Inmate Histories: Evidence of Childhood Abuse

Individuals incarcerated on a long-term basis within Alaska’s prisons show evidence of having experienced a high rate of abuse during their childhoods. The finding is the result of a survey of long-term inmates conducted by the Justice Center and the Alaska Department of Corrections. The study, which was completed in summer 1998, had three primary concerns: to describe the childhood abuse experiences of a sample of long-term inmates; to examine the issue of a “cycle of violence”; and to discern correlates of abuse which may have an impact on offense patterns or inmate behavior.

Incidence of Child Abuse

According to Gallup polls conducted in 1989, 1994, and 1995, between 10 and 20 per cent of children in the general population experience some form of abuse. The polls asked national samples of adults if they had been victims of abuse as children. Varied studies conducted with inmates throughout this country and Canada show that the incidence of childhood abuse in the backgrounds of those who are incarcerated is much higher. The findings of this Justice Center study support this previous research with inmates, with incidence of abuse among Alaska inmates being even higher than that found in the other prison studies.

Study Design

The study involved three distinct data collection components: interview by survey conducted in congregate groups; review of inmate file “jackets”; and in-person interviews with survey interview participants. The congregate interviews elicited the information on abuse histories and were the basis for determining correlates of abuse. Data derived from file jackets were used to assess sample biases. In-person interviews explored the experience of abuse more thoroughly and addressed the “cycle of violence” thesis.

The target population for the Justice Center study comprised long-term offenders, i.e., those sentenced to prison for 5 years or more. Participation was voluntary. Two hundred forty inmates participated in the congregate interview survey. Data from file jackets were assembled for the 240 congregate interview participants and 149 non-participants. In-person interviews were conducted with a non-random sample of 100 inmates who had completed the congregate survey instrument.

Child Abuse Histories of Alaska’s Long-term Inmates

The survey instrument elicited information on abuse in three conceptual dimensions:

Please see Inmate Histories, page 6
A BJS Report

Prisoners in the U.S. in 1997

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the total number of prisoners under the jurisdiction of federal or state correctional systems grew 5.2 per cent during 1997, with 1,244,554 individuals incarcerated in the nation’s prisons and jails at the end of the year. The prison population in Alaska grew 13.6 per cent during 1997, the third highest rate of increase in the country. From 1987 through 1997, the U.S. prison population increased 113.5 per cent, while that of Alaska grew 45.5 per cent.

The U.S. rate of imprisonment per 100,000 in the general population was 445 at the end of 1997 (This rate is based only on the number of prisoners sentenced to more than one year -- 96% of the total prison population.) The comparable rate in Alaska was 420.

On a national basis, black males continue to be incarcerated at a higher rate than white males in Alaska and the nation. On a national basis, black males continued to be incarcerated at a higher rate than white males in Alaska and the nation. From 1987 through 1997, the U.S. prison population increased 113.5 per cent, while that of Alaska grew 45.5 per cent.

According to the BJS figures, Alaska’s prison system was operating at 147 per cent of capacity at the end of 1997. The Alaska prison system was operating above capacity at the end of 1997. This Alaska rate of imprisonment per 100,000 U.S. residents in 1997 was 445.

The preceding article was derived from Bureau of Justice Statistics report “Prisoners in 1997,” NCJ 170014. Copies of the entire report may be obtained on the World Wide Web from the Bureau of Justice Statistics at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS &
BEST WISHES FOR 1999
FROM THE JUSTICE CENTER.
Probation Revocation and Ethnicity

As part of the work of the Alaska Supreme Court Advisory Committee on Fairness and Access, the Alaska Judicial Council designed and implemented a limited examination of felony probation revocation cases. One purpose of the study was to determine if Alaska Native offenders whose probationary status had been revoked received different dispositions on revocation than persons from other ethnic backgrounds. The study was extremely limited, involving only 154 cases from a three-year time span, but the examination of the data indicated that petitions to revoke probation were not filed against minority defendants for different reasons than they were filed against Caucasian offenders, nor did Alaska Natives and other minorities receive harsher sentences when probation had been revoked. The study did show some differences by ethnicity for the original conditions of probation.

The sample studied included only male offenders convicted of selected B or C felonies, from five Alaska communities—Anchorage, Bethel, Fairbanks, Juneau and Nome. All offenders had their probation revoked in 1994, 1995 or 1996.

Sample

Altogether, 154 cases were collected: 50 from Anchorage, 32 from Juneau, 30 from Fairbanks, 26 from Bethel, and 16 from Nome. Of the cases in the Bethel court, 85 per cent involved defendants who lived outside Bethel. Of the cases in Nome, 94 per cent involved defendants who lived outside Nome.

The sample was intentionally skewed to include more Natives proportionately than are found in the corrections population. Thus, a total of 89 defendants were Alaska Native or American Indian, 16 were African American, and 44 were Caucasian. The remaining five were characterized in the presentence reports as one Asian, two of “other” ethnic origin, and one “unknown.”

All of the Bethel and Nome defendants were Native. The African-Americans had case files in Anchorage (11), Fairbanks (4), and Juneau (1). Caucasians had case files in Anchorage (22), Fairbanks (12), and Juneau (10).

For each defendant, researchers compiled information about marital status, years of education, city of permanent residence, city of current residence, number of prior adult convictions, presence of a juvenile record, and number of prior probation revocations. The resulting portrait was of a single man without significant educational achievement who had one or more prior adult convictions but who did not necessarily have prior probation revocations.

Two-thirds of the defendants were single, 15 per cent were married, and 9 per cent were divorced (marital status was unknown for 8 per cent). About 56 per cent of the defendants had a high school diploma, GED, or some higher education; 39 per cent did not. About 27 per cent of the defendants had no adult prior record of either felonies or misdemeanors. Twenty-nine per cent had one to three prior convictions, and nearly half (44%) had four or more priors. Nearly three-quarters (71%) had no juvenile record. A little over half (55%) of the defendants had no previous probation revocations. About one-third (31%) had one earlier probation revocation, and 14 per cent had two or more.

Each of these defendant characteristics was cross-tabulated with the ethnic origin variable. The cross-tabulation failed to reveal any significant differences in defendant characteristics by ethnic origin.

Offenses

The offenses of which the defendants were originally convicted included Sexual Abuse of a Minor II (27), Theft II (24), Criminal Mischief II (15), Burglary I (11), Burglary II (29), Assault II (4), Assault III (28), and Other (14). For purposes of analysis, these were recoded into “violent,” “property,” and “other.”

Offense of conviction was one variable that did show statistically significant differences by ethnic origin. About 52 per cent of the Native defendants in this group had been convicted of a violent B or C felony, as compared to 25 per cent of the African-Americans and 29 per cent of the Caucasians. This relationship is consistent with findings from other studies that Alaska Natives have a higher rate of conviction for violent offenses than do other ethnic groups.

Table 1. Offense of conviction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>42.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, it must be noted that the actual percentages in this sample may not be the same as in the overall population of convicted offenders because we selected only males, in specific communities, and only those with B and C felonies.

Sentences

All defendants had received sentences for class B or C felonies. The sentences recorded in the pre-sentence reports vary somewhat by type of offense and other offenses sentenced at the same time. Sentence length on the original offense ranged from no time to serve (21% of the sample) to 108 months, with 32 per cent receiving one to six-month sentences (“short”), 22 per cent receiving seven to twelve-month sentences (“medium”), 20 per cent receiving 13 to 36-month sentences (“long”), and 5 per cent receiving 37 to 108-month sentences (“longest”).

Information also was collected on conditions of original probation. Frequently imposed conditions included alcohol treatment, drug treatment, mental health treatment, sex offender treatment, anger management treatment, restrictions on drinking, and restrictions on movement (e.g., do not contact victim; stay away from certain location or community). No-drinking restrictions were imposed on about 58 per cent of defendants, while movement restrictions were imposed on approximately 36 per cent and anger management treatment was imposed on about 14 per cent.

Please see *Probation Revocation*, page 4
Table 3. Ethnic Origin and Probation Violation Offense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violation</th>
<th>Alaska Native/American Indian</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New felony</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New misdemeanor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncompliance with treatment condition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol/drug use</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement restriction violation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-report to probation officer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probation Revocation
(continued from page 3)

Violations for which Probation was Revoked

Nearly half (45%) of the current probation revocation petitions had stemmed from a new offense, usually a misdemeanor. The other three primary reasons given by probation officers were: failure to report to the probation officer (20%), alcohol or drug use (16%), and lack of compliance with treatment conditions (15%). Table 2 shows the reasons for probation revocations; Table 3 gives the same information sorted by ethnicity of the defendant.

To get a better sense of the statistical significance of differences among groups, much of the remaining analysis was done only with the subset of all Alaska Native, African American, and Caucasian defendants (N=149). Five defendants with other ethnic origins were excluded. A review of the current violations of these 149 defendants showed no statistically significant differences by ethnic origin. African Americans were somewhat more likely to have a new offense (63%, compared to 41% of Natives and 48% of Caucasians). African American offenders in this group were less likely to have been revoked for not complying with treatment conditions or using alcohol or drugs than were Natives or Caucasians, but again, these differences were not statistically significant.

Conditions of Original Probation

Data on defendants’ ethnic origin were compared to frequently imposed probation conditions to see if minority defendants received different kinds of probation conditions than Caucasians. Three probation conditions were significantly related to ethnicity, while two fell just short of significance and two were not significant.

The conditions that did not differ significantly were drug treatment (required for 29% of Native defendants, 43% of Caucasian defendants and 44% of African American defendants), and mental health treatment (required for 24% of the Native defendants, 23% of the Caucasian defendants, and 6% of the African American defendants).

The two conditions that fell just short of statistical significance were alcohol treatment and sexual offender treatment. Alcohol treatment was required for 70% of the Native defendants, 44% of the African American defendants and 55% of the Caucasian defendants. No African American defendants were required to obtain sexual offender treatment. Judges required it for 9% of the Caucasian defendants and 19% of the Native defendants.

Three probation conditions in this group of cases studied showed statistically significant relationships with the ethnic background of the defendant. (It should be noted again that these cases were selected to contain non-representative numbers for certain types of offenses, for ethnic background of offenders, and for certain communities. The data cannot be used to prove that the same conditions exist throughout the general offender populace. However, the offenses selected are among the most common B and C felonies, and the offenders selected do resemble the overall offender population in prior records, education and marital status.) First, more African Americans were required to attend anger management training than were Caucasian defendants or Native defendants. Second, judges imposed no-drinking restrictions on Native defendants more often than on other defendants. Third, movement restrictions were imposed more often on Native defendants than on defendants of other ethnicities.

Anger Management Treatment

Only 21 of the cases reviewed contained an order to obtain treatment on anger management. However, about 38 per cent of African American defendants were ordered to obtain the treatment, compared to only 16 per cent of Caucasians and 8 per cent of Natives.

Cross-tabulations of type of offense by the anger management probation condition for each ethnic group showed noticeable differences among ethnic groups. For example, very few Native defendants were required to obtain anger management treatment, even for violent offenses, as compared to African American defendants, about one-third of whom were required to get anger management treatment for property offenses and 50 per cent of whom were required to obtain it for violent offenses. However, the strength of this finding is undermined somewhat by the small number of African American offenders in this group.

Anger management probation conditions also were analyzed in relation to location of the offense. This cross-tabulation showed that no Bethel-area defendants and only one Nome defendant were ordered to attend anger management. In contrast, about 20 per cent of offenders from Anchorage and
Sixty-seven per cent of the Native defendants were prohibited from consuming alcoholic beverages, versus 38 per cent of the African American defendants and 46 per cent of the Caucasian defendants. The no-drinking restriction appeared comparably to the three ethnic groups for those offenders convicted of violent offenses, but was imposed much more frequently on Native defendants convicted of property offenses (65%), as compared to African American defendants (25%) or Caucasian defendants (42%).

Analysis of the “no drinking” restriction by location of the case showed statistically significant differences among the communities. The restriction was most common in communities with larger numbers of Native residents. Thus, 40 per cent of Anchorage cases and 47 per cent of Fairbanks cases had this restriction, as compared to 92 per cent of Bethel cases, 63 per cent of Nome cases and 66 per cent of Juneau cases.

Movement Restriction

Fifty-one per cent of the Native defendants, 18 per cent of the Caucasian defendants, and 13 per cent of the African American defendants had movement restrictions (e.g., do not contact victim; do not go to place where alcohol is served) imposed on them by the court. For violent offenses, judges applied movement restrictions to 67 per cent of Native defendants, 50 per cent of African American defendants and 39 per cent of Caucasian defendants. For property offenses, the movement restrictions applied to 38 per cent of the Native defendants, none of the African American defendants, and 10 per cent of the Caucasian defendants.

The movement restrictions appeared to be related to the offense of conviction. While 57 per cent of the defendants originally charged with a violent offense had a movement restriction, only 21 per cent of those charged with a property offense had movement restrictions.

These data should be interpreted in the context of the earlier variable reported—reason for current probation revocation petition. Nearly all of the probation revocations in this group were granted, so we cannot use the data to test whether the presence of certain types of conditions made a difference in the likelihood that one group or another would get probation revoked. Within the group studied, staff cross-tabulated type of offense by ethnic group and by reason for the current probation revocation. Few large differences appeared.

Across the board, defendants originally convicted of a property offense were more likely than those convicted of a violent offense to have committed a new felony or misdemeanor. Caucasian defendants were somewhat more likely than Native defendants to have failed to comply with treatment conditions, but the difference was not statistically significant. Offenders convicted of violent crimes were less likely to have complied with treatment conditions than those convicted of property offenses where there was no new criminal offense. Caucasian and Native defendants were more likely than African American defendants to have the primary reason for the revocation listed as “used alcohol or drugs.”

The data available in this study, then, suggest that even though some types of conditions may be imposed more frequently on one ethnic group than another, the differences may not affect the likelihood of a certain type of probation violation.
**Probation Revocation**  
(continued from page 5)

petitions were filed in 1994, 1995 and 1996. Over half had a high school education or better and about two-thirds were single. Most (73%) had a prior record of felonies or misdemeanors, but fewer than half (45%) had a record of prior probation revocations. The most significant differences among groups appeared in the offense of original conviction and the conditions of the original probation. Native defendants (52%) were significantly more likely to have been convicted of a violent offense than were African American defendants (25%) or Caucasian defendants (29%). African American defendants were significantly more likely to have anger management imposed as a condition of probation, while Native defendants were significantly more likely to have a “no-drinking” or a “movement” restriction imposed. One hypothesis to explain this relationship is that judges applied these conditions of probation instead of sentencing Native defendants to treatment programs because such programs are not available in most villages.

The study did not support the hypothesis that petitions to revoke probation are filed against minority defendants for different reasons than they are filed against Caucasian defendants. Nearly half of the probation revocation petitions listed a new offense (most likely a misdemeanor) as the reason for the petition. Nor did the study support the hypothesis that judges imposed harsher sentences against minority defendants who violated probation than against their Caucasian counterparts. Judges imposed additional incarceration after the probation revocation for most defendants, along with some residential treatment requirements and other conditions.

This article is based on a study conducted by the Alaska Judicial Council in 1997. A complete copy of the study is included in the Report of the Alaska Supreme Court Advisory Committee on Fairness and Access.

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**Inmate Histories**  
(continued from page 1)

sions: physical abuse, neglect and sexual abuse. Figures 1 through 3 present the percentages of inmates who indicated they had experienced specific forms of neglect.

As Figure 1 indicates, more serious physical abuse (beating, burning, attack with a weapon) was reported less frequently than minor forms of physical abuse. What is surprising is the percentage of respondents who reported some form of physical abuse: over 80 percent indicated they had experienced some form of physical abuse—not necessarily from a family member—while nearly 50 percent reported abuse from a family member.

Figure 2 presents the percentages of respondents who indicated they had been neglected as children. Again, severe forms of neglect of basic needs (food, shelter, clothing) are less frequently reported than absence of nurturing (caring adults, guidance, mentoring).

Figure 3 presents the levels of respondents who indicated that they had had specific sexual experiences before they were 12 years old. Slightly more than 70 percent indicated that they had had one or more of the sexual experiences before the age of 12. However, just slightly less than 25 percent considered the experience abuse.

The study also explored child abuse histories by sex, race and age at first arrest. Women were more likely to report experiencing abuse than men, particularly when the instrument examined family abuse, neglect, need and sexual abuse. Another difference appeared when participants were asked if they considered their early childhood sexual experiences to be abuse. Over 70 percent of the women respondents indicated they considered this early experience sexual abuse while just 17 percent of the men felt it was abuse.

A higher percentage of African American inmates reported physical abuse, neglect and sexual abuse than either Caucasians or Alaska Natives. Caucasian inmates were next most likely to report abuse, but Alaska Natives were more likely to report neglect or unmet needs than Caucasians.

Inmates who reported early ages for a first arrest were likely to report a history of abuse as a child. Among the other findings derived from the survey were the following:

- Inmates who reported no juvenile arrests were less likely to report abuse than those with arrest records. In fact, all 52 respondents who indicated they had three or more juvenile arrests reported experiencing physical abuse as children.
- Inmates who reported growing up in villages, as indicated by having attended

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**Figure 2. Percentage of Long-Term Inmates Reporting Specific Types of Neglect**

- Neighbor feed/house
- Hungry/dirty/medical
- Home alone
- Any neglect
- Go hungry
- Inappropriate clothing
- No place to stay
- No adults who cared -- all day
- Medical problem -- nobody cared
- Nobody cared what happened
- No adult guidance
- Any need
elementary school in villages, were less likely to report abuse but more likely to report neglect.

- Inmates who reported growing up in a two-parent family were less likely to report a history of abuse or neglect.
- Inmates whose parents abused alcohol or drugs were more likely to report histories of abuse and neglect.

Correlates of Abuse

In looking at the correlates of abuse, the study focused on plausible consequences of abuse—both personality consequences and criminal consequences. The personality consequences explored included hostility, disassociation, anxiety, coping strategies (rational problem solving or escapism) and histories of psychological treatment. Criminal consequences included the nature of the conviction offense (either violent or

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Justice Center Project Highlights

Lisa Rieger of the Justice Center at the University of Alaska Anchorage and Randy Kandel, a researcher in linguistic analysis in legal discourse, have received a $50,000 grant from the National Science Foundation for a pilot study examining the efforts of the Kake Tlingit community to address child welfare in the midst of changing legal relationships and priorities at local, state and federal levels. Through observation research and interviews Rieger and Kandel are mapping formal and informal legal interactions between the tribal structures and state and federal systems, particularly with regard to the Indian Child Welfare Act.

Nancy Schafer has received a $50,000 grant from the National Institute of Justice to begin organizing a Community Jails Research Consortium. The project will assess the research needs of jails throughout the state and seek funds to underwrite the research. All fifteen community jails will be eligible for membership in the consortium.

Allan Barnes has received a $56,000 grant from the Bureau of Justice Statistics to evaluate the sex offender program operated by the Department of Corrections at the Hiland Mountain facility. The study will look at demographics of participants since the late 80s and at rearrest records. It is a continuation of a study begun several years ago.

The following is a list of other current Justice Center research and public education projects. For further information about any of these please contact the Center.

- Brady Statute Data: Establishing Noncriminal Classifications for DPS (JC 9615)—Lawrence C. Trostle, Allan R. Barnes
- The Structure of Large Municipal Police Organizations During the Community Policing Era (JC 9805)—Robert H. Langworthy
- Turnover Among Alaska Village Public Safety Officers (VPSO): An Examination of the Factors Associated with Attrition (JC 9901)—Darryl Wood
- Review and Analysis of Childhood Abuse among Incarcerated Offenders (JC 9809)—Robert H. Langworthy, Allan R. Barnes, Richard W. Curtis
- Patterns of Adjudication for DWI Arrestees (JC 9818)—Robert H. Langworthy, Bernard Segal, Peter Crum
- Processing SHO-CAP Juveniles (JC 9903)—N.E. Schafer
- Jails and Fire Safety (JC 9905)—N.E. Schafer, Sandy Belfield
- Judicial Candidates Evaluation Surveys (JC 9207)—Richard W. Curtis
- Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Jail Monitoring Project (JC 9802)—N.E. Schafer, Cassie Atwell
- Impact of Untreated Sex Offenders on the Prison Population in Alaska: A Proposed Study of Risk Level and Amenability of Treatment (JC 9914)—Robert H. Langworthy
- Alaska Natives: Careers in Corrections (JC 9501.05)—John Riley
- Alaska Native Technical Assistance and Research Center (JC 9915)—Robert H. Langworthy
- Survey of Correctional Officers: Educational Attainment—John Riley
- A Videotape for Working with Crime Victims from Other Cultures (proposal pending; JC 9906)—Antonia Moras
- Correlates of Probation Revocation in Alaska (proposal pending; JC 9912)—Robert H. Langworthy
- A Cohort Study of Long-Term Outcomes for Victims of Child Maltreatment in Alaska (proposal pending; JC 9913)
Inmate Histories
(continued from page 7)

sex offenses) and the nature of incarceration (length of sentence and initial incarceration security level). This examination showed that there appears to be a weak relationship between some measures of abuse—particularly, physical abuse within the family and child sexual experience—and several of the personality variables—particularly, hostility, anxiety, escapism, and histories of psychological treatment. However, the type of offense, sentence length or initial incarceration security level was not predicted by the any of the forms of child abuse.

Cycle of Violence

The personal interview permitted more open-ended inquiry regarding childhood experiences than the congregate interview or the examination of files. The interview began with the interviewer asking the subject to describe what it was like growing up. The interviewer recorded the responses, probed for detail and prompted the subject to recall certain items. Later, responses were rated and coded for data entry.

The results presented no compelling statistical evidence for the existence of a “cycle of violence.” Vague recollections or lack of contact with parents or grandparents hindered precise determination of how parents were raised. For many, the topic of whether their own parents had been abused had never been raised, and for others, the lack of consistent care givers made it difficult to isolate the main “parent.” Almost all inmates were adamant about not treating their children as they had been treated. Overall, the interviews made it clear that many of these inmates had experienced disrupted, unstable and somewhat abusive childhoods.

The Justice Center study sought to document the amount of abuse experienced by long-term inmates during their childhoods. What was revealed was that the magnitude and rates of abuse were very high. However, analysis of the data also revealed that childhood abuse was only weakly related to offense types and personality problems. It is important to remember that this analysis focused only on long-term inmates; a review of other segments of the inmate population may reveal other results.

The study summarized in this article was conducted by Robert Langworthy, Allan Barnes and Richard Curtis of the Justice Center. The complete study, *Results from the Long-term Inmate Survey: Focus on Child Abuse Histories*, is available at the Justice Center web site (http://www.alaska.edu/just/).