

**War on Victims:
The Sexual Abuse Histories of Incarcerated Women**

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ABSTRACT

The significant rise in incarceration rates in the United States, which started in the 1980s and only recently leveled off, was disproportionately experienced by women. Research on women's pathways to incarceration indicates lives fraught with adverse events, particularly sexual abuse. The current study is a partial replication of the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study on Ohio incarcerated women's self-reported sexual abuse histories, overall using the same measurement instruments, but in more Ohio women's prisons. The data in this study provide a more recent picture of the sexual abuse histories of these incarcerated women. Unlike the existing McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) publication, this study includes findings on the relationships between the women's sexual abuse histories and their self-reported substance addictions as well as their race/ethnicity and provides a comparison of the various categories of sexual abuse violations across the two data sets.

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CHAPTER I: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

As high rates of incarceration in the United States garner growing concern, an understanding of the factors that contribute to crime provides important implications for the future of the criminal legal system. The number of offenders housed in both state and federal prisons nationwide has greatly increased in recent decades (although very recently leveling off), with the U.S. Department of Justice claiming an all-time high estimate of 1,574,700 inmates at the end of 2013 (Carson 2014). Many estimates of the U.S. incarceration rate exceed 2 million inmates, representing the highest incarceration rate in the world (Alexander 2011; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). The overall incarceration rate in the United States in 2013 increased 0.3 percent from 2012 (Carson 2014). However, a disturbing gender discrepancy exists, with the number of women sentenced to both state and federal prisons increasing almost 3.0 percent from 2012, compared to a 0.2 percent increase in men sentenced to state and federal prisons (Carson 2014). Between 2000 and 2011 alone, there was a 31 percent increase in the number of women incarcerated in the U.S. (Lynch et al. 2014).

There has been an overall decrease in arrests for property, violent, and drug crimes since 2001 which is offset by an increase in public-order arrests (such as drunk driving, court offenses, decency offenses, and weapons; Carson 2014). In 2013, drug abuse constituted the highest number of arrests in the United States, followed by larceny-theft, and driving under the influence (U.S. Department of Justice 2013). Given that women are disproportionately charged with drug and property offenses (Gilfus 1992; Sharp 2014), the higher number of arrests for these crimes suggests a punitive system that disproportionately targets women for incarceration. In 2012, 28 percent of women sentenced under state jurisdiction were imprisoned for non-violent property

crimes, compared to 18 percent of men (Carson 2014). Men were more likely to be imprisoned for violent offenses (55%) than were women (37%; Carson 2014). Additionally in 2012, 25 percent of imprisoned women were incarcerated on drug offenses (including possession, trafficking, and other drug offenses) compared to only 15 percent of incarcerated men (Carson 2014). A discrepancy emerges in these imprisonment rates, such that the crimes for which women are disproportionately charged with are those which constitute the highest number of arrests. In particular, the disproportionate rate at which women are charged with drug and drug-related offenses appears to be a large contributor to the drastic increase in the rate of incarcerated women as compared to men.

The War on Drugs

The United States' "War on Drugs" gained momentum in the early 1980s and since then, overall incarceration rates skyrocketed from around 300,000 to their current numbers exceeding 2 million inmates (Alexander 2011). This campaign shifted policy in the United States such that illicit substance use and drug distribution were criminalized (as cited by Tripodi and Pettus-Davis 2012). Additionally, mandatory minimum sentencing that severely limits the judicial discretion concerning many crimes is often attributed to the War on Drugs. Under mandatory minimum sentencing laws, pre-determined sentences are specified for certain crimes, including a series of drug offenses, which removes consideration of the individual factors which contributed to the offending behavior in the first place (as cited by Tripodi and Davis 2012).

Disproportionately affected by this ongoing War on Drugs are African Americans (Alexander 2011) and women (Golder et al. 2014; Owen 1998; Tripodi et al. 2014). Thus, it is not surprising that the number of incarcerated women has increased 740 percent since 1980 (Golder et al. 2014). The recognition of the high number of women incarcerated for drug and

drug-related offenses alone does not provide a solid basis on which to suggest implications for policy and treatment associated with women's drug involvement and use. As pointed out by Owen (1998), "Drug problems and the ever-increasing drug laws bring women in contact with the justice system and aggravate existing personal and social problems" (p. 9). This suggests that a consideration of the factors which perpetuate and leave women vulnerable to sustained drug use and subsequent incarceration is also necessary.

Gendered Roles in the United States

The patriarchal structure embedded into the culture of the United States marginalizes girls and women and places them into a series of gendered roles and expectations. As pointed out by Sharp (2014), "The social placement of women, especially poor women, is an integral part of women's pathways into crime" (p. 12). From a young age, girls are socialized into gender roles which are consistent with the expected traits and roles that they are expected to fulfill as they grow into women (Wood and Eagly 2012). Stereotypes about differences between the sexes are evident in beliefs about cognitive abilities, emotions, physical attributes, and personality traits and tendencies (Wood and Eagly 2012). The belief in predominant stereotypes, which hold that women are expected to display communal behaviors whereas men are expected to display agentic behaviors, results in an expectation for women to fill traditional social roles that require communal behavior (Wood and Eagly 2012).

The traditional social role of women in caretaking positions places additional burdens of responsibility on women that are not experienced in the same way as men. The mothering of children is one such example of a gendered discrepancy in traditional roles. For instance, when society perceives a woman who does not adequately fit the role of a "good mother," which is stereotypically associated with women who have a relatively high income and a male parent

present in the household, society labels these women as “bad mothers” (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). Since these women are not fulfilling their traditional social role of caretaker, they become further marginalized as a result of the expectations linked to their gender, an outcome which would likely not carry the same weight if a man was perceived as a “bad father.” In 2014, 23.6 percent of children in the United States lived with a single mother, comprising a significant minority of the population faced with the struggles associated with being not only a single parent, but being a woman as well (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2014). This is a relevant concern for incarcerated women and women on probation and parole, about 70 percent of whom have minor children (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). Compared to incarcerated fathers, incarcerated mothers are two and a half times more likely to have raised children in a single-parent household (Glaze and Maruschak 2010). Both prior to incarceration and immediately after release, women prisoners are more likely than male prisoners to be the primary caregivers of minor children and these women oftentimes have little or no financial support in caring for these children (Wright et al. 2012).

Consistent with cultural expectations, women take on a large portion of childcare. However, the burdens associated with being a single mother can leave women further disadvantaged and marginalized in society. As pointed out by Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014) “While mothers around the world suffer from social assignments of responsibility for their children without the resources and authority to carry out those responsibilities in a satisfying way, criminalized, poor, and other marginalized women experience extra doses of high responsibility and low authority” (p. 133).

Women’s gendered roles within the patriarchy also extend to their criminal involvement, as is the case with drug crimes. For instance, women often hold qualitatively different roles from

men in the drug world. Compared to men, women often hold lower, bottom roles in drug dealing enterprises (Wright et al. 2012). These roles leave women more susceptible than men to detection by authorities and arrest for drug offenses, thus exposing them to the punitive drug laws described earlier (Sharp 2014). Additionally, the same patriarchal attitudes which condone the objectification of women and their sexuality work to criminalize women for crimes related to their sexuality, such as prostitution. Given the burdens faced especially by poor and marginalized women, participation in illegal employment such as prostitution can appear to be a rational choice made by these women and girls in order to provide for themselves and/or their children (Arnold 1990).

Arnold (1990) effectively describes the link between the patriarchal culture and women's and girls' sexuality in stating that "A system of male dominance and control [is] operative in the lives of these young girls; a set of social relations of power in which the male gender [is] dominating their sexuality" (p. 155). This dominating effect not only condones the sexualization of women and girls, but also works to criminalize women and girls for participating in sex work, even though such work is often done in order to survive in spite of the marginalization and victimization that occurs at the hands of the patriarchy (Owen 1998). This creates an ironic double standard in which "these activities [e.g. those related to their sexuality] are the very things that most women are socialized to do, and the consequences, particularly the birth of children, further limit their participation in viable economic activities" (Owen 1998:12).

Conclusion

It is difficult to ignore the cyclical nature between women's roles in the patriarchal U.S. society and their criminalization, as women are more likely to be arrested and otherwise criminalized for crimes that are linked to their gendered role as women. Examining the intersection between women's subordination and their criminalization is crucial to better understand the struggles faced specifically by women and to guide future policy, treatment, and research on women and crime.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The personal responsibility that is placed on women offenders for their offending behavior often overshadows the structural and individual level factors which influence them to offend in the first place. When these factors are considered, it is not enough to attribute the increasing rate of incarcerated women solely to their choices and personal responsibility. Research conducted with incarcerated women consistently finds higher levels of adverse life experiences, especially sexual victimization experiences, among women offenders than is found in both the general population of women and the incarcerated and non-incarcerated population of men (e.g. Brennan et al. 2012; Lynch et al. 2014; Tripodi et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2012). Research indicates that between 35.1 percent (Gilfus 1992) and 65 percent (Richie 1996) of women offenders experienced sexual victimization during childhood (e.g. Asberg and Renk 2012; Browne et al. 1999; DeHart et al. 2013). Pathways theorists seek to identify the types of adverse life experiences which are disproportionately experienced by women and leave them susceptible to offending. The concept of gender over-determination is often used to describe the ways in which individual's experiences and identities are overlooked in favor of culturally-determined gendered experiences (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). This concept is crucial to understanding not only how life experiences are gendered but how these discrepancies are inherently biased to perpetuate the oppression of women and uphold the patriarchal system. Themes in prior research on incarcerated women include high rates of trauma and victimization, mental illness and substance abuse, patriarchal attitudes in the criminal legal system, and the criminalization of women's and girls' survival strategies.

Trauma and Victimization

Among delinquents, relative to boys, girls are especially vulnerable to abuse and victimization (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). Additionally, this victimization tends to start earlier and last longer for girls than for boys (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Chesney-Lind 1989). This can be partially explained by findings that girls are more likely to experience sexual abuse by someone with whom they are in close relational proximity to, which creates opportunities for this abuse to reoccur (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). In this way, girls not only experience childhood abuse and victimization more than their male counterparts, but they experience this abuse differently and the effects of such abuse can then be expected to have differential impacts on girls.

In a study of institutionalized delinquent girls and boys, Belknap and Holsinger (2006) found that both the girls and boys in their random sample reported high rates of childhood abuses, but that these rates were significantly higher for girls. They collected self-reported information on the type of abuse, the number of sexual abusers and the victim-offender relationship (VOR). They found that three-quarters of girls in their sample had experienced physical abuse at the hands of a family member, with three-fifths of these girls reporting this abuse occurring repeatedly over time. Additionally, three-fifths of the girls had experienced sexual abuse, with a quarter of this abuse perpetrated by a family member and many girls having reported more than one abuser. Significant gender differences emerge when these findings are compared to the boys in the sample, of which two-thirds reported physical abuse by a family member, and a fifth reported sexual abuse, with only 1 in 12 reporting this abuse perpetrated by a family member and many fewer boys reporting multiple abusers. This study was unique in its collection of data from both girls and boys and provides strong quantitative support for gender

differences in childhood abuse experiences that are often described in qualitative research on incarcerated women (e.g. Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Gilfus 1992; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014).

Incarcerated women consistently report a higher prevalence of childhood abuse, especially sexual abuse, not only in comparison to men, but in comparison to non-incarcerated women as well, suggesting a strong relationship between sexual abuse histories and women's offending (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; DeHart et al. 2014; DeHart 2008; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Lynch et al. 2014). Criminalized women report childhood sexual abuse at almost twice the rate (45%) as other women from the community (24%; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). Additionally, 48 percent of incarcerated women report experiencing family violence during their childhood as compared to 14 percent of women from the community (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014).

Childhood sexual abuse is often concurrent with physical abuse, and the adverse psychological, physical, and behavioral effects of these traumas and victimizations contribute to women's entry into crime and continued offending into adulthood (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). The effects of abuse and victimization on the lifespan of an individual include an extensive series of physical and mental health consequences such as: cognitive deficits, depression, dissociative symptoms, maladaptive sexual development, posttraumatic stress disorder, and self-mutilation (Kuo et al. 2014; Trickett et al. 2011; Tripodi et al. 2014). Additional effects of victimization include substance abuse, earning less money, missing more work days, an increased risk of homelessness and poverty, and incarceration (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). The effects of these experiences can also leave women vulnerable to victimization into adulthood (Tripodi and Pettus-Davis 2012).

Tripodi and Pettus-Davis (2012) highlighted the severity of the consequences associated with concurrent sexual and physical abuse during childhood in finding that incarcerated women who experienced both childhood physical and sexual victimization were 12.8 times more likely to have experienced adult sexual victimization in the year preceding their incarceration, 3.9 times more likely to be hospitalized as an adult, 21.6 times more likely to have attempted suicide and 3.2 times more likely to have a substance abuse disorder than women who did not experience both types of victimization. Children who are exposed to violence, whether it be physical, sexual, verbal, or indirectly as a witness, are much more likely to experience additional violence over the course of their life (Finkelhor et al. 2009). Brown et al. (1999) found that women who were sexually molested before the age of eighteen were 40 percent more likely to be sexually assaulted by a non-intimate during adulthood than their counterparts who were not sexually molested during childhood. Additionally, women who experienced severe physical violence at the hands of parental caretakers were 80 percent more likely than their non-abused counterparts to be physically abused by an intimate partner during adulthood (Browne et al. 1999). The relationship between childhood abuse and continued abuse into adulthood is also described in many ethnographic accounts of women involved with the criminal legal system (e.g. Richie 1996; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014; Sharp 2014).

The link between childhood and adult victimization is often explained in terms of the emotional dysregulation that occurs during each victimization experience and causes the victim to develop maladaptive emotion regulation strategies such as numbing, avoidance, or disassociation (Kuo et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2012). Among women in prison, Walsh et al. (2012) found that childhood maltreatment that resulted in maladaptive emotion regulation abilities increased incarcerated women's vulnerability to being sexually assaulted while in prison.

Women who reported multiple forms of childhood maltreatment were especially vulnerable to coerced prison sexual victimization, as compared to forced prison sexual victimization (Walsh et al. 2012). Kuo et al. (2014) elaborate on the relationship between emotional dysregulation and adult victimization by examining the interpersonal violence histories of incarcerated women. They posit that maladaptive coping strategies such as numbing, avoidance, or disassociation which are adopted by many of the women following experiences of interpersonal violence place these women at a higher risk of STIs and risky sexual behaviors compared to the general population of women and incarcerated men (Kuo et al. 2014). In looking at the ways in which childhood and adulthood trauma influences emotion regulation, it becomes easier to conceptualize the way in which these experiences increase the risk of subsequent trauma and victimization for women, as well as the ways in which these experiences leave women susceptible to criminal involvement.

Mental Illness and Substance Abuse

There is ample scholarly support that victimization, whether during childhood or adulthood, is a risk factor for mental health problems and substance abuse (e.g. Chesney-Lind 1989; DeHart et al. 2013; Lynch et al. 2014; Owen 1998). For instance, Tripodi and Pettus-Davis (2012) found that childhood physical victimization was a significant risk factor for adult substance abuse disorders (increasing the risk 4.8-fold) and that childhood sexual victimization was a significant predictor of suicidality among incarcerated women. Research on African American women has found that repeated victimization exacerbates the rate of substance use among these women, with women who reported multiple sexual assaults being 3.5 times more likely to report either beginning or increasing substance use following the assault as compared to women with single victimization incidents (Bryant-Davis et al. 2009).

Much of the research finds that substance abuse often coincides with mental illness among incarcerated women, suggesting that comorbid mental illness and substance abuse creates a catalyst to incarceration (Lynch et al. 2014). In addition to finding that incarcerated women have higher rates of mental illness as compared to both incarcerated men and the general population, Lynch et al. (2014) also found that most of these mental illnesses were diagnosed prior to the women's incarceration. This suggests that negative mental health, as well as the trauma and victimization that preceded the mental health problems, is a contributing factor in the offending behavior of these women. Women in this study affirmed this by attributing problems in their employment, home life, and intimate relationships to their mental illness (Lynch et al. 2014). This is disconcerting, especially given that all of those aspects could play protective functions for women, possibly deterring them from crime.

Salisbury and Van Voorhis (2009) utilized a mixed methods approach to collect data on women probationers' pathways to incarceration. They proposed a childhood victimization model which encompasses five indirect pathways to criminality, all of which are rooted in childhood victimization. Among their sample, they found that "Women's childhood traumas were related to major mental health problems, especially depression and anxiety as well as addictive behaviors" (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009:555). The interlocking nature of both past and current mental illness and substance abuse was significantly related to admission to prison, providing further support for the link between victimization, mental illness, substance abuse, and incarceration (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009).

In order to examine the subtler reasoning behind why women often turn to substance use in response to victimization, Bowles et al. (2012) analyzed existing data from 60 incarcerated women for distinctions in substance use. They found that substance use could be categorized as a

response to victimization as well as a response to non-victimization adversities. This second finding is noteworthy, as non-victimization adversities encompass events that are often overlooked in research on incarcerated women such as “death of a loved one, emotional or physical absence of caregivers resulting in a lack of supervision, family addiction resulting in corruption of children through presentation of alcohol and other drugs to girls by family members, and coping with family addiction in multi-problem families such as those characterized by intimate partner violence” (Bowles et al. 2012:683). By considering the impact that non-victimization adversities can have on girls, especially when these adversities occur in a multi-problem family, Bowles et al. (2012) propose that the interplay of these factors creates circumstances similar to those experienced in victimization experiences which propel girls to use substances as a coping mechanism.

Peltan and Cellucci (2011) examined the ways in which childhood victimization guided women’s treatment for mental health and substance abuse problems. They found that most women had sought out mental health services and treatment at some point prior to their incarceration, but the type and extent of utilization varied greatly depending on factors such as income and the type and severity of abuse (Peltan and Cellucci 2011). Particularly, they found that women with more severe childhood trauma, especially sexual abuse, were more likely to seek out mental health treatment as compared to substance abuse treatment despite the fact that these victimized women self-identified as having substance abuse problems (Peltan and Cellucci 2011). Although Peltan and Cellucci (2011) drew from a small sample of incarcerated women in Idaho, their findings regarding the differential utilization of mental health and substance abuse services are unique and relevant in their proposition that “...women do not perceive substance abuse treatment as responsive to the complicated nature of their problems,” suggesting that the

link between trauma and substance abuse is easily missed, even by those who experience both (p. 222).

Patriarchal Attitudes in the Criminal Legal System

The same factors that place women and girls at a heightened risk of victimization relative to men and boys is also present in the criminal legal system, which ultimately holds the power to incarcerate these women. Gilfus (1992) reflects this process, stating that “the process of criminalization for women is indeed intricately connected to women’s subordinate position in society where victimization by violence coupled with economic marginality related to race, class, and gender all too often blur the boundaries between victims and offenders” (p. 86). Such blurred boundaries are especially problematic for women, who experience childhood victimization at higher rates than boys (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; DeHart 2008; Salisbury and VanVoorhis 2009).

Regardless of their gender, juveniles who experience childhood abuse and neglect are significantly more likely than their non-victimized counterparts to be arrested as both a juvenile and an adult for alcohol, drug, property, violent, and misdemeanor charges (Widom and Ames 1994). Most notably, victimized children are 2.4 times more likely than non-victimized children to be arrested for running away from home as a juvenile (Widom and Ames 1994). This is especially interesting considering that, for nearly a quarter of girls involved in the juvenile justice system, running away from home is the charge associated with their first arrest (Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014). Additionally, Widom and Ames (1994) found that children who were abused by a relative were more likely to be arrested as both a juvenile (26% versus 19%) and an adult (24% versus 17%) when compared to people victimized by a nonrelative. Given that girls are more likely to not only be victimized, but to be victimized by someone with whom they are

in close relational proximity to (Salisbury and VanVoorhis 2009), these findings suggest that girls are more likely to be arrested and implicated in the criminal legal system as a result of their gendered experience of childhood victimization.

Gaarder and Belknap (2002) examine how these blurred boundaries can have important implications for women, especially during their first involvement with the criminal legal system as delinquent girls. In their qualitative study of 22 incarcerated young women aged 16-19, they found that the entirety of the sample had experienced sexual or physical abuse and neglect on more than one occasion (Gaarder and Belknap 2002). Additionally, Gaarder and Belknap (2002) found that oppression in the form of economic marginality, sexism, and race was described by much of the sample. The young girls in their sample were treated harshly by the juvenile justice system, resulting in their transfer to adult court which was often inconsistent with their criminal history and the crimes they committed. By failing to acknowledge and criminalize the victimization that these girls experience, the criminal legal system instead criminalizes the strategies that many of these girls must utilize to cope with, and escape, their victimization.

Criminalization of Survival

The survival strategies which many girls and women must draw on in response to their victimization represent a “systematic process of criminalization unique to women” (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983:62). This process comprises a trajectory to offending that begins in childhood and follows women throughout their lives. Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez (1983) provided support for this process of criminalization by conducting in-depth interviews with women in a Hawaii prison and found that nearly all of the women in that sample experienced physical and/or sexual abuse during childhood, with 75 percent being arrested the first time for a status offense. Status offenses, which include truancy and running away from home, were often

committed in response to victimization occurring within the home. Once on the streets, many of the women in this study turned to prostitution and other criminalized behaviors, further perpetuating their offending behavior. As a result of their increasing criminal involvement, the women often had to drop out of school and, as a result, faced difficulties in finding “legitimate” employment (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983).

DeHart (2008) further elaborated on the conceptualization of criminal behaviors “...as survival strategies to cope with overwhelming physical, sexual, and psychological victimization” (p. 1362). She examined victimization as both a direct and indirect contributor to criminality. Crimes, such as child prostitution, retaliation, and manipulation into committing a particular crime, which are committed either unknowingly, unwillingly, or as means of self-defense can be considered directly influenced by victimization (DeHart 2008). Indirect influences are a product of women’s marginalization within a patriarchal society, influencing women to rely on criminal behavior as a means to survive in spite of physical, mental, and psychosocial disadvantages as a result of victimization. Indirect influences often perpetuate women’s criminality through affecting their relationship to social institutions, such as family, schools, peers, and religious institutions, which hold the potential to deter women from offending (DeHart 2008). As these influences accumulate over the lifespan, women face an increasing amount of barriers between them and legitimate pathways through life (DeHart 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed relevant research on how women's and girls' pathways to incarceration are influenced by a number of gendered factors which are perpetuated by the patriarchal culture of the United States. Given that these factors leave women and girls susceptible to offending, it is difficult to attribute women's criminal behavior solely to their choices and personal responsibility. This recognition is important when considering the ways in which policy and rehabilitative efforts should be structured in order to reduce criminality and recidivism among women. The next chapter presents the theoretical perspective which guides this thesis and is most adept in examining the intersection of gendered experiences and criminality among women.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Feminist criminology takes into account macro- and micro- level factors which disproportionally affect women, both directly or indirectly (DeKeseredy 2011). Feminist theories stress the importance of considering the impact of gender on criminality given that gender is a master status in almost every day-to-day interaction (Chesney-Lind 1989). The broader patriarchal system creates circumstances for the power inequality that condones the sexual and physical abuse of girls and women, leaving them particularly vulnerable to such abuse (Chesney-Lind 1989). Pathways Theory (PT) investigates the fundamentally gendered differences in broad life disadvantages and social circumstances that create theoretical trajectories to initial crime and recidivism (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). This thesis utilizes PT as a theoretical perspective for examining the relationship between gendered life experiences, including substance addiction and sexual abuse experiences, and incarcerated women's racial/ethnic identities. PT is unique in its location within criminological theory and draws from a variety of perspectives to offer a women-centered approach to understanding the ways in which individual's life experiences can contribute to their offending behavior.

Intellectual Background

The gendered factors which influence criminality serve as a basis on which to examine gender discrepancies in both the type of criminal involvement and the rising incarceration rates. Despite a multitude of theories about criminal behavior, many of these theories disregard the impact of gendered experiences and oppression on such behavior, with victimization being at the forefront of this omission (Belknap 2015; DeHart 2008). This is not surprising considering that, until recently, a majority of the research examining criminal behavior focused almost exclusively on men's criminality (Sharp 2014). In earlier cases where women's offending behavior was considered, researchers generally neglected to mention the impact of traumatic experiences on women or held the women responsible for such experiences (Belknap 2010).

The influx of research on the link between women's traumatic experiences and their criminality began in the 1970s, following the initial increase in rates of incarcerated women (Belknap 2010). This increase continues today, with twenty times as many women being incarcerated in 2008 than in 1970 (Belknap 2010). As criminological research expands to include women, findings consistently suggest differential rates of victimization between men and women (e.g. Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). Through such research emerged a new feminist criminology known as Pathways Theory, which addresses the ways in which victimization contribute to criminality. While often applied to women, given that they experience higher rates of victimization, PT is also relevant to victimization experiences among boys and men when such experiences do occur (Belknap 2015).

PT is influenced by earlier explanations of male criminality, most notably General Strain Theory, Cycle of Violence Theory, and Life Course Theory. Robert Agnew proposed General Strain Theory (GST) to explain why some people, but not others, turn to offending (as cited by

Sharp 2014). Agnew held that individual differences, both intrinsic (e.g. temperament) and extrinsic (e.g. race and class) influence the ways in which an individual adapts to and faces different sources of strain in their life (as cited by Belknap 2015). Particularly, strains which are perceived as unjust, severe, associated with low social control, and that create pressure to engage in criminal behavior to alleviate the strain are most strongly correlated with crime (Agnew 1992). Agnew views different emotions as more likely to result in different negative adaptations to strain. Most notably, he asserts that depression, guilt, and anxiety are likely to induce drug abuse as a response when legitimate responses are not available (as cited by Sharp 2014). While GST is an important precursor to PT in its acknowledgement of individual strains as influencing offending behavior, it does not elaborate on how some experiences are inherently gendered in their occurrence, as is access to the legitimate means to overcome them (e.g. therapy). This is problematic when strains such as childhood victimization, mental illness, and substance abuse are considered, all of which are disproportionality experienced by women and influence their engagement in offending behavior (Chesney-Lind 1989).

The possible relationship between childhood trauma and offending behavior is more thoroughly addressed in Cycle of Violence Theory (CVT). This theory posits that childhood abuse that is physical and/or sexual in nature places children at an increased risk of having both an adult and juvenile criminal record (as cited by Belknap 2015). The scholar who identified CVT, Cathy Spatz Widom (1995), found that both men and women who experienced any sort of sexual abuse, physical abuse, or neglect during childhood were more likely to be arrested than people not having experienced these events (Widom 1995). In particular, she found that people who were sexually abused during childhood were at a higher risk of being arrested on prostitution charges than their counterparts that did not experience this type of abuse (Widom

1995). Widom (1995) provides a preliminary reference to the cumulative impact of trauma and victimization by identifying “sexual abuse plus” victims as people who experienced a combination of sexual abuse, physical abuse, and neglect during childhood. CVT broadly suggests that the trauma, stress, and society’s response associated with any type of victimization can be linked to future criminal behaviors (Widom 1995). CVT does not focus exclusively on women and generally includes men in its research samples (Belknap 2015). While innovative in its examination of the relationship between childhood trauma and offending, CVT is problematic in that it does not examine the differences in gendered responses to such trauma. Because CVT does not examine how specific traumas are experienced differently by men and women, it is only able to offer broad generalizations regarding the relationship between childhood traumas and offending behavior.

Sampson and Laub’s (1990) Life Course Theory (LCT) is perhaps the most similar in nature to Pathways Theory. This theory examines how offending behavior changes both with age and as a result of different trajectories, or different life paths, that are taken over the life span (Sampson and Laub 1990). Additionally, LCT examines the impact of social bonds on criminality and deviance, and suggests that antisocial behavior during childhood can create a trajectory to offending behavior (Sampson and Laub 1990). LCT holds that trajectories which begin during childhood and adolescence are particularly relevant when explaining future offending behavior (as cited by Belknap 2015). Research using LCT supports this assertion, finding that childhood delinquency is a significant predictor of school dropout, economic disadvantage, difficulty maintaining employment, higher divorce rates, and adult criminal behavior (Sampson and Laub 1990). This criminal behavior is thought to result from a variety of causal factors, which cumulate over the lifespan to form trajectories which can leave an

individual more vulnerable to criminality (as cited by Belknap 2015). While these trajectories are similar to those described in Pathways Theory, much of the research done on LCT neglects to mention women and girls.

Of the little LCT research conducted on women and girls, findings have been similar to those found using Pathways Theory. One such study found that the influence of childhood maltreatment on future criminality differed among girls and boys in that the effects associated with childhood maltreatment influenced girls' criminality to a greater extent than it did for boys (as cited by Belknap 2015). Findings such as this accentuate the weakness of LCT as pertaining mainly to men and boys while disregarding the gendered impact of different life course trajectories on women and girls (as cited by Belknap 2015). Pathways Theory incorporates core elements of GST, CVT, and LCT while shifting its scope to focus on the unique factors which contribute to women's offending behavior.

Intersections of Race and Ethnicity

It is important to note that in addition to being gendered, many of the factors described in Pathways literature are experienced in a racialized manner. While many similarities exist in the life histories of incarcerated African American women and incarcerated White women, there are differences in the means by and the extent to which such life experiences influence the women (Bryant-Davis et al. 2009; Richie 1996). In 2013, 22 percent of the women prison population consisted of African American women while 49 percent consisted of White women (Carson 2014). However, African American women are overrepresented in the prison population and are imprisoned at twice the rate (113 per 100,000) as White women (51 per 100,000; Carson 2014). This suggests that differences in life histories result in different, racialized outcomes for the women. Particularly, research suggests that African American women are at an increased risk of

experiencing sexual abuse and violence by an intimate partner as compared to White women and other Women of Color who are not Black (Bryant-Davis et al. 2009). Moreover, research commonly finds that African American women are less likely than White women to disclose their victimizations to both formal and informal social supports, likely as a result of loyalty to their community and the perception that reporting victimizations perpetuated by fellow African Americans would represent a betrayal of their community (Bryant-Davis et al. 2009; Potter 2008; Richie 1996). Notable research done using gender-entrapment theory (Richie 1996) and critical race feminism (Potter 2008) works to better incorporate racial differences into an understanding of the risk factors which result in women's incarceration.

Richie's (1996) ethnographic account of women incarcerated at Rikers Island Correctional Facility examines the differences in life experiences between battered African American women, non-battered African American women, and battered White women. Richie (1996) utilizes the term "gender-entrapment" throughout the book to represent "what happens to women who are marginalized in the public sphere because of their race/ethnicity, gender, and class and are then battered by their male partners" (p. 133). She specifically examines how gender-entrapment can be used to explain battered women's involvement in crime. Richie (1996) finds that battered African American women are different from both non-battered African American women and White women in their development of gender-identity in relation to their assumed childhood roles, aspirations, and expectations. She argues that battered African American women experience a shift in identity as they experience trauma throughout their lives and that this shift leads them to commit crimes in response to lack of social support and alternative outlets for their pain, as well as due to a loyalty to their racial and ethnic identities (Richie 1996). In addition to avoiding hospitals, battered women's programs, and other social

supports, a mistrust of social services caused battered African American women to avoid utilizing the criminal justice system as a source of support, a decision which was "...consistent with the extent of police brutality that existed in their cities and with their loyalty to their community-particularly the men in it. Seeing social services-especially the police-as the opposition created more isolation, vulnerability and, ultimately, public scrutiny of the African American battered women" (p. 96). Richie (1996) proposes six paths to crime which contain similar life experiences for both battered African American and battered White women, including trauma and victimization during childhood and adulthood, substance abuse problems, and criminalization of survival strategies. She finds glaring differences in the meaning of these experiences among the women, such that African American women felt more loyal to their African American families and partners and were more likely to take on roles developed during their childhood which reflected a strong sense of responsibility towards these players (Richie 1996). This resulted in "...the African American battered women excus[ing] the negative actions of men in their lives because of the harsh realities of African American life in this country, while [holding] the women, including themselves, to a higher standard" (Richie 1996:62).

In an examination of intimate partner violence among Black women, Potter (2008) draws from critical race feminism to explain how Black women experience a unique marginalization resulting from multiple systems of domination and discrimination in their society, culture, communities, and families. She identifies four themes that are prevalent in the lives of her sample of Black women: social structural oppression, the Black community and culture, intimate and familial relations, and the Black women as an individual (Potter 2008). Social structural oppression is evident in the institutionalized racism experienced by many of these women which limits the access that they have to legitimate resources. Additionally, Potter (2008) finds that

battered Black women often do not view themselves as victims, despite being exposed to violent and abusive behaviors throughout their life, starting in childhood. She suggests that this could be due to the negative and ineffective societal responses to their marginalization and victimization, especially from medical services, shelters, therapists, and the criminal justice system (Potter 2008). The women in her study also described a feeling of loyalty to the Black community, such that calling for criminal justice intervention would represent a betrayal to the community (Potter 2008). As they are left with a lack of effective support, many of the battered Black women retaliate against their abusers. The impact of these experiences on the Black woman as an individual are affect the mental health, physical health, and sexuality of the women (Potter 2008). As suggested by critical race feminism, the compound effects of life-experiences crippled with both racial and gender marginalization leave women susceptible to victimization and ultimate engagement in criminal behavior (Potter 2008).

Pathways Theory and Notable Pathways Research

Pathways Theory elaborates on feminist ideals by proposing that trauma, particularly in the form of victimization, disproportionately sets women on a trajectory to offending (Belknap 2015; Dehart et al. 2013). While seemingly similar to Life Course Theory, which examines the effect of various life events on an individual's risk of offending, Pathways Theory is unique in its presentation of a women-centered, gendered approach to trajectories for offending (Belknap 2015). Since Pathways Theory is a relatively new, research situated in Pathways must rely on retrospective and semi-longitudinal data collection to examine the role of trauma and victimization on risk of women's offending (Belknap 2015).

While trauma and victimization, mental illness and substance abuse, and patriarchal attitudes all contribute to the criminalization of many of the girls and women involved with the

criminal legal system, these factors intersect in a uniquely gendered way. Pathways research examines the effects of these cumulative life experiences on women's and girls' ability to pursue legitimate pathways in their lives. As these factors increasingly intertwine, they often lead women into a self-perpetuating cycle of criminality, in which a women's initial involvement with the criminal legal system further marginalizes her and limits her legitimate resources, leaving her susceptible to recidivism and continued criminal involvement (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; DeHart et al. 2013; DeHart 2008; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008; Owen 1998). The following studies are representative of much of Pathways research and are thus notable to mention here.

Gilfus (1992)

In a widely-cited test of Pathways Theory, Gilfus (1992) collected data from in-depth interviews with twenty incarcerated women. In focusing her research on how these women interpreted their female sexual roles, she sought to understand how these interpretations affected the ways in which women processed their victimization experiences. She then looked at how the victimization experiences of these women intersected with other statuses held by the women to contribute to their offending behavior. She found that much of the violence, loss, and neglect experienced by these women were downplayed in order for the women to occupy a traditional female role as caregiver in a patriarchal society. Such gender over-determination occurs from women's first contact with the legal system, often when they were caught committing status offenses. In these instances, officials viewed these girls as delinquents rather than victims, in spite of many of the girls having experienced various types of abuse and neglect during their childhood. The survival strategies which many of these girls relied on during their transition to adulthood (e.g. prostitution, drug use, and illegal street work) further perpetuated their criminal

involvement and exposure to victimization, thus immersing them in a trajectory of criminal behavior. Gilfus' (1992) study is notable for being one of the first of its kind to suggest "that the nature of violence to which some women have been exposed serves as a strong force in the 'criminalization' of women, that is, the survival strategies selected by some women are the beginning of a process of transition from victim to offender" (p. 85).

DeHart et al. (2013)

Using mixed-methods, DeHart et al. (2013) examined the intersection of mental illness, substance abuse, and trauma among 115 incarcerated women across five U.S. states. They found that 50 percent of the sample had a serious mental illness, 51 percent met the criteria for PTSD, and 85 percent met the criteria for a lifetime substance use disorder. Histories of sexual and physical violence were also prominent among the sample, with 49 percent reporting physical abuse in childhood (prior to age 18), 71 percent reporting any sort of physical abuse by a partner during their lifetime, and 86 percent reporting having experienced sexual violence during their lifetime.

DeHart et al. (2013) also suggested a relationship between specific life events and offending behavior. For instance, women meeting the criteria for mental illness were more likely to have histories of running away from home and substance abuse. Intimate partner violence was found to be a risk factor for drug use, property crime, and commercial sex work. A relationship between sexual and physical victimization by a primary caregiver or intimate partner, as well as witnessing this violence, was associated with an earlier onset of offending behavior.

Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014)

Using ethnographic methods, Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014) followed forty-seven women living in Boston over the course of five years. They met with each of these women informally about once a month and held longer, formal interviews about once every three months. They focused their research on women who had been incarcerated prior to participating in the research and who were currently on parole and/or homeless. During the course of their research, many of the women cycled in and out of jail. Additionally, almost all of the women experienced the effects of gender inequality, abuse, poverty, homelessness, and mental illness. Linking together all of the negative life events experienced by women was the common theme of personal responsibility for both their victimization and their crimes, which Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014) argue is placed upon all of the women in the study, regardless of whether or not the women have control over these events. In viewing the personal responsibility placed upon the women in their study as problematic, Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014) cite two main avenues of its inappropriateness: medicalization and criminalization. Echoing the tenets of Pathways Theory, this recognition that women are currently held responsible for their mental health problems regardless of how these problems developed and that women are responsible for their criminalization regardless of the factors that led them to offend, formulate the basis of Pathways Theory.

Sharp (2014)

In another test of Pathways Theory, Sharp (2014) collected data from incarcerated women in Oklahoma prisons from 2004-2009. Throughout the course of her research, Sharp (2014) consistently found relationships between adverse childhood experiences and incarceration. When examining adverse childhood experiences in 2007, she found high rates of

physical abuse (44.8%) and sexual abuse (53.7%) among her sample. Additionally, 36.2 percent of the women had seen their mothers battered, 63.8 percent had parents who were divorced or separated and 22.4 percent had someone in their household in prison. Of the women in this sample, 73.3 percent had lived with substance abuse and 35.3 percent had lived with mental illness. These high rates of substance abuse are particularly troubling considering that the biggest problem reported by these women between incarcerations was staying drug free. Her study is unique in that it focuses on women prisoners housed in the state with the highest rates of incarceration in the United States. She argues that these women are particularly representative of the impact of punitive laws and adverse life experiences on women's trajectories to criminality.

Limitations of Existing Pathways Research

Much of Pathways research is limited in similar ways. Given that PT is a relatively new model to explain criminality researchers must rely on retrospective data collection that is limited in its ability to understand the temporal sequence of life experiences and offending behavior. Such retrospective data collection is also limited by the accuracy of the memory recall of its participants. Pathways studies are often polarized in that they either draw from a small sample and produce detailed qualitative data or they are larger quantitative studies that use vague measures to collect life-history and victimization data (McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008). In the first case, the external validity of the findings is limited as the results may not be generalizable to the larger population of incarcerated women (e.g. Gilfus 1992; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014; Sharp 2014). In larger quantitative studies, researchers are often limited in their reliance on self-report survey measures, which poses particular concern to the validity of the studies especially given the sensitive nature of data collected in Pathways research. Additionally, while quantitative Pathways research often draws from random samples within

specific correctional facilities, qualitative researchers often rely on convenience and snowball sampling methods which further limits the external validity of their studies. Again, given the sensitive nature of Pathways research, it is possible that selection effects occur among women who have experienced the most extreme forms of gendered life experiences and may not wish to participate in research due to fear of experiencing additional psychological trauma potentially associated with recall or repression of traumatic experiences. Despite these limitations, the consistency with which Pathways research finds similar factors in the life histories of criminally involved women suggests that there is merit to the theory and its continued development can yield important findings.

Conclusion

Research guided by Pathways Theory sheds light on the interplay between trauma and victimization, mental illness and substance abuse, and patriarchal attitudes in the criminal legal system. Despite finding higher rates of abuse victimization experiences among incarcerated women, much of the research guided by Pathways Theory fails to take into account variations in the type of victimization experienced, the age of victimization, and the relationship of the offender to the victim (McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008). These omissions limit the extent to which Pathways Theory can provide a fuller picture of the link between sexual victimization history and subsequent offending (McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008). The current study seeks to elaborate on the relationship between different types of sexual victimization experiences and rates of substance addiction, and how these intersect with women's racial/ethnic identities in a unique way.

CHAPTER IV: METHODS

Introduction

A growing body of research supports the notion that victimization is a risk factor for offending (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; DeHart et al. 2013; DeHart 2008; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008). The shocking consistency in which incarcerated women are found to have higher rates of sexual abuse than women in the general population is troubling. An understanding of how these victimization experiences intertwine with substance addiction and other gendered factors and how they can pave the way for women's criminal behavior is essential for the future of the growing punitive system, especially given that victimization experiences, if not properly confronted, leave women vulnerable to a plethora of criminal activity and at a high risk of recidivism (Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009).

This study is a partial replication of the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study entitled "The Extensive Sexual Violation and Sexual Abuse Histories of Incarcerated Women." In addition to the fact that these are more recently collected data than the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, the current project also differs in other significant ways. First, McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) included sexual abuse data from both a modified version of the Koss and Oros (1982) Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) and the Sexual Abuse Checklist (SAC), the latter designed by McDaniels-Wilson for the original data collection. The current study only includes the modified SES because the SAC data were insufficiently entered to be usable for this undergraduate honors thesis. Second, unlike the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, the current study includes two sets of chi-square analyses that examine: (1) the relationship between sexual violation victimizations and self-reported substance addictions; and (2) the relationship between sexual violation victimizations and the women's race/ethnicity. Third, an

additional Ohio women's prison was included in this partial replication (compared to the original study). More specifically, the administration at Trumbull Correctional Institution (in Leavittsburg, OH) granted access to implement the study there for this replication. Finally, the current study allows a comparison between the original rates of SES violations reported with the more current data.

The Research Questions

The research questions guiding this analysis are:

- (1) *What is the demographic make-up of the Ohio incarcerated women?*
- (2) *Are the women's demographic characteristics related to each other?*
- (3) *What are the women's self-reported substance addictions?*
- (4) *Are the women's substance addictions related to their demographic characteristics?*
- (5) *Using the modified SES, what are the frequencies of sexual violation experiences among the incarcerated women?*
- (6) *What is the relationship between substance addictions and sexual violation experiences of the incarcerated women?*
- (7) *What is the relationship between race/ethnicity and sexual violation experiences of the incarcerated women?*
- (8) *How do these current SES violation frequencies compare to the frequencies of the same violations in the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study?*

Research Sites

Data for this research was collected from four women's correctional facilities in Ohio. Northeast Prerelease Center (NPRC), located in Cleveland, Ohio, is a minimum- and medium-security facility for women that opened in 1988 (Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction 2014). Trumbull Correctional Institute (TCI) opened in 1992 and is located in Leavittsburg, Ohio. It is a minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security facility (Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction 2014). The Ohio Reformatory for Women (ORW) opened in Marysville, Ohio in 1916 and houses minimum-, medium-, and death row inmates. All sentenced women inmates are initially processed through ORW prior to transfer to another facility (Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction 2014). The final facility, Franklin Prerelease Center (FPC) is a minimum- and medium- security prison in Columbus, Ohio which opened in 1988 (McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008).

The Measurement Instruments

Five surveys were distributed to the women in each of the institutions. The five surveys are: (1) The Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES), (2) The Sexual Abuse Checklist Survey (SAC), (3) The Marlowe-Crowne Survey, (4) The Reaction to Research Participation Survey, and (5) the Demographic Data Form. For the current study, I only utilized the data collected from the Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) and the Demographic Data Form given that they were the most complete data sets that were relevant to the research questions.

The modified version of the Koss and Oros (1982) Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) was used to collect information describing the different levels of sexual violations experienced by the incarcerated women in the sample. The modified version of this survey was designed for the original McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study and contains two additional survey items

not present on the original Koss and Oros (1982) SES. The modified SES used in this study was specifically intended for women. The survey consisted of 15 items pertaining to specific sexual experiences and for each item, the participant indicated whether or not she had experienced that sexual violation or abuse, the number of times she experienced that abuse (ranging from 1 to 6 or more), and the gender of the abuser(s). Sexual experiences included in the survey ranged from sexual violations that are rarely considered by the legal community as sexual abuse (i.e. misinterpreting the level of sexual intimacy or engaging in sexual activity because someone threatened to end your relationship with them if you did not have sex) and sexual abuses that are generally legally recognized as such (i.e. rape and/or use of physical force to obtain sex). Additionally, questions differentiated between experiencing sex play and sex acts. Sex play was defined as “kissing, petting, or fondling” whereas sex acts were defined as “oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, or penetration by objects other than the penis.”

The Demographic Data Form obtained information on the age, race/ethnicity, education, number of children, marital status, and employment prior to incarceration. Additionally, the demographic survey asked women to report about their substance addictions and they indicated whether they experienced a drug addiction, and alcohol addiction, or both. The demographic data were asked in general categories (e.g. age categories, number of children categories) to make it more difficult to identify individual women should the data ever be successfully subpoenaed.

Data Collection

This unfunded study was approved by the IRB at both the University of Colorado at Boulder and at Xavier University. The data were collected during 2010 by Dr. Cathy McDaniels-Wilson, who was the primary researcher on both the original and the replication study. Each of the four prisons agreed to a uniform process for data collection. Data were collected from one

institution/prison at a time. Dr. McDaniels-Wilson ensured that each participant completed at least enough of the surveys to use in the data analysis before submitting it for data entry.

Counseling was made available at no cost for any women who felt that taking part in the study had triggered any trauma for them or that they wanted to talk to professional counselor following the study.

The Sample

What is the demographic make-up of the Ohio incarcerated women?

A total count of all women offenders was taken at each institution. A computerized random sample of all women currently incarcerated at Ohio Reformatory for Women, Franklin Pre-release Center, North East Prerelease Center, and Trumbull Correctional Institute was conducted to determine participants. Only those women who were housed in the psychiatric unit, in lockdown (for punishment), or AWOL were excluded from this study. In order to be eligible for the study, inmates must have had a chronological age of 18.

The sample for this thesis consists of 734 women who were incarcerated in one of Ohio's four women's prisons at the time of data collection and who had sufficiently completed the modified SES. Some or all of the requested demographic information was provided by 706 of the women (see Table 1). Of the women in the sample, 34.4 percent were 18 to 29 years of age (n=243), 32.4 percent were 30 to 39 years of age (n=229), 24.1 percent were 40 to 49 years of age (n=170), and 9.1 percent were over the age of 50 (n=64). A majority of women identified as White (64.5%, n=455), while 27.7 percent identified as African American/Black (n=195), 1.1 percent as Hispanic/Latina (n=8), 0.1 percent as Asian/Asian American (n=1), 1.4 percent as American Indian/Native American (n=10), and 5.1 percent as bi-racial or multi-racial (n=36). A little less than half of the sample had completed high school and some college (46.2%, n=326)

while 20.6 percent had completed high school with no college (n=145) and 33.2 percent did not complete high school (n=234). On average, the sample had completed high school and some college.

About four-fifths of the sample reported having children (80.6%), with 63.1 percent reporting 1 to 3 children (n=444) and 17.5 percent reporting having 4 or more children (n=123). About a fifth (19.5%) of the sample reported having no children (n=137). On average, the women in the sample had one to three children. Fifty-three percent of the women were single and had never married (n=372), 17.2 percent were married (n=121), 25.5 percent were divorced or separated (n=179), and 4.3 percent were widowed (n=30). A majority of the women had been employed prior to incarceration, with 41.1 percent having been legally employed (n=287), 6.9 percent having been illegally employed (n=48), 9.4 percent having been both legally and illegally employed (n=66), and 42.6 percent having been unemployed (n=298).

Data Entry and Analysis

Data were analyzed using SPSS (Version 22). Descriptive statistics were performed for both the demographic information and the SES measures. In order to examine possible relationships between demographic measures, chi-square analyses were performed between the demographic variables. Additionally chi-square analyses were conducted on the self-reported substance addiction and SES violations, as well as the women's race/ethnicity and each of the SES violations. A final series of chi-square analyses and t-tests were conducted to compare the current data set with the data collected in the original McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study.

Conclusion

This chapter described the methods used for the current study, comparing how they were similar to and how they differed from the original study reported in McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008). While this partial replication did not include data from the Sexual Abuse Checklist, like the findings reported in McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) did, analyses were conducted in the current study to examine relationships among the demographic variables, as well as how the SES violations were and were not related to the women's substance addictions and to their race/ethnicity. Finally, the current data were compared to the original study to examine whether the rates of SES violations have changed over time.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the Demographic Data Form and the modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) completed by the 734 women in the sample. In addition to the frequencies, this chapter also includes chi-square analyses to determine the relationships between the SES violations and the women's (1) substance addiction and (2) race/ethnicity. Finally, chi-square analyses and t-tests were conducted to compare the rate of SES violations in the original and current study. The tables for this thesis are located in Appendix B.

The Demographic Variables

Are the women's demographic characteristics related to each other?

Chi-square analyses were conducted among the demographic variables in Table 1. There are some noteworthy significant relationships that emerged, particularly between different racial/ethnic groups including: the number of children by race/ethnicity ($\chi^2 = 11.98$, $p \leq .05$), marital status by race/ethnicity ($\chi^2 = 49.24$, $p \leq .001$), and race/ethnicity by education ($\chi^2 = 16.57$, $p \leq .01$). To make more manageable cell sizes for the chi-squares, race/ethnicity was recoded into three categories for this analysis which were White, African American/Black women, and other Women of Color (those who did not identify as African American). This was done in order to examine whether there were differences between women who identified as African American and other Women of Color in light of a plethora of research which indicates struggles specific to African American women (e.g. Bryant-Davis et al. 2009; Potter 2008; Richie 1996). The Women of Color and the African American women in the sample were significantly more likely than White women to have four or more children (24.1%, 23.3%, and 14.3%, respectively). Women of Color were more likely than both African American and White women to have any children,

with 88.9 percent of the Women of Color having at least one child as compared to 79.3 percent of the African American women and 80.0 percent of White women. Additionally, White women were significantly more likely to be married (21.2%) or divorced (33.0%) than both African American women (11.7% married and 12.8% divorced) and Women of Color (14.3% married and 22.4% divorced). Women of Color were more likely than both White women and African American women to have completed at least some college (53.7% versus 45.5% and 45.4%, respectively). While about the same amount of African American and White women reported having completed at least some college, there was a significant difference in the rate at which the women completed high school, with 41.8 percent of African American women not having completed high school compared to 29.9 percent of White women.

What are the women's self-reported substance addictions?

Table 2 summarizes the findings on the women's self-reported substance addiction frequencies and how this addiction variable is related to their demographic characteristics. *Notably, over three-quarters (76.7%) of the women self-reported some type of alcohol and/or drug addiction.* Stated alternatively, less than a quarter of the women reported no substance addiction. About one in twelve (8.5%) of the women reported an alcohol-only addiction, a quarter (24.0%) reported a drug-only addiction, and over two-fifths (44.2%) reported a dual alcohol-drug addiction. Another way of viewing these data would be that over half (52.7%) of the women reported an alcohol addiction (n = 371) and 68.2 percent reported a drug addiction (n = 480) and, of the women reporting substance addiction, 44.2 percent reported a dual drug-alcohol addiction (see Table 2).

Are the women's substance addictions related to their demographic characteristics?

Also in Table 2 are the chi-square analyses between the demographic characteristics and the substance addictions of the women. For these analyses, the two latter categories were combined into one category so that drug-only addiction was combined with a dual drug-alcohol addiction to compute a “Drugs” category. This allowed for smaller cell sizes in order to conduct the substance addiction chi-square analyses.

Only two of the demographic variables were not related to addiction. More specifically, marital status and the number of children were unrelated to the women's self-reported addiction (see Table 2). Age, race/ethnicity, education, and employment prior to incarceration were related to substance addictions. First, age was found to be significantly related to substance addiction, with women forty years of age or older more likely than younger women to report no substance addiction ($\chi^2 = 19.47, p \leq .001$). Alcohol addiction increased slightly with age whereas drug addiction decreased slightly with age. Race/ethnicity was also found to be significantly related to substance addiction ($\chi^2 = 28.62, p \leq .001$). Of those addicted to drugs, 70.2 percent were White, 22.5 percent were African American, and 7.3 percent were other Women of Color. White women also comprised the majority of those with alcohol addiction (63.3%) as compared to 33.3 percent of African American women and 3.3 percent of the Women of Color. Overall, White women reported the most substance addiction (82.8%), followed by African American women (65.6%) and Women of Color (68.5%). Women with no substance addiction were more likely than women with substance addiction to have completed high school and at least some college ($\chi^2 = 15.28, p \leq .01$). Roughly two-fifths of both the alcohol addicted women and the drug addicted women did not complete high school, as compared to roughly one-fifth of women without substance addiction. Prior to incarceration, 61.7 percent of the women with no substance

addiction reported having been legally employed compared to 50.0 percent of the alcohol addicted women and 32.7 percent of the drug addicted women ($\chi^2 = 51.48$, $p \leq .001$). Close to half of the women reporting both alcohol and drug addiction also reported being unemployed (44.8% and 46.5%, respectively) whereas less than one-third (30.9%) of the women without substance addiction reported being unemployed.

Findings from the Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES)

Using the modified SES, what are the frequencies of sexual violation experiences among the incarcerated women?

The frequency findings from the modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) are in Table 3 (Koss and Oros 1982). Identical to the modified SES used in the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, this is an adaptation of the Koss and Oros (1982) SES that Dr. Cathy McDaniels-Wilson made for the original study. In Table 3, the varied SES violations reported by each of the women were partitioned into subsections of increasing legal severity. The category *legal coercion* contains “sexual experiences that are not typically considered violations of the law” (McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008:1106). Such violations were reported by 71.8 percent of the sample ($n = 527$). About half of the women reported the *legal coercion* experiences of: someone misinterpreting the level of sexual intimacy the women desired (53.3%); feeling useless to try and stop unwanted sexual activity because the other person was so aroused (50.0%); engaging in unwanted oral, anal, or vaginal sex (including penetration by objects other than the penis) because someone had said things that they didn’t mean in order to obtain sex (53.4%); and being verbally pressured into engaging in kissing, petting, or fondling (46.7%). Roughly two-fifths of the women reported being orally, vaginally, or anally penetrated due to verbal pressure (43.5%). The least reported SES violation of *legal coercion* was engaging

in “sexual activity with someone even though you didn’t want to because that person threatened to end your relationship,” which was reported by over a third (32.6%) of the women.

Over two-fifths (42.8%, n = 314) of the women reported experiencing the next category: *illegal kissing, petting, or fondling*. Subsumed in this category, the use of threat or physical force in order to kiss, pet, or fondle was experienced by 38.8 percent of the women. Additionally, nearly one-fifth (17.2%) of the women reported that “someone used his/her position of authority (boss teacher, camp counselor, supervisor)” to obtain sex play (e.g. kissing, petting, or fondling).

Illegal attempted penetration, the third category, includes attempted oral, vaginal, or anal penetration, as well as penetration by objects other than the penis. Over half (53.0%) of the women reported experiences consistent with this category (n = 389). Nearly two-fifths of the sample reported the use of threat or physical force in the penetration attempt (37.2%) and having someone “attempt a sex act when you didn’t want to by giving you alcohol or drugs” (39.1%).

Nearly two-thirds (57.6%, n = 423) of the women reported experiencing the fourth category: *illegal completed penetration* (in the form of oral, vaginal, or anal penetration by the penis or by objects other than the penis). Over two-fifths of the women (44.1%) reported having had a sex act occur because someone had given the women alcohol or drugs, which comprised the most common violation in this category. The use of threat of physical force in order to obtain sex acts was experienced by 39.4 percent of the women. The least common violation in this category was having a sex act “when you didn’t want to because someone used his/her position of authority,” which was reported by 14.0 percent of the women.

The final category was *identified an experience as “rape”* and was the only time that the word “rape” was used in the survey. *Nearly half of the sample identified an experience as rape* (n = 357), with 48.6 percent having experienced a rape and 9.3 percent having experienced a gang

rape. All of the women who reported being gang-raped also reported being raped. Interestingly, 25.3 percent of the women who reported an *illegal completed penetration* did not report having an experience which they identified as rape and 11.5 percent of the women who reported having been raped did not report experiencing an *illegal completed penetration* (see Appendix C).

Also included in Table 3 is the number of times that the respondents indicated having experienced each violation, with options ranging from 1 time to 6 or more times. For every violation except “rape” and “gang rape,” the modal number of times experienced was 6. “Rape” and “gang rape” had the lowest average number of times experienced (3.0 and 2.0, respectively). For the remainder of the violations, the average number of times women reported each experience ranged from 3.4 (illegal attempted penetration using threat or physical force) to 4.4 (verbal pressure to kiss, pet, fondle or to verbal pressure to penetrate).

Table 4 presents the findings on the gender/sex of the abuser(s) that the women identified for each type of SES violation. Abusers were overwhelmingly male for all of the violations, ranging from 78.0 percent (misinterpreting their desired level of sexual intimacy) to 93.3 percent (an experience that they identified as “rape”) of the violations being perpetrated by male abusers. While female abusers were reported by women in all of the categories, violations by females were reported at much lower rates than violations by males. Female abusers were most often associated with legally coerced sexual experiences including: kissing, petting, or fondling via verbal pressure (3.9%), feeling useless to try and stop sex (3.1%), and penetration via verbal pressure (3.0%). The highest rate of both male and female abusers was also associated with legally coerced experiences such as: misinterpretation of the desired level of sexual intimacy (20.1%); kissing, petting, or fondling via verbal pressure (13.9%); having the abuser say things that they didn’t mean in order to have sex (12.7%); and felt useless to try and stop sex (12.2%).

Among the other SES violations, using alcohol or drugs to complete penetration was also associated with both male and female abusers, with 17.1 percent of women reporting both genders of abusers.

Substance Addiction and SES Violations

What is the relationship between substance addictions and sexual violation experiences of the incarcerated women?

Table 5 summarizes the findings of the relationships between substance addictions and SES violations experienced by the women. Significant relationships emerged only for the overall categories of *legal coercion* and *illegal attempted penetration* ($\chi^2 = 7.09$, $p \leq .05$ and $\chi^2 = 6.91$, $p \leq .05$, respectively). Specifically, 58.3 percent of women with alcohol addiction and 54.6 percent of women with drug addiction reported more experiences in which their desired level of sexual intimacy was misinterpreted, compared to 43.8 percent of women with no substance addiction ($\chi^2 = 6.54$, $p \leq .05$). Substance addicted women also reported more experiences in which they felt useless to try and stop sex because the other person was so aroused, with half of the alcohol addicted women (50.0%) and the drug addicted women (53.8%) reporting this violation ($\chi^2 = 8.92$, $p \leq .05$). None of the other *legal coercion* experiences were significantly related to substance addiction.

Of the *illegal attempted penetration* category, substance addicted women reported someone giving them drugs or alcohol in order to attempt a sex act at over twice the rate of women with no substance addiction, with 44.8 percent of drug addicted women and 40.0 percent of alcohol addicted women reporting this violation as compared to 23.8 percent of the non-addicted women ($\chi^2 = 22.59$, $p \leq .001$). There was not a significant relationship between

substance addiction and experiencing the use of threat or physical force in order to attempt penetration.

The only other significant relationship that emerged was between substance addiction and having experienced the use of threat or physical force in an *illegal completed penetration*, with 48.1 percent of drug addicted women and 41.7 percent of alcohol addicted women having reported this violation ($\chi^2 = 8.29$, $p \leq .05$). The overall category of *illegal completed penetration* did not show a significant relationship between substance addiction and the remaining SES violations.

Race/Ethnicity and SES Violations

What is the relationship between race/ethnicity and sexual violation experiences of the incarcerated women?

The findings from the chi-square analyses conducted on the relationship between the women's race/ethnicity and their SES experiences are in Table 6. The only overall categories that did not yield a significant relationship to race/ethnicity are *illegal kissing, petting, and fondling* and *identified an experience as "rape."* For the remaining categories, only some of the subsumed violations reached levels of significance. *Legal coercion* was significantly related to race/ethnicity ($\chi^2 = 6.17$, $p \leq .05$), with three-quarters of White women (74.1%) and other Women of Color (74.1%) reporting having experienced some form of *legal coercion* compared to 64.6 percent of African American/Black women. Two subsumed categories of *legal coercion* reached significance: engaging in unwanted sexual activity because the other person threatened to end the relationship ($\chi^2 = 12.09$, $p \leq .01$) and experiencing verbal pressure to penetrate ($\chi^2 = 8.93$, $p \leq .05$). White women were more likely than African American and Women of Color to report engaging in sexual activity due to threat of their relationship ending if they refused, with

36.9 percent of White women reporting this violation, compared to 24.1 percent of both African American and Women of Color. Additionally, nearly half (47.9%) of the White women reported experiencing verbal pressure to penetrate as compared to 35.4 percent of African American women and 40.7 percent of the Women of Color.

Of the *illegal attempted penetration* violations, there were significant racial differences among the women who were given drugs or alcohol in order for the abuser to attempt penetration ($\chi^2 = 7.71, p \leq .05$). White women were most likely to report this violation (43.3%), followed by Women of Color (37.0%) and African American women (31.8%). There was no significant relationship between race/ethnicity and the use of threat or physical force in this category. The overall category yielded significant racial differences ($\chi^2 = 9.87, p \leq .01$).

Illegal completed penetration also yielded significant racial differences ($\chi^2 = 7.53, p \leq .05$). In particular, there were two significant relationships between race/ethnicity and sexual violations: giving the women alcohol or drugs to complete a sex act ($\chi^2 = 5.97, p \leq .05$) and using threat or physical force to obtain sex acts ($\chi^2 = 10.39, p \leq .001$). Nearly half of the White women (48.1%) reported being given drugs or alcohol during the violation, whereas around two-fifths of the African American women (38.5%) and Women of Color (38.9%) reported the same. Threat or use of physical force to obtain sex acts was also reported at a higher rate among White women (43.7%) than among African American women (31.3%) and Women of Color (31.5%).

Comparison to the Original Mc-Daniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) Study

How do these current SES violation frequencies compare to the frequencies of the same violations in the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study?

Table 7 summarizes the SES frequencies of both the current study and the original McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study and displays the results of the chi-square analyses between the two studies. Significant differences were found only among the categories *illegal kissing, petting, or fondling* ($\chi^2 = 17.23$, $p \leq .001$) and *illegal attempted penetration* ($\chi^2 = 9.25$, $p \leq .01$). The frequency with which women reported a position of authority being used as means to kiss, pet, or fondle was higher among the current data set (22.5%) compared to the original data set (17.2%; $\chi^2 = 4.72$, $p \leq .05$). Additionally, over half of the women in the current sample (52.7%) reported threat or physical force being used to obtain sex play, compared to approximately two-fifths of the original sample (38.8%; $\chi^2 = 19.92$, $p \leq .001$). *Illegal attempted penetration* was reported significantly more in the current data than in the original data, with 53.0 percent of the women in current study reporting a violation in this category as compared to 43.5 percent of the women in the original data ($\chi^2 = 9.25$, $p \leq .01$).

There was also a significant difference in the frequency with which women between the studies reported the *illegal completed penetration* experience of threat or physical force used as means to obtain sex ($\chi^2 = 9.87$, $p \leq .01$), although the category of *illegal completed penetration* as a whole did not show differences between the groups. Nearly half of the current sample (49.1%) reported this violation, whereas around two-fifths of the original sample (39.1%) reported the use of threat or physical force as means to obtain sex.

Independent samples t-tests were also conducted on the means for the SES violations (with 0 equal to a “no” and 1 equal to a “yes”) and, as expected, the same variables were

significant. Given these similarities, the findings from the t-test are not included in the tables for this thesis.

Limitations of the Study

While this study is unique in its collection of data from a relatively large sample of women from multiple prisons in Ohio, it is still limited in its empirical generalizability to incarcerated women in other facilities across the United States. However, it offers important theoretical generalizations which are consistent with those found in research on incarcerated women and girls. Additionally, this study did not include women who were housed in the psychiatric unit, in lockdown (for punishment), AWOL, or were under the age of 18. Also, not all women who were selected for this study chose to participate. Given that there is no way of knowing about the women who either could not or would not participate in this study, there is a possibility of a selection effect occurring such that women who had experienced the most severe consequences of trauma and abuse might not be eligible or willing to participate in a study which asks them to report such victimization. If this were the case, the data reported in this study would underreport the sexual abuse histories and substance addictions among incarcerated women in Ohio.

This study is also limited by its reliance on women's self-reported substance addictions and SES violations. Given the numerous cognitive and behavioral changes that often occur after a victimization experience (e.g. disassociation and maladaptive emotion regulation), it is possible that the women's recall of SES violations may not have been completely accurate (Kuo et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2012). Additionally, there is some research that suggests that women report higher rates of physical and sexual victimization on anonymous self-report survey measures than

they did in face to face interviews, which presents some likelihood of women over-reporting their SES violations (Kubiak 2012).

However, there is also a high likelihood that rates of substance addictions and SES violations were underreported in the data analyses, as all missing data were coded as a “no” when data analyses were run. The exception to this was where a woman indicated the number of times she experienced a sexual violation and/or the gender of an abuser associated with a sexual violation, but did not indicate whether or not she had actually experienced that violation. In these instances, the “missing” sexual violation was coded as a “yes” with the assumption that if she had not experienced the violation, she would not circle the number of times or the gender/sex of the abuser.

Conclusion

Although this study was a partial replication of the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, it differs in a number of significant ways. Unlike the previous study with the original data, this study conducted analyses on whether the women's self-reported substance addition and race/ethnicity were related to their SES violations. Additionally, the frequencies of SES violations represent more current levels of SES violations, given that the data collection for the current study took place fourteen years after the original data were collected.

Unlike much of Pathways research, this study utilized survey measures that collected detailed information on the specific types of violations experienced by the women, the number of times the violation occurred, and the gender of the abuser(s). The combination of a large sample size and the amount of detail collected on the SES provides an extensive look at interaction between the sexual violations experienced by these women, their substance addictions, and their demographics that is rare in Pathways research.

In sum, these data support Pathways Theory in finding high rates of sexual abuse histories and substance addictions among the incarcerated women in Ohio. Disturbingly, there was little shift in the rates of sexual violations reported by the women in this study as compared to the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, suggesting that over *fourteen years later* little has been done to effectively decrease the rate of victimization that is disproportionately experienced by these incarcerated women.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Overview

This thesis reviewed research documenting the disproportionately increased rate of incarcerated women in the United States relative to incarcerated men. A series of factors, including trauma and victimization, mental illness and substance abuse, patriarchal attitudes in the criminal legal system, and the criminalization of survival, intertwine in such a way that can leave some women more susceptible to engagement in offending behavior or being labeled as offenders by the criminal legal system. Guided by a Pathways theoretical approach to understanding the intersecting and gendered nature of these factors, this thesis aims to contribute specifically to the understanding of how sexual victimization experiences and substance addictions interact with demographic characteristics among a sample of women incarcerated in Ohio.

Findings from chi-square analyses among the demographic variables reveal some significant differences between race/ethnicity. For example, compared to African American women and other Women of Color, White women were more likely to be married, but were less likely to have four or more children. Women of Color were more likely than both African American women and White women to have at least one child. It is troubling that 80.6 percent of the incarcerated women have children, given that these women are unable to adequately support these children while in prison. Upon their release, the barriers that many of these women will face in finding employment with a criminal record will likely compound with the personal victimizations and substance addictions that influenced their criminality in the first place and further hinder the women's efforts to fulfill the traditional role of a "good mother." Incomplete education can also serve as a barrier for these women, one that is disproportionately experienced

by African American women, who were less likely to have completed high school than both White women and Women of Color, likely as a result of structural influences and the compounding effects of both racism and sexism. This finding is consistent with literature on African American women, much of which finds what Arnold (1990) states- that “Many of the women were victimized as children by an educational system that was alienating and oppressive...so most took it upon themselves to leave alienating school environments and teachers who denigrated them as Black girls” (p. 157).

Substance addictions were reported by over three-quarters (76.7%) of the sample, which is consistent with estimates found in other Pathways research, most of which range from around 75 percent (Gilfus 1992) to 85 percent (DeHart et al. 2013). These rates reflect a far greater prevalence of substance addiction among incarcerated women as compared to the general population, which has a rate of substance addiction of around 29 percent (as cited by Lynch et al. 2014). There were also differences in substance addiction among different racial/ethnic groups, with White women reported the highest rates of both alcohol and drug addictions, followed by African American women and Women of Color. As expected, there was also a relationship between substance addiction and both education level and employment. Women without substance addictions were more likely than women with either drug or alcohol addiction to have completed higher levels of education and to have been legally employed prior to incarceration. While rates of substance addiction vary between age groups and racial/ethnic groups, in all cases it has detrimental consequences on women’s success in education as well as their employment.

These findings are significant, given that women’s offending behavior often coincides with their substance addictions, particularly their drug addiction, and that drug and drug-related offenses comprise a quarter of the crimes for which women are charged, compared to only 15

percent of incarcerated men (U.S. Department of Justice 2013). Moreover, offending women often report using substances to “self-medicate” as a response to prior victimizations (e.g. Evans et al. 2002; Wright et al. 2012). Without access to adequate resources which help these incarcerated women understand the factors that influenced their substance addictions in the first place and support these women as they work to overcome their addictions, it is likely that many of the women will return to their substance addictions as means of coping with the increasing marginalization they will experience upon their release. This paves a pathway to recidivism that will perpetuate the cyclical relationship between trauma and victimization, substance addiction, and incarceration.

The SES reveals a considerable amount of sexual violations experienced by the women, *with 82.0 percent of the women in the sample reporting having experienced at least one violation on the SES*. Consistent with the findings from the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, *legal violations* were the most reported type of sexual violations, followed by *illegal completed penetration, illegal attempted penetration, identified an experience as “rape,” and experiencing illegal kissing, petting, or fondling*. While lower than the rates found in the original study, the high rate at which women reported an experience that they identified as “rape” (48.6%) is still disturbing. While the high rate of underreporting to authorities makes it difficult to estimate this rate in the general population using official statistics, research among women and girls in the general population estimates a lifetime prevalence of rape that falls between 15 to 24 percent (as cited by McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008). In addition to the many reported sexual violations, a majority of the women in this sample reported experiencing the same violations numerous times. This supports research which suggests that an initial victimization is a risk factor for future victimization (Brown et al. 1999; Richie 1996; Sered and Norton-Hawk 2014;

Sharp 2014) and that many women who experience one type of sexual victimization will also experience other types as well. The percent of women who reported having experienced a completed penetration, but reported “no” to the word “rape” (25.3%) is problematic, as identifying an experience as rape is an essential first step in reporting that rape and/or seeking out support services to cope with the experience. As expected, and consistent with the McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap (2008) study, an overwhelming majority of the abusers were male. While this does not negate the consequences associated with violations perpetrated by female abusers, the gendered difference in abusers is reflective of the patriarchal attitudes that work to oppress women in the first place. This is especially problematic when the patriarchal attitudes in the criminal legal system criminalize women’s victimization and survival strategies following their victimization experiences. A cyclical relationship then forms between victimization and incarceration such that the legitimate means to escape victimization (i.e. police intervention and community support) are the same patriarchal systems which condone the victimization of girls and women in the first place.

There were also a number of significant relationships between women’s substance addictions and the SES violations they experienced. Most notably, and not surprising, was that substance addicted women were more likely to experience violations in which they were given drugs and/or alcohol as means for the abuser to attempt or complete penetration. No significant relationships emerged between substance addictions and having *identified an experience as “rape,”* which this is consistent with official statistics on rape victimizations which find that alcohol and drug use was only used at the time of the rape incident in 39% of all reported rapes from 2005 to 2010, alcohol and drug use was not used during the rape in 30 percent of the cases, and it was unknown in 30 percent of the cases whether or not alcohol and drugs were used

(Planty et al. 2013). Substance addictions leave women more vulnerable to legally coerced violations, as well as attempted and completed penetration as compared to women without these addictions. Substance addictions decrease the ability of these women to consent to sexual experiences in the first place. Additionally, substances likely increase the women's exposure to situations which place them at a greater risk of experiencing attempted or completed penetration. If surrounded by other substance users, women might be less likely to actively resist their perpetrators for fear of their safety and there might also be a lack of bystanders that are able to intervene on the women's behalf.

Significant relationships also emerged between race/ethnicity and some the SES violations experienced by the women. With the exception of the overall category of *legal coercion*, where significant relationships did emerge, White women reported higher frequencies of the SES violations compared to both African American women and Women of Color. This finding can be partially explained by research which suggests that African American women are less likely than White women and other Women of Color to disclose victimizations as a result of loyalty to the African American community and the perception that the reporting of victimizations perpetrated by fellow African Americans would represent a betrayal of their community (Richie 1996).

It is interesting that there was a significant difference in the reported rates of *illegal kissing, petting, or fondling* between the current study and the original study, such that women reported fewer of these violations in the current study. This could potentially be due to changing attitudes about what "counts" as a sexual violation in that society is becoming more tolerant, and oftentimes even fetishizes, behavior associated with these types of violations which could cause women to downplay the extent to which *illegal kissing, petting, and fondling* is considered a

violating experience. The two other significant differences that emerged between the studies both involved the use of threat or physical force to attempt or complete penetration which suggests an increasing rate of physically violent sexual violation experiences among incarcerated women.

Significance and Implications

This study provides strong support for Pathways Theory in its finding of a higher rate of sexual violation experiences among incarcerated women than among the general population of women. Additionally, relationships between substance addictions, SES violations, and demographic characteristics suggest that the incarcerated women in this sample have life experiences consistent with those found in Pathways research and that these factors are related to their offending. As Pathways Theory becomes a more prominent means of studying women's criminality, longitudinal studies that examine women from an early age can shed light on the temporal relationship between the commonly cited life experiences of many incarcerated women and their offending behavior.

This research has important implications for policy, such that gender-specific programming and health-care services in prisons need to be expanded and responsive to the struggles faced by many incarcerated women (Harner and Riley 2013; Wright et al. 2012). This is especially important in light of the increasing number of incarcerated women being housed in prisons that are fundamentally patriarchal and structured around the needs of men. Since many women are incarcerated for non-violent offenses, they pose less of a threat of violence while incarcerated, thus allowing institutions the flexibility to focus more of their attention on proper treatment of these women in order to reduce recidivism rather than focusing a majority of their efforts on managing the security associated with the women's incarceration (Wright et al. 2012). The understanding of the commonalities in the life experiences of incarcerated women serves as

a basis on which gender-specific needs can be highlighted and programs can be implemented to address those needs (e.g. trauma-informed services, mental health programs, substance addiction programs, and interpersonal relationship programs) both in the prisons where women are housed as well as in the communities to which these women will return once they are released. These programs need to be sensitive to factors which may hinder women's recovery, such as economic dependence on an abusive partner or child-rearing responsibilities.

In addition to expanding access to gender-specific programming, there are a series of broader social changes which could have important implications for preventing women's and girls' pathways to incarceration before they begin. While the patriarchal culture of the United States is unlikely to disappear altogether, changes can be made within the culture which support, rather than marginalize women. Once such change would be to expand services that work to identify and intervene in both childhood and adult abuse and trauma, and to offer affordable treatment options to these girls and women to help them cope with their victimization experiences. In order for these to be effective, they must not only consider the ways in which victimization uniquely affects women, but they must also be sensitive to intersecting factors such as race/ethnicity, substance addictions, and mental health problems that could factor into the recovery process.

Increased social awareness of the prevalence of sexual violence against women and girls is also needed. Sexual violence tends to be hidden, as it is an ugly component of every society. While there has been increased attention on the sexual violence against women and girls in the U.S. in recent decades, much of this seems to be restricted to higher education and institutions which are inaccessible to many of the women who are caught in the cycle of victimization and

offending. As a result, much of the increase in awareness that has occurred is not able to effectively impact many of the women who are deeply affected by such violence.

Lastly, increased opportunities for the legal employment of women need to be made more readily available. This is a multi-faceted solution which requires the support of various social institutions in order to be successful. Fundamentally, education is crucial in order for women to obtain legal employment which provides a livable wage. Encouraging women's educational success in all fields, not just those specific to traditional women's roles, is an important step towards reducing the gender discrepancy that exists within the job market. Also, by better training educators, especially those working in high schools, how to recognize and provide support for girls struggling with victimization and substance use, treatment can be implemented earlier which can serve as a protective factor to prevent these girls from dropping out of school.

Affordable access to childcare could also have a significant impact on the ability of women to retain legal employment, such that women who are restricted in working traditional hours as a result of raising children might be more likely to seek out illegal employment that allows for more flexibility in working hours (e.g. prostitution and drug dealing enterprises). Affordable childcare could increase the legal employment opportunities available to women and aid them in effectively providing for their children, especially in cases where they are the sole provider.

The plight of incarcerated women stems from the broader patriarchal system which reproduces itself through a cycle of victimizing women, which in turn causes them to rely on survival strategies that are criminalized, leading to their incarceration and further marginalization in the public sphere, thus perpetuating their criminality. By addressing the existence of patriarchal attitudes within the criminal legal system, prisons, and in the broader context of the

United States culture, changes can be made which work to support women and girls and end the pathway to incarceration before it begins.

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APPENDIX A:
Pathways Studies of Offending Women and Girls^a

Study	Sample	Findings
Asberg and Renk (2012)	Survey measures with 39 incarcerated females in a correctional facility in Southeastern U.S.	Three-fifths (59%) of the sample reported a history of childhood sexual victimization. The prevalence was higher among Black women (50%) than White women (4%).
Brennan et al. (2012)	Survey measures from 718 inmates in California who were soon to be released onto parole	Suggests a series of pathways to crime, of which two comprise "victimization" pathways. These pathways reflect that physical and sexual abuse during both childhood and adulthood cause women to turn to crime either because they are depressed/stressed or they are surrounded by negative social influences. 12.2% and 11% of their sample reflected each of these cases, respectively. Additionally, they found support for pathways which described drug addicted and marginalized women.
Browne et al. (1999)	Cross-sectional interviews with 150 women in a New York correctional facility	Seventy percent reported severe physical violence from a parent/caretaker with 71% of this abuse occurring by age 11. 59% reported sexual abuse during childhood, with 51% of this abuse occurring before the age of 9 and 66% occurring by age 11. 75% of the women experienced severe physical violence by an intimate partner as adults.
DeHart (2008)	Face-to-face interviews with 60 inmates from a maximum-security state correctional facility	Victimization relates to women's crimes, both directly (such as assault in the case of defense against an abuser) and indirectly (such as the effects on health, mental health, and other gendered experiences)
DeHart et al. (2013)	Life history interviews with 115 incarcerated women from five U.S. states	Half (50%) of the sample met the DSM criteria for serious mental illness, 51% for PTSD, 85% for substance use disorder. 60% have experienced caregiver violence, 77% partner violence, 63% non-familial violence, and 86% had experienced sexual violence, with 48% of this occurring during childhood by an adult.
Gaarder and Belknap (2002)	Face-to-face interviews with 22 young women incarcerated in a medium-security Midwest prison	Violence and victimization during childhood intersects with racism and economic marginality, school experiences, structural dislocation, and drug/alcohol use to leave young women in the sample particularly vulnerable to crime and trial within the adult criminal legal system.
Gilfus (1992)	Life history interviews with 20 incarcerated women in a northeastern state	Two-thirds (65%) reported childhood sexual abuse, with 77% reporting incest. 25% of the sample can directly link their criminal involvement with their childhood sexual abuse. 80% of the sample experienced a battering relationship as an adult. 75% of the women have drug abuse histories, which often occurred prior to illegal activity.

Golder et al. (2014)	406 women on probation and/or parole in Kentucky filled out questionnaires on a computer	Seventy percent reported physical and/or sexual victimization during childhood, with 38.7% of sexual victimization perpetrated by a parent or caretaker. Slightly more than 90% experienced sexual or physical intimate partner violence and 72% experienced physical or sexual violence by a non-intimate partner. 68.7% of the sample had a level of psychological distress that reached clinical significance and 48.5% met PTSD criteria. 42% used drugs before the age of 13 and 46% reported drug use in the last 12 months.
Lynch et al. (2014)	Face-to-face interviews with 491 pre-conviction and post-conviction women in 5 different U.S. jails	Ninety one percent of the sample met the criteria for lifetime prevalence of mental illness, with 70% meeting criteria for current prevalence of at least one mental illness. 43% met lifetime criteria for a serious mental illness. 53% of the sample met lifetime prevalence for PTSD (Compared to 9.7% for gen pop.) and 82% met lifetime prevalence for any substance use disorder (compared to 29% for the general population).
Owen (1998)	Quasi-ethnography including in-depth interviews and observation of daily life at the Central California Women's Facility	Four-fifths (80%) of the sample had experienced abuse at one point in their lives. Nearly three-quarters of the sample had started drinking alcohol before the age of 18, and 59% had used drugs before the age of 18. Nearly half (49.8%) of the sample had used intravenous drugs at some point. Four-fifths (80%) of the women had children, many of which were minors at the time of the study. Nearly half reported not having ever legally worked, with many citing greater economic gain from criminal involvement.
Richie (1996)	Life-history interviews with 37 women at Rikers Island Correctional Facility, which included battered African-American, non-battered African American, and battered White women	Over a fifth (21.6%) experienced ongoing physical abuse during childhood, 35.1% experienced sexual abuse during childhood, and 54.1% witnessed their mothers being abused.
Salisbury and Van Voorhis (2009)	Interview and survey data from 313 women probationers in Missouri	Three pathways to women offender's incarceration: (1) childhood victimization leading to mental illness and substance abuse (2) dysfunctional relationships during adulthood lead to adulthood victimization, mental illness and substance abuse (3) gendered social practices in education, family, and self-efficacy lead women towards criminal paths and incarceration

Sered and Norton-Hawk (2014)	Face-to-face informal chats with 47 women from Boston, once a month for 5 years	Women experienced cumulative effects of structural inequality, racism, sexual and physical victimization, mental illness, health problems, and motherhood in a way that blurs the boundaries of personal responsibility and leaves many women to engage in criminal behavior and become incarcerated when they are unable to access the resources and support that they need to maintain a healthy lifestyle.
Sharp (2014)	Survey measures collected from women prisoners in Ohio between 2004-2009 with between 203-301 women participating each year	During childhood, 44.8% of the women had experienced physical abuse and 53.7% had experienced sexual abuse. 36.2% had seen their mothers experience abuse and 63.8% had divorced/separated parents. 22.4% had someone in their household in prison. 73.3% had substance abuse and 35.3 percent had lived with a mental illness.
Tripodi and Davis (2012)	Face-to-face interviews guided by survey measures with 125 women from two state prisons in North Carolina	A third (32.5%) of the sample had experienced both childhood sexual and physical victimization. 20.3% experienced childhood sexual victimization only. 11.4% experienced childhood physical victimization only. 27.9% of the sample had been sexually victimized in the year before incarceration.
Tripodi et al. (2014)	Face-to-face interviews guided by survey measures with 125 women from two state prisons in North Carolina	Women who experienced childhood sexual abuse and physical abuse were 12.2% and 12.3% times more likely to attempt suicide, respectively, than their non-abused counterparts. Women who experienced childhood neglect were 32.1% more likely to attempt suicide. Women who perceived high levels of childhood support were 14.4% less likely to attempt suicide than their non-supported counterparts. Additionally, women with a substance abuse disorder were more likely to have attempted suicide at least once than women who did not have a substance abuse disorder.
Walsh et al. (2012)	Survey measures from 168 female prisoners in a U.S. Midwestern correctional facility	Half (50%) reported a history of childhood sexual abuse and 48.2% reported childhood physical abuse. 77% reported experiencing at least one form of childhood maltreatment, and 64% had experienced two or more forms including with 54.2% reporting emotional abuse, 38.7% reporting physical neglect, and 47.6% reporting emotional neglect. While in prison, 9.5% of the women were coerced into sexual experiences and 22% were forced into such experiences. In order to gain protection while in prison, 12.5% engaged in unwanted sexual experiences.

^aNot all of the authors of the studies included in this chart specifically identified “Pathways Theory”, but their data collection methods are consistent with Pathways Theory. The findings listed in this chart are for the variables more relevant for this current study

APPENDIX B:

Table 1: Description of Sample Demographics

Description of Sample ^a N = 706			
	N	n	%
Age ^b	706		
18-29		243	34.4
30-39		229	32.4
40-49		170	24.1
50 and older		64	9.1
Ethnicity	705		
White		455	64.5
African American/Black		195	27.7
Hispanic/Latina		8	1.1
Asian/Asian American		1	0.1
American Indian/Native American		10	1.4
Bi-Racial or Multi-Racial		36	5.1
Education (X = 2.14)	705		
Did not complete high school		234	33.2
High School/No College		145	20.6
High School/Some College		326	46.2
Children (X = 0.99)	704		
No children		137	19.5
1-3		444	63.1
4+ children		123	17.5
Marital Status	702		
Married		121	17.2
Single/Never Married		372	53.0
Divorced/Separated		179	25.5
Widowed		30	4.3
Employment (Prior to Incarceration)	699		
Legally employed		287	41.1
Illegally employed		48	6.9
Legally and illegally employed		66	9.4
Unemployed		298	42.6

^aOf the 734 women who turned in a usable SES, there were 706 women for whom we had some demographic data. Due to some missing demographic data, the numbers in the N column are less than 706 and percentages may not total 100.0% due to rounding.

^bRespondents had an average age of 30-39 years old. Specific ages were not collected as required by the IRB.

Table 2: Self-Reported Substance Addictions and Their Relationships to the Demographic Characteristics (N = 703)

Self-Reported Substance Addictions		%	(n)				
No addiction ^a		23.2	(163)				
Alcohol only		8.5	(60)				
Drugs only		24.0	(169)				
Alcohol and Drugs		44.2	(311)				

Demographic Characteristic	N	None		Alcohol		Drugs^b		Sig. Test
		%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	
Age	703							19.47***
18-29		27.6	(45)	30.0	(18)	37.5	(180)	
30-39		25.8	(42)	33.3	(20)	34.4	(165)	
40+		46.6	(76)	36.7	(22)	28.1	(135)	
Ethnicity	702							28.62*** ^c
White		48.1	(78)	63.3	(38)	70.2	(337)	
African American/Black		41.4	(67)	33.3	(20)	22.5	(108)	
Other Women of Color ^d		10.5	(17)	3.3	(2)	7.3	(35)	
Education	703							15.28**
Did not complete high school		22.1	(36)	40.0	(24)	36.3	(174)	
High school and no college courses		19.6	(32)	20.0	(12)	21.0	(101)	
High school and at least some college		58.3	(95)	40.0	(24)	42.7	(205)	
Children	702							1.65
None		17.9	(29)	25.0	(15)	19.4	(93)	
1-3		64.8	(105)	56.7	(34)	63.3	(304)	
4		17.3	(28)	18.3	(11)	17.3	(83)	
Marital Status ^e	670							4.01
Single/Never Married		50.3	(76)	49.1	(28)	57.6	(266)	
Married		21.2	(32)	17.5	(10)	17.1	(79)	
Divorced/Separated		28.5	(43)	33.3	(19)	25.3	(117)	
Employment (Prior to Incarceration)	697							51.48*** ^f
Legally employed		61.7	(100)	50.0	(29)	32.7	(156)	
Illegally employed		3.1	(5)	3.4	(2)	8.6	(41)	
Legally and illegally employed		4.3	(7)	1.7	(1)	12.2	(58)	
Unemployed		30.9	(50)	44.8	(26)	46.5	(222)	

^aRespondents who provided demographic data but did not indicate drug/alcohol abuse were coded as having no addictions in order to prevent over-reporting of addition rates.

^bRespondents could indicate drug and/or drug and alcohol addiction. Both of these responses were recoded as having a drug addiction.

^cThis finding might be interpreted with caution as one cell had an expected count of less than 5.

^dRespondents who identified with a race/ethnicity other than White and African American were recoded as "Other Women of Color."

^eThe "Widowed" as noted in Table 1 was omitted from the bivariate analyses due to the very small percent of widowed participants.

^fThis finding might be interpreted with caution as one cell had an expected count of less than 5.

*p ≤ 0.05, **p ≤ 0.01, ***p ≤ 0.001

Table 3: Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) Frequencies (N = 734)

Type of Violation	Reported this Violation ^a		Number of Times Experienced by Those Reporting the Violation ^b												Mean	Mode
	%	(n)	<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>6+</u>			
			%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)		
Legal Coercion^c	71.8	(527)														
Misinterpret level sexual intimacy	53.3	(391)	10.9	(41)	16.5	(62)	21.3	(80)	9.0	(34)	4.3	(16)	38.0	(143)	3.9	6
Useless to try stop	50.0	(367)	11.1	(40)	16.4	(59)	15.8	(57)	8.9	(32)	5.3	(19)	42.5	(153)	4.1	6
Threaten to end relationship	32.6	(239)	12.8	(30)	18.7	(44)	11.9	(28)	8.9	(21)	4.3	(10)	43.4	(102)	4.0	6
Said things didn't mean	53.4	(392)	11.5	(44)	12.2	(47)	16.4	(63)	10.4	(40)	3.9	(15)	45.6	(175)	4.2	6
Verbal pressure to kiss-fondle	46.7	(343)	10.8	(36)	12.6	(42)	12.3	(41)	8.7	(29)	6.3	(21)	49.4	(165)	4.4	6
Verbal pressure to penetrate	43.5	(319)	10.8	(33)	9.5	(29)	14.4	(44)	9.5	(29)	4.9	(15)	51.0	(156)	4.4	6
Illegal Kiss, Pet, Fondle	42.8	(314)														
Use position of authority ^d	17.2	(126)	26.2	(33)	17.5	(22)	10.3	(13)	4.0	(5)	5.6	(7)	36.5	(46)	3.6	6
Threat or use physical force	38.8	(285)	18.9	(53)	16.4	(46)	12.5	(35)	8.6	(24)	2.5	(7)	41.1	(115)	3.8	6
Illegal Attempted Penetration^e	53.0	(389)														
Threat or use physical force	37.2	(273)	24.5	(66)	17.5	(47)	13.4	(36)	9.7	(26)	5.2	(14)	29.7	(80)	3.4	6
Alcohol/drugs	39.1	(287)	19.1	(54)	21.2	(60)	13.4	(38)	8.8	(25)	3.5	(10)	33.6	(95)	3.6	6
Illegal Completed Penetration^f	57.6	(423)														
Use position of authority ^d	14.0	(103)	19.8	(20)	18.8	(19)	12.9	(13)	5.0	(5)	5.9	(6)	37.6	(38)	3.7	6
Alcohol/drugs	44.1	(324)	15.7	(49)	13.5	(42)	13.1	(41)	9.9	(31)	4.5	(14)	43.3	(135)	4.0	6
Threat or use physical force	39.4	(289)	18.0	(51)	18.3	(52)	9.2	(26)	6.7	(19)	4.9	(14)	43.0	(122)	3.9	6
Identified an Experience as "Rape"^g	48.6	(357)														
Raped	48.6	(357)	32.5	(112)	21.7	(75)	11.9	(41)	4.9	(17)	2.0	(7)	27.0	(93)	3.0	1
Gang Raped	9.3	(68)	58.5	(38)	18.5	(12)	7.7	(5)	3.1	(2)	3.1	(2)	9.2	(6)	2.0	1
Complete Penetration, but not ID as "Rape"^h	25.3ⁱ	(107)														

^aIn cases where data were missing, data were recorded as zeroes even if the respondents had "reported this violation" In order to ensure sexual violations were not over-reported.

^bWomen reported how many times they experienced this violation on a scale of 1,2,3,4,5, or 6 or more times. Means and modes were then based on a limit of 6 items. Some respondents reported a violation, but did not indicate the number of times they experienced the violation. Thus, percentages, n-values, means, and modes were based on cases in which there were no missing data for the number of times experiencing this violation. ^cViolations indicated in bold include the total of women who reported 1 or more of the violations subcategorized under each bold-faced violation. Legal coercion refers to largely legal behaviors used to obtain sex play or sex acts. ^d"Authority" figures were exemplified as boss, teacher, camp counselor, and supervisor.

^eIllegal attempts to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^fIllegal penetration to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^gRespondent indicated if they had an experience which they defined as "rape" or "gang rape." All the respondents who reported yes to "gang rape" also reported yes to the word "rape." These are the only items in this survey that use the term "rape." ^hIn these cases, respondent reported experiencing completed illegal penetration, but reported "no" to the word "rape." There were 107 cases out the 423 cases where women reported completed penetration but indicated "no" to the word "rape."

Table 4: Levels Reported on the Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) by Offender Gender (N = 385)

<u>Type of Violation</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Abuser Gender/Sex^a</u>					
		<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<u>Both Male &</u>	
		<u>Abuser(s)</u>		<u>Abuser(s)</u>		<u>Female Abusers</u>	
		<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>
Legal Coercion^b	385						
Misinterpret level of sexual intimacy	373	78.0	(291)	1.9	(7)	20.1	(75)
Useless to try stop sex	352	84.7	(298)	3.1	(11)	12.2	(43)
Threaten to end relationship if no sex	231	87.0	(201)	2.6	(6)	10.4	(24)
Said things didn't mean to have sex	385	85.5	(329)	1.8	(7)	12.7	(49)
Kiss, pet, fondle via verbal pressure	330	82.1	(271)	3.9	(13)	13.9	(46)
Penetration via verbal pressure	301	86.0	(259)	3.0	(9)	11.0	(33)
Illegal Kiss, Pet, Fondle	279						
Use position of authority ^c to kiss-fondle	123	86.2	(106)	3.3	(4)	10.6	(13)
Threat/use physical force to kiss-fondle	279	91.4	(255)	1.1	(3)	7.5	(21)
Illegal Attempted Penetration^d	274						
Threat/use physical force to attempt penetration	255	89.0	(227)	3.1	(8)	7.8	(20)
Used Alcohol/drugs to attempt penetrate	274	86.1	(236)	1.5	(4)	12.4	(34)
Illegal Completed Penetration^e	298						
Use position of authority to penetrate	100	89.0	(89)	3.0	(3)	8.0	(8)
Use alcohol/drugs to penetrate	298	82.6	(246)	0.3	(1)	17.1	(51)
Threat/use physical force to penetrate	274	92.0	(252)	1.1	(3)	6.9	(19)
Identified an Experience as "Rape"^f	341						
Rape	341	93.3	(318)	0.3	(1)	6.5	(22)
Gang Rape	65	87.7	(57)	1.5	(1)	10.8	(7)

^aRespondents were asked to indicate the sex/gender of the abuser for each reported specific abuse or violation. "Male abuser(s)" indicates there were no female abusers for that SES violation. Similarly, for "female abuser(s)" there were no male abusers for that SES violation. "Both male and female abusers" are cases where the respondent reported at least one male *and* at least one female abuser for that SES violation.

^bLegal coercion refers to largely legal behaviors used to obtain sexual intimacy, in the form of sex play and sex acts.

^c"Authority" figures were exemplified as boss, teacher, camp counselor, and supervisor.

^dUncompleted illegal attempts to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis.

^eIllegal penetration via oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis.

^fRespondents indicated if they had an experience which they defined as "rape" or "gang rape." These are the only items in the survey that used the term "rape."

Table 5: Relationships between Drug/Alcohol Addiction and SES Violations (N = 704)

Type of Violation	Substance Addition ^a						Significance Test
	None		Alcohol		Drugs ^b		
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	
Legal Coercion ^c	64.0	(105)	66.7	(40)	74.4	(357)	7.09*
Misinterpret level sexual intimacy	43.8	(71)	58.3	(35)	54.6	(262)	6.54*
Useless to try stop	40.2	(66)	50.0	(30)	53.8	(258)	8.92*
Threaten to end relationship	31.1	(51)	28.3	(17)	33.5	(161)	0.86
Said things didn't mean	47.6	(78)	48.3	(29)	55.0	(264)	3.22
Verbal pressure to kiss-fondle	42.1	(69)	45.0	(27)	49.0	(235)	2.43
Verbal pressure to penetrate	37.8	(62)	45.0	(27)	45.8	(220)	3.23
Illegal Kiss, Pet, Fondle	40.2	(66)	38.3	(23)	44.6	(214)	1.53
Use position of authority ^d	15.2	(25)	20.0	(12)	17.5	(84)	0.80
Threat or use physical force	36.0	(59)	38.3	(23)	40.2	(193)	0.94
Illegal Attempted Penetration ^e	45.1	(74)	48.3	(29)	56.5	(271)	6.91*
Threat or use physical force	36.0	(59)	35.0	(21)	38.1	(183)	0.40
Alcohol/drugs	23.8	(39)	40.0	(24)	44.8	(215)	22.59***
Illegal Completed Penetration ^f	54.3	(89)	53.3	(32)	59.6	(286)	1.96
Use position of authority ^d	12.2	(20)	16.7	(10)	14.4	(69)	0.85
Alcohol/drugs	35.4	(58)	41.7	(25)	48.1	(231)	8.29*
Threat or use physical force	38.4	(63)	41.7	(25)	39.4	(189)	0.20
Identified an Experience as "Rape" ^g	50.0	(82)	43.3	(26)	49.6	(238)	0.90
Raped	50.6	(83)	43.3	(26)	49.4	(237)	0.96
Gang Raped	10.4	(17)	8.3	(5)	9.0	(43)	0.35

^aIn order to not over-report substance addiction, all missing data were recorded as zeroes regarding whether the respondents "reported" a substance addiction. ^bWomen indicated whether they had a drug or a drug and alcohol problem. These two responses were coded as having a drug history. ^cAll bold-faced violations include the total for women reporting 1 or more of the violations listed beneath the bold-faced items. Legal coercion refers to largely legal behaviors used to obtain sex acts or sex play. ^d"Authority" was exemplified as boss, teacher, camp counselor, and supervisor.

^eUncompleted illegal attempts to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^fIllegal completed penetration via oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^gRespondent indicated if they had an experience which they defined as "rape" or "gang rape." Previous items did not use the word "rape." All respondents who reported being "gang raped" also reported being "raped."

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 6: Relationships between Race/Ethnicity and SES Violations (N = 704)

<u>Type of Violation</u>	<u>Race/Ethnicity^a</u>						
	<u>White</u>		<u>African American/Black</u>		<u>Other Women of Color^b</u>		
	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>Significance Test</u>
Legal Coercion^c	74.1	(337)	64.6	(126)	74.1	(40)	6.17*
Misinterpret level sexual intimacy	55.3	(251)	46.9	(91)	51.9	(28)	3.85
Useless to try stop	53.0	(241)	44.1	(86)	51.9	(28)	4.34
Threaten to end relationship	36.9	(168)	24.1	(47)	24.1	(13)	12.09**
Said things didn’t mean	54.3	(247)	49.7	(97)	51.9	(28)	1.15
Verbal pressure to kiss-fondle	49.2	(224)	41.5	(81)	48.1	(26)	3.27
Verbal pressure to penetrate	47.9	(218)	35.4	(69)	40.7	(22)	8.93*
Illegal Kiss, Pet, Fondle	45.9	(209)	37.9	(74)	37.0	(20)	4.41
Use position of authority ^d	19.1	(87)	13.3	(26)	14.8	(8)	3.44
Threat or use physical force	42.2	(192)	34.4	(67)	29.6	(16)	5.71
Illegal Attempted Penetration^e	57.4	(261)	44.1	(86)	50.0	(27)	9.87**
Threat or use physical force	40.4	(184)	31.8	(62)	31.5	(17)	5.22
Alcohol/drugs	43.3	(197)	31.8	(62)	37.0	(20)	7.71*
Illegal Completed Penetration^f	61.5	(280)	50.3	(98)	53.7	(29)	7.53*
Use position of authority ^d	14.9	(68)	12.8	(25)	11.1	(6)	0.93
Alcohol/drugs	48.1	(219)	38.5	(75)	38.9	(21)	5.97*
Threat or use physical force	43.7	(199)	31.3	(61)	31.5	(17)	10.39**
Identified an Experience as “Rape”^g	51.9	(236)	44.1	(86)	44.4	(24)	3.81
Raped	52.1	(237)	43.6	(85)	44.4	(24)	4.46
Gang Raped	9.2	(42)	9.7	(19)	7.4	(4)	0.28

^aThis bivariate analysis does not include women whose race/ethnicity was missing on the demographic form. ^bOne Asian American woman was excluded from this bivariate analysis, as she was the only one to report that race/ethnicity. ^cViolations indicated in bold include the total of women who reported 1 or more of the violations subcategorized under each bold-faced violation. Legal coercion refers to largely legal behaviors used to obtain sex play or sex acts. ^d"Authority" was exemplified as boss, teacher, camp counselor, and supervisor. ^eUncompleted illegal attempts to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^fIllegal completed penetration via oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis.

^gRespondent indicated if they had an experience which they defined as "rape" or "gang rape." Previous items did not use the word "rape." All respondents who reported being "gang raped" also reported being "raped."

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Table 7: Comparison of SES Frequencies from Original Study and the Current Study (N = 1125)

Type of Violation	Reported this Violation ^a				Significance Test
	Current Study		2008 Study		
	(N = 734)		(N = 391)		
	%	(n)	%	(n)	
Legal Coercion ^b	71.8	(527)	71.6	(280)	0.00
Misinterpret level sexual intimacy	53.3	(391)	55.2	(216)	0.40
Useless to try stop	50.0	(367)	52.9	(207)	0.88
Threaten to end relationship	32.6	(239)	33.0	(129)	0.02
Said things didn't mean	53.4	(392)	53.2	(208)	0.00
Verbal pressure to kiss-fondle	46.7	(343)	47.1	(184)	0.01
Verbal pressure to penetrate	43.5	(319)	44.5	(174)	0.11
Illegal Kiss, Pet, Fondle	42.8	(314)	55.8	(218)	17.23***
Use position of authority ^d	17.2	(126)	22.5	(88)	4.72*
Threat or use physical force	38.8	(285)	52.7	(206)	19.92***
Illegal Attempted Penetration ^c	53.0	(389)	43.5	(170)	9.25**
Threat or use physical force	37.2	(273)	41.4	(162)	1.93
Alcohol/drugs	39.1	(287)	38.9	(152)	0.01
Illegal Completed Penetration ^f	57.6	(423)	59.8	(234)	0.52
Use position of authority ^d	14.0	(103)	18.4	(72)	3.73
Alcohol/drugs	44.1	(324)	38.6	(151)	3.19
Threat or use physical force	39.4	(289)	49.1	(192)	9.87**
Identified an Experience as "Rape" ^g	48.6	(357)	54.5	(213)	3.48
Raped	48.6	(357)	54.5	(213)	3.48
Gang Raped	9.3	(68)	11.5	(45)	1.42

^aIn cases where data were missing, data were recorded as zeroes even if the respondents had "reported this violation" In order to ensure sexual violations were not over-reported.

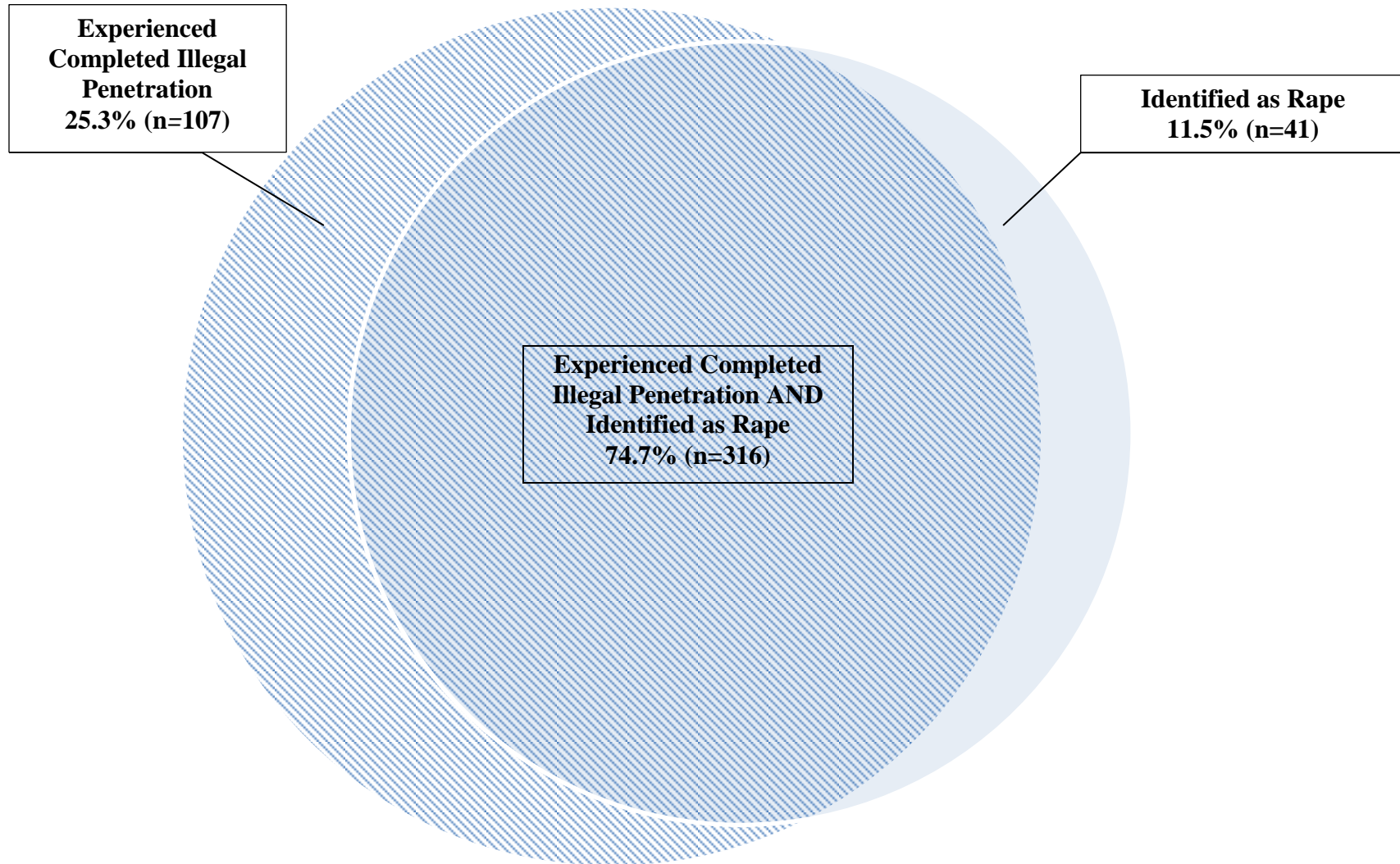
^bViolations indicated in bold include the total of women who reported 1 or more of the violations subcategorized under each bold-faced violation. Legal coercion refers to largely legal behaviors used to obtain sex play or sex acts. ^d"Authority" figures were exemplified as boss, teacher, camp counselor, and supervisor.

^cIllegal attempts to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^fIllegal penetration to obtain oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, and/or penetration by objects other than the penis. ^gRespondent indicated if they had an experience which they defined as "rape" or "gang rape." These are the only items in this survey that use the term "rape."

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

APPENDIX C:

Overlap between Experienced Completed Illegal Penetration and Identification of an Experience as “Rape”



APPENDIX D:
The Modified Sexual Experiences Survey (SES)

This survey will ask you to answer questions about your sexual experiences. Thinking about material of this nature often raises issues for the individuals involved, so that you may find it necessary to speak to someone after you have participated in this study. If you need to discuss this questionnaire, please see the name and number listed on the cover sheet.

REMEMBER your participation is voluntary; you may stop at any time and for any reason.

A. Questionnaire Definitions. For the purpose of this study:

SEX PLAY means: kissing, fondling, or petting

SEX ACTS means: oral sex, anal sex, vaginal intercourse, or penetration by objects other than the penis.

B. Questionnaire Item Parts. There are two parts to each questionnaire item:

Please answer each question by circling yes if you have had the experience:, or no if you have not had the experience. If yes, then answer both a and b for each item.

Part a. Please answer Part a. of each item by *circling the number of TIMES* each event has happened in your life. The same forms of sexual abuse are repeated for each person.

Part b. Answer Part b. of each item by circling if the person who abused you was Male, Female, or Male and Female, or both Male(s) & Female(s) if more than one person was involved in the act at the same time.

C. Questionnaire Items*:

1. Have you ever had someone misinterpret the level of sexual intimacy you desired? (Misinterpret level sexual intimacy)
2. Have you ever been in a situation where someone became so sexually aroused that you felt it was useless to stop that person, even though you did not want to engage in sexual activity? (Useless to try stop sex)
3. Have you ever engaged in sexual activity with someone even though you didn't want to because that person threatened to end your relationship? (Threaten to end relationship if no sex)
4. Have you ever found out that someone had gotten you to engage in sexual activity with them by saying things they didn't really mean? (Said things didn't mean to have sex)
5. Have you given in to SEX PLAY when you didn't want to because you were overwhelmed by someone's continual arguments and pressure? (Verbal pressure to kiss/pet/fondle)
6. Have you had SEX PLAY when you didn't want to because someone used his/her position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counselor, supervisor) to make you? (Use position of authority to kiss/pet/fondle)
7. Have you had SEX PLAY when you didn't want to because someone threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to make you? (Threat or use physical force to kiss/pet/fondle)
8. Have you had someone ATTEMPT A SEX ACT when you didn't want to because someone threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) but intercourse did not occur? (Threat of use physical force to attempt penetration)
9. Have you had someone ATTEMPT A SEX ACT when you didn't want to by giving you alcohol or drugs, but intercourse did not occur? (Used alcohol or drugs to attempt penetration)
10. Have you given in to a SEX: ACT when you didn't want to because you were overwhelmed by someone's continual arguments and pressure? (Penetration via verbal pressure)
11. Have you had SEX ACTS when you didn't want to because someone used his/her position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counselor, supervisor) to make you? (Use position of authority to penetrate)
12. Have you had SEX ACTS when you didn't want to because someone gave you alcohol or drugs? (Used alcohol or drugs to penetrate)
13. Have you had SEX ACTS when you didn't want to because someone threatened or used some

degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to make you? (Threat/use physical force to penetrate)

14. Have you ever been raped? (Rape)

15. Have you ever been gang raped? (Gang rape)

Under each question, Parts A and B read, as follows:

a. If yes, how many times have you had this experience? Please circle the number of times this experience has happened

0 1 2 3 4 5 6+

b. If yes, please circle one of the following:

Abuser(s): Male/Males Female/Females Male/Female Males & Females

* The words in brackets are the words used to identify the items in Table 2

The Demographic Data Form

Age:

- ☐ 18-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49
- ☐ 50+

Race/Ethnicity:

- ☐ White
- ☐ African America/Black
- ☐ Hispanic/Latina
- ☐ Asian/Asian-American
- ☐ American Indian/Native American
- ☐ Bi-racial/ Multi-racial

Marital Status:

- ☐ Single/Never Married
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced/Separated
- ☐ Widowed

Highest grade completed in school (before incarceration):

- ☐ did not complete high school
- ☐ high school/no college courses
- ☐ high school and at least some college

Employment before incarceration:

- ☐ legally employed
- ☐ illegally employed
- ☐ legally and illegally employed
- ☐ unemployed

Number of children:

- ☐ none
- ☐ 1-3
- ☐ 4 or more

Drug/Alcohol Addiction History:

- ☐ Alcohol
- ☐ Drugs
- ☐ Alcohol and Drugs