

Local/Non-local Jail Use: An Examination of a Sample of Alaska Community Jail Detainees

by

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Abstract

Data collected for the Alaska Community Jails Research Consortium included neither race nor place of residence. Because of their interest in both racial distribution and the use of the jail by nonresidents, the fifteen member jails provided this information for a random sample of detainees. The sample consisted of 1,687 detainees, more than a third of whom were not from the communities in which they were held. There was considerable variation by facility and much of the variance appears to be related to the nature of the community and its relationship to surrounding villages and to its geographic location in the state.

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A data base developed pursuant to a grant from the National Institute of Justice provided a unique opportunity to examine rural jail populations. The grant enabled the formation of a research partnership between a university research center and fifteen community jails in Alaska.

The opportunity to examine a population chosen from rural jails is an unusual one. Studies of crime and justice in rural areas are rare. There are few studies of jail inmates and most of these few focus on inmates in just one jail, almost always an urban one.

A national survey of inmates of local jails is conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Justice Statistics every four years. The survey interviews a sample of inmates from jails around the country. For the 1996 survey 6,133 jail inmates were interviewed in 431 jails (Harlow, 1998). The interview takes nearly an hour and covers personal history, prior record, legal status, and even the activities the interviewee engaged in the jail. Drug and alcohol information is also requested. There is no indication about the size or location of the jails selected for the survey, but to assure efficient data collection large jails (1,000 capacity) appear to be prevalent in the interview universe (Harlow, 1998). The data are reported in the aggregate so even where rural jail populations are included their responses are not separated.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics also issues reports about prison and jail inmates at year-end and at mid-year. These are population numbers and are reported by region and state; race and gender are also reported (e.g., Gilliard, 1999).

Rural jails are usually small and small jails are usually rural. In his recent book, Kerle (1998) devoted a chapter to small jails in America. He defined a small jail as one with a capacity of fifty or fewer persons and noted that nearly two-thirds of the nation's jails fall below fifty beds (p. 28).

A report on small jails was commissioned by the National Institute of Corrections in the early 1980s, but this report addressed the jails and not their residents (Kimme, et al., 1985). In a related article in *American Jails*, Kimme (1988) defined the typical new small jail as a facility with 28 beds which admits 878 people a year (p. 4). He did not address the characteristics of those 878 people.

The opportunity to examine the characteristics of the populations of fifteen small rural jails is rare. Although the jails studied are in a single state, it is clear that rural jails differ from one another; no single rural jail can be considered a prototype and extrapolations about rural jail populations cannot be made based on studies of one jail population.

Background of the Study

The Alaska Community Jails Statewide Research Consortium is a partnership among the fifteen community jails in Alaska and the Justice Center at the University of Alaska Anchorage. The jails are located throughout the state (Figure 1). The northernmost jail is more than a thousand miles

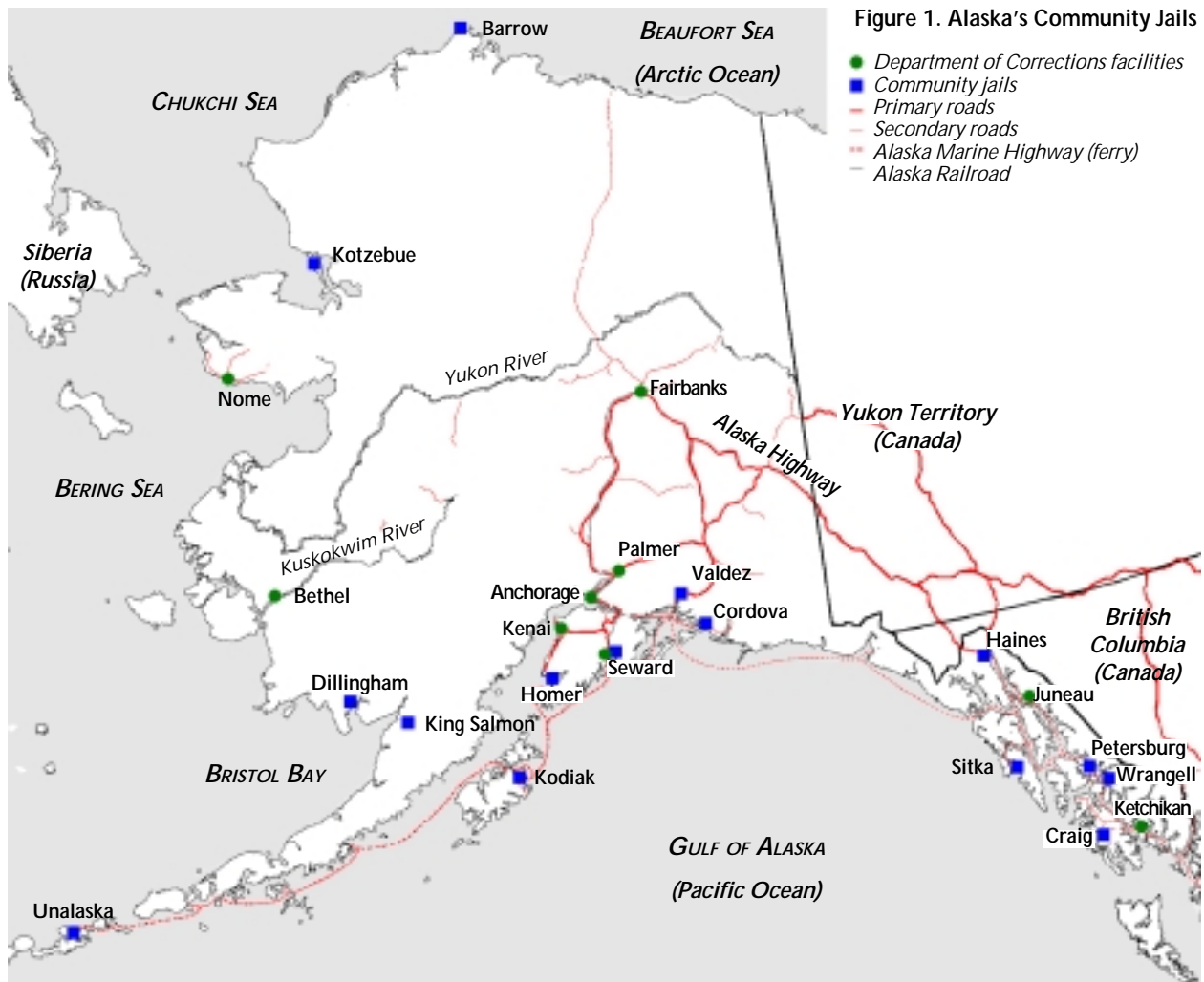


Table 1. Alaska's Community Jails

Location	Population ¹	Major Native group	Number of cells	Number of beds	Number of jail employees ²	Hub	On road system	On Alaska Marine Highway
Barrow	4,397	Inupiat	9	9	8	X		
Cordova	2,571	Athabascan	3	6	2			X
Craig	2,145	Tlingit	5	7	5.5	X		
Dillingham	2,332	Yup'ik/Aleut	6	8	5	X		
Haines	1,463	Tlingit	3	6	5		X	X
Homer ³	4,155	Athabascan	4	7	5.5		X	X
King Salmon	480	Yup'ik/Aleut	2	4	6	X		
Kodiak ³	6,859	Alutiq	6	16	6			X
Kotzebue	2,932	Inupiat	6	14	8	X		
Petersburg	3,398	Tlingit	3	12	4			X
Seward	3,040	Athabascan	5	14	6		X	X
Sitka	8,777	Tlingit	9	15	3			X
Unalaska ³	4,285	Aleut	4	10	5			X
Valdez	4,155	Athabascan	4	16	4		X	X
Wrangell	2,589	Tlingit	5	12	5			X

1. Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, December 1998 estimates.

2. Includes both jail employees and dispatch.

3. Ferry service is available only from May to October in these communities.

from the southernmost. Only four of the jails are on the road system and one of these is on a road that goes through Canada on its way to the rest of Alaska. Five of the jails are accessible only by air; ten are served at least seasonally by the Alaska Marine Highway, the state's ferry system (Table 1).

The communities in which the jails are located are very small. The largest of the fifteen has a population of fewer than nine thousand people. Four of the communities are "hub" communities, which means they serve as transportation and government service centers for smaller surrounding villages. The hub role appears to have an impact on jail population.

The jails are operated by local police departments. They are very small; the largest have nine cells, and one only has two. They more than qualify under Kerle's definition of a small jail. Most have more beds than they do cells. Each jail has a contract with the state to house state prisoners until they can be transferred to large state-operated regional facilities, or to await trial in the community. Short sentences can also be served in the jail. The jails submit billing sheets to the Department of Corrections every month. At one time the sheets were used for reimbursement but now appear to function primarily to reinforce the contract.

Data from the billing sheets formed the basis for the research and were used to generate the sample. The data are: date and time of admission, date and time of release, initials and date of birth, gender, and charge(s) at admission. There are also columns to be checked or completed to identify the arresting agency and to determine whether the charge was associated with domestic violence, alcohol or drugs, or whether the admission was tied to a sentence.

Data for the years 1993-1999 were computerized directly from the billing sheets and are event-based, not people-based. That is to say, each admission was treated as a discrete event. Our efforts to compute numbers of people admitted to the jail were hampered by the fact that a single individual might appear in more than one jail.

For all fifteen jails for all seven years there were 46,398 admission events. These admission events were accumulated by 21,169 people for an average of more than two admissions per person. We should note that persons are logged into and out of the jail for court appearances and to serve sentences as well as upon arrest. Thus, a single incident of assault might result in more than one admission to the jail; e.g., admission at the time of the offense, admission for violating conditions of release, admission to serve a sentence.

At a meeting of the Alaska Community Jails Statewide Research Consortium in March 1998, the partners examined flaws in the available data, discussed additional data needs, and established a research agenda. A major flaw in the data set was the absence of information on race. One research interest expressed by several police chiefs was whether their jail populations were primarily local or were from other areas. It was decided at that meeting that a random sample from the large data base would be selected; the jails volunteered to supply information on race and place of residence for this sample.

Ultimately each jail provided race and place of residence information for a sample of persons admitted to the jail selected from 1997. Two years of data were ultimately added to the larger data base and, to be current, we requested information on samples randomly selected from the 1998 and 1999 billing sheet data. Fourteen of the fifteen consortium members supplied this additional

information. In Kodiak the sample was derived only from 1997 admissions. Each jail's sample, because it was randomly generated, should be representative of the full jail population during the three years, but in fact persons who were admitted frequently were oversampled.

The Rural Sample

The full sample consisted of 1,672 people who accumulated 4,721 admissions in the three years studied. This number included eleven people who were sampled in two different facilities. As previously noted, selection from events resulted in a greater likelihood that repeat offenders would be sampled. Many repeat offenders appear to be marginal workers who follow the commercial fishing industry from place to place (Schafer & Lepine, 2001); it is not surprising to find them in two or even three different jails. A primary concern of the research was to examine the impact on individual jail resources of local and non-local offenders. These eleven therefore remained in the samples for each facility that housed them and are counted twice in the total numbers; they are only 1.3 percent of the 1,672 people the computer program recognizes.

Computing information about people from an event-based data base requires creative programming. Most of the analyses were done on a facility-by-facility basis since each jail received a separate report on that jail's sample.

Table 2 shows the racial distribution for each jail. Race was missing for some of the sample in two locations, Cordova and Kotzebue, and this is reflected in the totals for the unknown/other/missing category which was combined for ease of presentation in the table. Alaska's largest minority is Alaska Native. Although they comprise fewer than 20 percent of the state's population, they are over-represented in the prison population (34%) and appear to be over-represented in the populations of the community jails, appearing in the sample in nearly the same numbers as whites—44.5 percent of the total compared to 45.6 percent for whites.

Community jails reflect to some extent the complexions of the communities in which they are located. The cities of Barrow, Dillingham and Kotzebue are located in areas with largely Native populations, and this is reflected in the table. They are also "hub" communities serving as transportation and economic centers for surrounding Alaska Native villages. The population of Barrow is 63.9 percent Alaska Native, of Dillingham 55.8 percent, and of Kotzebue 75.1 percent. Since the jails often house people transferred from the nearby villages as well as city residents, the racial proportions are not unusual. In other jails the proportions are not as easy to explain. Sitka, for example, is 21 percent Alaska Native according to population figures, but the jail sample is half Alaska Native. Since repeat offenders were oversampled and repeat offenders are likely to be involved with alcohol this may explain some of the numbers: Alaska Natives accounted for 59.4 percent of all alcohol-related protective custody holds among the Sitka sample (N=57). The Bristol Bay Borough Jail in King Salmon serves three population centers: King Salmon is 15.5 percent Alaska Native, Naknek is 41 percent Alaska Native, and South Naknek is 79.4 percent Alaska Native. This jail's population split is not particularly surprising.

Table 2. Racial Distribution of Sample (People)

Row percentages.

	White		Alaska Native		Asian		Black		Other, unknown or missing		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Barrow	11	4.8 %	206	90.0 %	7	3.1 %	1	0.4 %	4	1.7 %	229
Cordova	20	42.6	5	10.6	1	2.1	1	2.1	20	42.6	47
Craig	65	63.1	37	35.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	103
Dillingham	26	20.8	98	78.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	125
Haines	30	62.5	15	31.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	6.3	48
Homer	132	78.6	4	2.4	0	0.0	1	0.6	31	18.5	168
Bristol Bay (King Salmon)	24	48.0	21	42.0	1	2.0	1	2.0	3	6.0	50
Kodiak	55	58.5	23	24.5	8	8.5	3	3.2	5	5.3	94
Kotzebue	10	3.7	221	82.5	4	1.5	0	0.0	33	12.3	268
Petersburg	45	81.8	5	9.1	2	3.6	2	3.6	1	1.8	55
Seward	83	78.3	14	13.2	3	2.8	1	0.9	5	4.7	106
Sitka	60	48.4	62	50.0	1	0.8	1	0.8	0	0.0	124
Unalaska	79	77.5	12	11.8	8	7.8	0	0.0	3	2.9	102
Valdez	82	79.6	12	11.7	1	1.0	2	1.9	6	5.8	103
Wrangell	45	73.8	14	23.0	2	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	61
Total	767	45.6 %	749	44.5 %	38	2.3 %	13	0.8 %	116	6.9 %	1,683

The Sitka data suggest a need to examine the relationship between race and alcohol. Alcohol abuse had been noted by the Alaska Native community as a particular problem, and as a probable cause of much of the over-representation of natives in the justice system. The sample data underscore this possibility. The original billing sheets from which the data were taken included a column to be checked if alcohol was involved in the offense. The accuracy of this variable depends on staff and time availability at booking at each jail. Nevertheless, it is an indicator of alcohol use and showed that 1,597 of the 2,559 admissions attributed to sampled Alaska Natives were alcohol-related (62.4%).

The most frequent reasons for admission varied from jail to jail (Table 3). For the combined sample the most frequently listed admission reason was assault (N=854). These were 18.1 percent of all charges listed. Most of these were assault in the fourth degree (N=722) which were 15.3 percent of the total. This charge is frequently made in cases of domestic violence, fights, etc.

The billing sheets included a column to be ticked if the charge was associated with domestic violence. This variable may or may not be perfectly accurate since it often depends on staff time at booking, but it does serve as an indicator. For fourth degree assault, 70.9 percent of the 722 admissions were checked as domestic violence incidents. It may be that the oversampling of repeat offenders resulted in this large proportion of assault charges among the sample; police literature suggests that domestic violence calls are not one-time events.

The next most frequently listed charge was driving while intoxicated. With 60 felony DWI charges added, the total DWI count for the sample was 719 (14.6 % of the total). DWI was one of the three most frequently listed admission charge for each facility's sample.

Another frequent reason was a protective custody hold. This was in spite of the fact that three jails did not track these holds on their billing sheets (Dillingham, Kotzebue, Unalaska). Even where other sleep-off options are available, jails occasionally admit inebriates when detoxification

Table 3. Most Frequent Admission Reasons by Facility (Events)

Row percentages.

	Assault		DWI		Warrant		Protective custody (alcohol)		Total admission events*
	Events	% of total events	Events	% of total events	Events	% of total events	Events	% of total events	
Barrow	215	18.7 %	224	19.5 %	51	4.4 %	302	26.3 %	1,149
Cordova	14	14.0	22	22.0	5	5.0	6	6.0	100
Craig	51	16.5	54	17.4	91	29.4	13	4.2	310
Dillingham	95	25.6	46	12.4	33	8.9	0	0.0	371
Haines	10	11.0	33	36.3	19	20.9	5	5.5	91
Homer	35	11.4	89	29.0	54	17.6	2	0.7	307
King Salmon	20	26.7	9	12.0	9	12.0	2	2.7	75
Kodiak	51	11.3	36	8.0	58	12.8	120	26.5	452
Kotzebue	176	28.5	108	17.5	7	1.1	0	0.0	617
Petersburg	22	23.9	12	13.0	7	7.6	3	3.3	92
Seward	24	12.8	20	10.6	58	30.9	18	9.6	188
Sitka	73	19.1	38	9.9	27	7.0	82	21.4	383
Unalaska	26	11.2	36	15.5	76	32.6	0	0.0	233
Valdez	17	7.8	40	18.4	50	23.0	3	1.4	217
Wrangell	25	18.4	41	30.1	18	13.2	6	4.4	136
Total	854	18.1 %	808	17.1 %	563	11.9 %	562	11.9 %	4,721

* Detail does not add to total because only the four most frequent admission reasons are represented in this table.

centers are full, but those three did not list any PC admissions. This was the most frequently listed admission reason for samples in three of the jails (Barrow, Kodiak, and Sitka). For the combined sample (all jails), PC holds were 11.9 percent of all admission events (N=562).

Place of residence was very interesting. Nineteen states (other than Alaska) and six countries (other than the U.S.) were represented in the combined sample. Clearly some of Alaska's small rural jails entertain a fairly cosmopolitan population. The most frequently listed places of residence are somewhat colored by the size of the samples. Only one of the ten most frequently named residences was not a place with a community jail (Anchorage—Alaska's largest city). The ten in order of frequency are: Barrow with 185 entries, Kotzebue 114, Sitka 107, Homer 81, Valdez 75, Anchorage and Kodiak each with 68, Seward 67, Dillingham 59, and Unalaska which was listed 53 times. The remaining communities with jails ranged from 17 in the Bristol Bay Borough area to 48 in Craig. Washington state was listed more times than Wrangell was (N=41).

Only three of the jails had no out-of-state residents in their sampled populations: Barrow, Craig, and Kotzebue. The jails which hold non-Alaskans tend to be in communities where the fishing industry is the mainstay of the economy. Unalaska, for example, is the nation's number one fishing seaport. Fishing vessels from all over the North Pacific frequently harbor there. Workers in the fishing industry (on fishing boats and floating processors as well as land-based processing plants) often are "decommissioned" in Unalaska to get planes to Anchorage and then "home." Eleven states are represented among jail admittees there.

Consortium members had particular interest in local vs. non-local resource utilization, one measure of which is the amount of time spent in the jail. This measure was computed by subtracting

Table 4. Jail Admissions and Hours Spent in Jail by Local Residents

	Admission events involving local residents				Admission events for all persons in sample	
	Admission events		Hours spent in jail		Total admission events*	Total jail hours
	N	% of total events	N	% of total jail hours		
Barrow	1,009	88.1 %	47,275.17 hours	84.1 %	1,145	56,183.45 hours
Cordova	84	84.0	4,210.97	94.2	100	4,472.02
Craig, Klawock	256	82.8	18,120.00	81.9	309	22,115.67
Dillingham	193	52.2	22,258.27	48.0	370	46,340.05
Haines	57	63.3	3,107.85	72.2	90	4,305.83
Homer	149	48.5	5,800.78	51.0	307	11,383.28
King Salmon, Naknek, South Naknek	27	36.0	5,157.68	43.0	75	12,002.40
Kodiak	312	69.0	28,206.08	74.7	452	37,746.57
Kotzebue	267	49.6	26,281.65	43.7	538	60,093.78
Petersburg	53	58.2	3,706.43	50.1	91	7,394.83
Seward	133	70.7	9,267.77	73.2	188	12,662.40
Sitka	318	84.1	28,829.05	88.2	378	32,681.45
Unalaska	141	60.5	16,810.97	67.8	233	24,780.28
Valdez	176	81.9	24,267.65	88.2	215	27,522.72
Wrangell	106	78.5	9,011.35	56.9	135	15,840.83
Total	3,281	70.9 %	252,311.67 hours	67.2 %	4,626 *	375,525.56 hours

* Date and time of admission were missing for 95 of the 4,721 events, which are not represented in this table.

date and time of admission from date and time of release. The result was expressed in hours. Some cases were missing release information so the number of hours is undercounted. Information was available for 4,626 of the sample's 4,721 admissions. An examination of hours held by residence provides information on local vs. non-local consumption of resources. Locals accounted for 70.9 percent of all 4,626 admissions (N=3,281) and 67.2 percent of the 375,525.56 hours spent by the combined samples in all of the jails. "Local" is, of course, a relative term. In some jails (e.g., Craig) another community is so close by that the community jail is its jail, too. In "hub" communities (e.g., Kotzebue), villages in the region served by the hub could be considered local. In some, "local" might include nearly an entire region—e.g., Southeast Alaska.

Admissions of local residents are displayed in Table 4. Local is used in this table to mean the city in which the jail is located except for Craig, which includes neighboring Klawock, and the Bristol Bay Borough jail which is located in King Salmon but serves the larger community of Naknek. Columns include the percentage of all sampled admission events the local residents account for, the total number of hours local residents spent in the jail, and the percentage these hours are of all hours spent in the jail by the sampled population.

These percentages varied by facility. The jail with the lowest local representation was the Bristol Bay Borough (King Salmon) jail with 36.0 percent of all the jail admissions listed as local. The jail with the highest local representation was Barrow with 88.1 percent. Only three jails had less than fifty percent local representation in their total admissions: King Salmon, Homer, and Kotzebue. Five had more than 80 percent. In addition to Barrow these were Cordova, Craig, Sitka, and Valdez. Locals accounted for a higher percentage of hours spent in the jail than non-locals in nine facilities. In four jails the local share of hours held was 50 percent or less.

Detailed analysis of each jail is not possible here, but examples illustrate the differences. The Barrow jail is operated by the North Slope Borough Police Department which serves Barrow and eight additional small communities. The North Slope Borough contains 88,000 square miles and is more than half the size of California. While the Barrow jail has housed people from other parts of Alaska, jail resources are primarily consumed by local residents.

The 229 individuals in the Barrow jail sample accumulated 1,149 admission events during the three-year period, a mean of five per person. As noted, the selection of the sample from admission events resulted in oversampling of repeat offenders, but an average of five admissions per person in three years seems unusually high. Repeat offenders are, it seems, especially problematic in the Barrow jail; the mean number of admissions for the full seven-year data set was 3.5 per person. Four people appeared between 40 and 60 times each in the seven years.

Of the sample, only 25.8 percent were admitted just once in three years (N=59) to the Barrow jail. Six individuals accounted for 166 admissions (14.4%); their admissions ranged from a low of 21 to a high of 37 in 1997, 1998, and 1999. The sample mirrored the larger population in the types of charges most likely to bring about an admission to the jail.

The largest number of sampled people in Barrow's jail were admitted on protective custody holds (N=302). Public drunkenness has been decriminalized in Alaska, but inebriates must be taken into custody if they are a danger to themselves or others. They may be held for twelve hours (or until sober) in a jail if no other sleep-off option is available. Barrow had a major concern with alcohol, voting itself dry and/or "damp" under Alaska's local option law during the full study period (1993-1999). Its low temperatures and harsh climate make exposure a serious hazard and inebriates are often at risk for death by hypothermia.

The measure of resource consumption used here is event-based. Table 4 shows that the sampled people who were residents of the city of Barrow were responsible for 1,009 of the 1,445 events for which release time was available. This group was responsible for 88.1 percent of the events and consumed 84.1 percent of all 56,183.45 hours spent in the jail by the sample. When the remaining North Slope Borough residents—who can be broadly defined as local—are added, the result is 97.0 percent of the hours spent in the Barrow jail by locals. Place of residence was unknown for two of the sampled events.

The sample from Unalaska is a direct contrast to the Barrow sample. In addition to eleven states and one other country, thirteen other Alaska communities are listed as residences by persons in the Unalaska jail sample. Unalaska's role in the fishing industry attracts people from a broad geographic area for seasonal work. This jail, if the sample is representative of the jail's population, sees a larger population of non-Alaskans than any other community jail. The 104 people in sample accounted for 233 admission events, a mean of 2.28 admissions per person.

The most common reason for admission to the jail in Unalaska was a warrant arrest (with no specific charge attached). Non-Alaskans in the sample accounted for almost one-third of the warrant admissions.

Table 4 shows that residents of Unalaska/Dutch Harbor in the sample were responsible for 141 of the admission events accumulated by the sample. They spent a total of 16,810.97 hours in the jail, which is 67.8 percent of the total hours spent by the full sample (N=24,780.28 hours). The percentage of total events that sampled locals in Unalaska are responsible for (60.5%) is a sharp contrast to Barrow's 88.1 percent.

Another contrast is that Barrow can be characterized as an Alaska Native city and Unalaska a white city. Racial differences for the two samples are clear in Table 2. Though not described in the table, there is also a clear difference in the proportion of females among the sampled admittees to the two jails. The Barrow sample was 20.1 percent female; the Unalaska sample 7.8 percent female. This difference may result from the non-local nature of the Unalaska sample; fishing is not an occupation that attracts women. Only two of the eight women in the Unalaska sample were not local (25%), but 45 of the 94 males were not locals (51.1%).

One more example illustrates that small rural jails differ considerably from one another. The jail in the city of Dillingham is located in a true hub community. Dillingham is the governmental, transportation, and service center for western Bristol Bay. The jail is a service center for the area as well and serves as the detention facility for villagers transferred from local lockups to await trial in Superior Court in Dillingham, or to await transfer to a state operated jail or prison. Villagers also get into trouble on their way through Dillingham or on visits to the city.

Twenty-two places of residence, other than Dillingham itself, are listed for the Dillingham service area. Residents of these area villages account for forty percent of the 370 admission events accumulated by the Dillingham sample (N=148). They spent 18,384.85 hours in the jail, nearly as large a percentage of the total hours as Dillingham residents (46% compared to 48%).

The Dillingham jail is one of only three with no protective custody holds in the full seven years of data available. The alcohol column was relied on for indicating the degree to which alcohol was involved in the admission. Dillingham had the highest percentage of alcohol involvement for admissions in the sample; 83.8 percent of all admissions for the Dillingham sample were ticked as alcohol related. In Barrow, even with the large percentage of PC holds, the percentage of admissions with alcohol ticks was 73.4 percent. The lowest percentage was in Unalaska with 6.9 percent of the admissions checked as alcohol involved.

Conclusion

This paper has been a preliminary examination of a sample of people held in Alaska's fifteen community jails. The sample of 1,672 individuals was selected from a large database for the addition of information on race and place of residence. Both of these data points are important in differentiating the jails from one another. A jail located in a primarily Alaska Native community, such as Barrow or Kotzebue, tends to house a population with different charges than a jail in a primarily non-Native community, such as Petersburg or Unalaska. While assaults and DWI admissions are common in

both Alaska Native and non-Native communities, frequencies of other types of offenses vary considerably.

The differences tied to the impact of non-locals in the jail seem also to be race related. The primarily Native communities tend to serve a local, or at least regional, population. The primarily non-Native communities tend to have economies which attract non-locals for seasonal work, some of whom get in trouble in their temporary communities.

In some of the jails there is an international flavor to the non-locals. The Kodiak jail saw 43 admissions associated with four Latin American countries. The city of Kodiak has an important fishing industry that attracts non-locals. Although it is a primarily white community, it is a service and transportation hub for the Alaska Native villages on Kodiak Island. The villages were associated with almost 20 percent of all Kodiak jail admissions. The Kodiak jail seems to serve a very mixed population.

By the measure of jail resource utilization used here, local residents consume fewer jail resources than non-residents in three jails—Bristol Bay Borough, Dillingham, Kotzebue. Homer and Petersburg had 50.1 percent and 51.0 percent respectively. For the remainder, the proportion of hours spent in the jail for local residents ranges from 56 to 94 percent. All of the findings support the idea that rural jails, even those in the same state, differ from one another as much as do the communities in which they are located.

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