain and suffering and have no conscience. They sell to kids and to alcoholics they know don’t need another drink. Yet for money they’ll give them a bottle.

As they say, it’s the 10% of the people who cause 90% of the problem, but the vast majority seems to be satisfied with how things are working in Barrow now … at least for the time being.”

-Jim Vorderstrasse

WHAT NUMBERS CAN TELL US

Published studies concluded that injury deaths among Alaska Natives in small rural villages decreased when more restrictive alcohol laws were enacted, and that alcohol-related outpatient visits in Barrow decreased when the village was dry:


Studies on deaths, hospitalizations, and visits to health providers may help in evaluating the effects of local option laws. It is more difficult, however, to evaluate the impact on people who travel or move outside the community and drink in other places. The comments from Barrow residents in the stories above show how complex the picture really is. Health administrators in Barrow are working to document the full picture rather than measuring just the local statistics.

Whether the younger generation in Barrow will have similar attitudes and alcohol use patterns to the older adults will be of interest. If the Youth Risk Behavior survey is used each year in Barrow, the local school system will have information on trends in local attitudes of adolescents.
While there may have been a difference in the town of Barrow when it went dry in the 1990s, what we didn’t see was a statistical difference in the population. What we saw were Barrow people going to Fairbanks or Anchorage to get what they wanted. So, did it have a true impact for Barrow? Not for the people, maybe for the location.

- Rebecca Ruhl, Corporate Compliance Officer, Employee-Patient Care Services Administrator, Arctic Slope Native Association

"It’s tough to give advice to another community. You can’t just come in from the outside for things to happen. Don’t tell a village what they should do.”
- A Barrow Comment

**Things to Consider**

Barrow is different from many other rural Alaskan communities in ways that may affect which local option choice might work best. Some factors include Barrow’s role as a regional center, its multi-generational history as a mixed Inupiaq—non-Inupiaq community; its relatively affluent, highly mobile population, and its modern infrastructure, to name just a few.

**Communities considering adopting or changing a local option ordinance, might want to think about and discuss some of the following questions:**

- In what ways will the change in local option law affect the actual availability of alcohol? Will it increase or decrease bootlegging? If so, who will be hurt and who will gain?

- Will a change in local option law affect other forms of substance abuse?

- How would a change in the law affect the members of your community who are addicted to alcohol? Do you have a plan to help and support these people? Is there treatment available?

- Is your community willing to have its drinking members go to other communities, such as Anchorage and Fairbanks, to drink and face the dangers and difficulties involved?

- Will your community use the local option election process as an opportunity to educate everyone in the community about all the issues surrounding alcohol? How willing are you to listen to arguments of the other side? What do those who disagree think?

- What do the children think? Will you involve children and youth of non-voting age in the discussion to educate them also? Will you learn about their concerns and visions of the future?

- Will you invite people from other communities similar to yours to come and talk about what has worked and not worked in their communities and why?

- How willing are you to listen and understand the views and concerns of the “other side” and consider possible compromises?

- How committed are you to retaining traditional values and lifestyle? How does alcohol affect these?

- What aspects of non-traditional values and lifestyle does your community see as valuable and desirable for your future as a community and for the future of your children?
To Find Out More

The State Alcohol Beverage Control Board (ABC Board)
550 West 7th Avenue Ste 540
Anchorage, Alaska 99501-3556
(907) 269-0350
www.abc.state.ak.us/

Governor’s Advisory Board on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
P.O. Box 110608
Juneau, Alaska 99811-0608
(907) 465-8920
www.hss.state.ak.us/htmlstuf/boards/boards.htm#ada

Arctic Slope Native Association
P.O. Box 1232
Barrow Alaska 99723
(800) 478-3033
www.tribalconnections.org/tcp/map/ak/arcticslope.html

North Slope Borough Police Department
P.O. Box 470 Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-0311
www.co.north-slope.ak.us/NSB/59.htm

City of Barrow, Office of the Mayor
P.O. Box 629
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-5211
barrowmayor@nuvuk.net

North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services
P.O. Box 69
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-0260

Alaska Federation of Natives
1577 C Street, Suite 300
Anchorage, AK 99501
(907) 274-3611
www.nativefederation.org/frames/health.html

Reference Chapters in Healthy Alaskans 2010, Volume I

Chapter 4. Substance Abuse
Chapter 6. Educational and Community-Based Programs
Chapter 7. Health Communication
Chapter 8. Injury Prevention
Chapter 9. Violence and Abuse