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An Exploratory Study of the Prevalence of Domestic Violence Related Criminal History and Gender Within a Sample of Inmates in Minnesota

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**An Exploratory Study of the Prevalence of Domestic Violence Related Criminal History
and Gender Within a Sample of Inmates in Minnesota**

by

Samantha Hackbarth

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine whether inmates who were incarcerated within the Minnesota Department of Corrections between January 1, 2014 and December 5, 2016 have domestic violence related criminal histories. Findings indicated that over 60 percent of the sample had a domestic violence related criminal history. Upon closer examination of the data by gender, a bivariate statistical analysis revealed that male inmates were significantly more likely to have a domestic violence related criminal history than their female counterparts. This research documents the notion that domestic violence related criminal histories are not uncommon within the incarcerated population in Minnesota, and specific policy and programming efforts should be explored to address the domestic violence related issues within the inmate population.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Problem Statement

Domestic violence has been occurring throughout the world for centuries, and was previously considered to be a family problem, and not one to be intervened by the community. Through statute changes and policy implications, domestic violence related laws and policies have increased in severity due to the significance of domestic violence and the number of people who experience this violence throughout the world. The criminalization of domestic violence became a necessity in order to protect the victims who experience violence at the hands of their intimate partners. According to Jeffrey Fagan (1996), in the 1960's, our society began to pay attention to the violence committed within families. What was historically a private family matter, this violence became an important target for legal intervention. The author discusses that social policy toward female victims began to change in the early 1970's. The author explains that the criminal justice system began to improve its legal responses to protect women, and punish offenders of domestic violence in order to correct the historical and legal disparities women faced. The criminal justice system started looking at criminal deterrence, and started focusing on the effects of violence against intimate partners. The author found that for many years, the response to domestic violence excluded legal intervention, and that law enforcement would consider domestic violence as a dispute and refer abusers to counseling. The criminal justice system wanted to increase the risks and punishments toward offenders who commit domestic violence by creating mandatory arrests for abusers, taking out the discretion held by law enforcement. Some deterrence methods the criminal justice system created included: criminal punishment through incarceration, batterer treatment programs, and restraining orders to protect victims of domestic violence. These deterrence methods were created in order to hold the abuser

accountable for their violent actions, and set an example that domestic violence will not be tolerated as it was in the past.

Prior arrests for domestic violence may serve as a risk factor for additional types of serious crime. Alter (2017) discovered that a previous history of domestic violence and/or current domestic or family violence was involved in 54 percent of mass shootings examined over a seven-year period. The author specifically focused on a recent mass shooting that occurred on November 7th, 2017 in Sutherland Springs, Texas. On the morning of November 7th, 2017, Devin Kelley walked into a church on a Sunday morning and killed 26 people and injured 20 others during a mass shooting. Kelley's background revealed that in 2012, Kelley was charged with domestic assault due to an incident that involved Kelley beating and choking his wife, threatening her with a firearm, and fracturing the skull of the victim's infant son. In a separate incident, mass murderer James Hodgkinson opened fire on a baseball game where multiple politicians were injured. An examination of his criminal history revealed that he was arrested in 2006 for hitting and choking his daughter. Mass murderer Omar Mateen who killed multiple people at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, also has a criminal history which includes domestic violence. Mateen had an extremely abusive relationship with his ex-wife, who self-reported that she experienced violence from Mateen for years previous to the mass shooting at the nightclub.

The above discussion suggests that perpetrators of mass murder and domestic violence may have some characteristics in common. Elements related to domestic violence such as power and control, violent rage, and aggressiveness are also characteristics of those who commit mass shootings. This finding does not suggest that the majority domestic violence perpetrators will eventually commit a mass murder, but merely suggests that many people who have committed

mass murders have also had allegations and convictions of domestic violence related crimes in their criminal history prior to the mass murder event (Higginbotham, 2017).

The connection between previous domestic violence criminal histories is not only found with the crime mass shootings, but also with other types of crime as well. Many of the same characteristics found in the crime of domestic violence can also be found in people who commit other crimes such as sexual assault, damage to property, murder, and theft (Fagan 1987). In order to understand why a person ends up committing a crime, a thorough examination of the different theoretical explanations of domestic violence and an examination into the criminal histories of criminals would help to determine if there are patterns that may lead to criminal behavior. The analysis of a population of incarcerated individuals can help greatly in understanding the backgrounds of people who have committed a crime. Studies show that due to the relationship between domestic violence and other forms of crime, many offenders will have criminal histories that include domestic violence incidents prior to their current incarceration.

What is Domestic Violence?

Domestic violence has been defined as:

A pattern of abusive behavior in any relationship that is used by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another intimate partner. Domestic violence can be physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions or threats of actions that influence the behavior of another person. (Department of Justice, 2017)

Minnesota has been known to be a world leader in combating and preventing domestic violence (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2012). In 1979, the Minnesota legislature passed the Domestic Abuse Act. According to Minnesota Statute 518B.01 (2017), domestic abuse is an act

committed against a family or household member by a family or household member. This act can include: the physical harm or assault of a family or household member; the infliction of fear of physical harm, injury, or assault against a family or household member; and terroristic threats, criminal sexual conduct, or interference with an emergency call against a family or household member. This statute also defines who is considered to be a victim of domestic violence in Minnesota. A victim of domestic violence may include: current, or former spouses; parents, and children; persons related by blood; persons who are currently residing together, or who have resided together previously; persons who have a child in common regardless of whether they have been married or have ever lived together; a man and woman if the woman is pregnant and the man is alleged to be the father, regardless of whether they have been married or have lived together at any time; and a person involved in a significant romantic or sexual relationship.

According to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2016), domestic violence is prevalent in all socioeconomic statuses, ages, sexual orientations, genders, religions, races, and nationalities. Every community is negatively impacted by domestic violence and its implications. The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women has created a list of potential risk factors to highlight the risk factors for perpetrators and victims of domestic violence. According to the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (2012), some risk factors include: witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child, substance abuse, limited economic opportunities, conflict and tension within an intimate partner relationship, male control over decision making and assets, societal acceptance of male domination and female subordination, lack of safe spaces for women, normalization of violence in the media and within the home, and lack of punishment for perpetrators of violence against women. As provided in the list by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the

Empowerment of Women, all of these potential risk factors could be found in all societies, and many of these risk factors could be an influence for becoming a perpetrator or victim of domestic violence. Even with the identification of these risk factors, it is not all inclusive and other factors could explain the prevalence of domestic violence.

Domestic violence has caused harm to several different victims on many different levels. At the individual level, the abuser may physically, emotionally, and/or psychologically harm the victim. This violence is often times committed in the home where young children witness this violence and can be physically, emotionally, psychologically, and sexually harmed by either having to watch this violence occur or being a victim themselves (Whitfield, Anda, Dube, and Felitti, 2003). When children are exposed to such violence it may harm them for the rest of their lives. According to the World Health Organization (2016), 1 in 3 women will experience domestic violence within their lifetime. With domestic violence being such a prevalent issue in our country today, there is a need for better criminal justice responses in order to help lower the large numbers of domestic abusers and domestic violence victims.

Theoretical Frameworks of Domestic Violence

Numerous theoretical frameworks have been developed which may be able to address the causes of the crime of domestic violence. This section will provide an overview of a couple of theoretical perspectives, which are specific to the crime of domestic violence.

Radical feminist theory. The radical feminist theory suggests that crime is a man's behavior and it is in their biological nature to be aggressive and dominant. As explained by Lanier, Henry, and Anastasia (2015), when a crime is committed, it is due to the innate need to express their control and dominance over others. Men commit crime for numerous reasons, but the most significant reason they engage in crime is to obtain dominance over women. Aggression

and dominance are seen as two forms of survival strategies for men that are used for the main purpose of oppressing females to be submissive. Due to aggression and dominance being considered survival strategies, it has become condoned behavior for men in society. In order to dominate a woman into subordination, the male will use multiple strategies such as psychological, economic, sexual, and physical abuse. According to Richard Amaral (2011), it is in human nature for women to be cooperative and nurturing, and for the males to be aggressive and competitive, making the subordination of women easy for men. The radical feminist theory of domestic violence has its roots based in the belief that men are superior to females and that subordination of females is the ultimate goal.

The power inequality of opposite-sex relationships suggested by the radical feminist theory provides the basis of the struggle women face in domestic violence. In relationships where domestic violence is prevalent, men believe that they are superior over women; that control and dominance over women is their right. A woman in this scenario is no longer seen as a human, but as property to reproduce and to sexually satisfy the male whenever desired. The root cause of domestic violence in our nation is due to the acceptability our society has given to men being aggressive, and women to be submissive and non-violent. Often, men will use abusive strategies to force women into staying with them. The use of power over money and children are two common strategies used by men who batter their partners. The woman cannot survive without the economic support, and often, the man is in control of all of the finances. Women will also tend to stay in abusive relationships longer if there are children involved. Women do not want to leave their children with the abusive partner. The batterer will use this to their advantage and hold control over children in order to continue the relationship.

Patriarchal theory. The patriarchal explanation of domestic violence as theorized by Russo and Pirlott (2006), presents a feminist perspective of gender-based violence against women. Due to our society accepting the male as the dominant role in the household, patriarchal dominance and control can explain the feeling of superiority and ownership men have over women. Many institutions such as, criminal justice, healthcare, academic, military, athletics, and religious institutions have reinforced the patriarchal values that support gender-based violence. This patriarchal reinforcement is created by society defining gender roles and expectations, male entitlement, sexual objectification of women, and discrepancies in power and status between males and females. Throughout history, society has defined an inequality between genders allowing a worldview in which women are subordinate.

In the patriarchal explanation of domestic violence, if a male feels as though they are not as powerful in a relationship as they should be, some men may use violence towards their partner as a way of gaining that power and control. There is a strong link between intimate partner violence and the male's controlling behaviors. The more control behaviors shown by a male, such as jealousy, accusations of infidelity, and limiting contact with family and friends, the more violence a woman will experience. In the patriarchal explanation of domestic violence, this cycle continues within the family due to the stigmatization and shamefulness the woman feels because of the violence and control. Many women in violent relationships will not disclose the violence they are experiencing to doctors or family and friends due to the shame they feel.

Control theory. Another theoretical view of domestic violence as explained by Hyde-Nolan and Juliao (2012), is the control theory, where an individual, typically a male, needs to obtain, and maintain the power and control within the relationship. The underlying motive for violence in this theory is the need to gain power and control over other members of the family.

The use of that power and control through violence, and threats of violence is used to gain compliance from other family members. Compliant family members will learn what the controlling family member requires of them, and will comply with the requests of the controlling family member in order to not experience the violence. The abuser uses many forms of intimidation in order to get a family member to comply. These can include: coercion, isolation, economic abuse, psychological abuse, and violence. This creates an environment where the victim learns to modify their behavior to what the abuser likes, slowly giving all of the control to the abuser.

Social learning theory. Hyde-Nolan and Juliao (2012) also provide an insight on a popular explanation of domestic violence, which is the social learning theory of domestic violence. This theory is multifaceted, as it explains violence as due to watching others commit violent acts towards their family members, and also, explains violence as caused by the social acceptability our society has given to men being violent. The social learning theory explains domestic violence as violence that is learned by individuals through observing, and imitating the social behaviors of others. The social learning theory suggests that individuals become aggressive toward family members because this behavior is being learned from observing from their role models, such as parents, grandparents, celebrities, and even through social acceptance of violence in media. Social learning theory strongly suggests that there is an intergenerational transmission of violence. This intergenerational transmission of violence suggests that as a young child grows, they will receive information from others about their behavior. If a young child grows up in a violent and abusive family household, that child may grow to exhibit those same behaviors of violence and aggression in their future relationships. Not every child that is raised in an abusive home will become abusive in their future relationships, but this predisposed

experience with violence provides a framework where violence is accepted. Another way violence is learned is through the social acceptability society has given violence, especially violence committed by men. Throughout history, society has accepted, and even praised men who are violent and aggressive. This social acceptability of violence has become imitation worthy for many boys and men, creating men who can become violent within their relationships.

Adverse childhood experiences. In a study conducted by Whitfield, Anda, Dube, and Felitti (2003), they look at violent childhood experiences, and the risk of partner violence as adults. The authors used data from the Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE) study in order to assess whether adverse experiences as a child impacted the risk of intimate partner violence as adults. Data from the second wave ACE study was used in this research as it collected more information regarding the risk of being a perpetrator or victim of intimate partner violence as an adult. The ACE study asked questions regarding physical and sexual abuse experienced as a child, witnessing domestic violence or a battered mother as a child, and questions regarding the risk of perpetrating or being a victim of domestic violence as an adult. The authors found that men were somewhat more likely than women to have been physically abused as a child, and women were more likely than men to have been sexually abused as a child. Women were also more likely to have experienced childhood exposure to domestic violence than men. For women who experienced sexual abuse and witnessed domestic violence in the home as a child, they were more likely to be at risk for becoming victims of intimate partner violence. The study also found that men who experienced physical abuse as a child were more likely to be a perpetrator of domestic violence. Overall, the authors found that people exposed to family aggression at a young age are at a substantially higher risk at becoming victims of intimate partner violence for women, and perpetrators of intimate partner violence for men. The authors found that the more

adverse childhood experiences a woman experienced, the more likely she would become a victim of intimate partner violence. This same relationship was found for men as related to becoming a perpetrator of intimate partner violence. The authors found that the adverse experiences a person faces as a child can truly impact their futures as adults. The authors suggest that if clinicians notice that child is experiencing traumatic situations within their home, it is important for them to offer effective treatment to assist in prevention.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the criminal histories of male and female inmates in order to explore the number of individuals who have been charged and/or convicted of domestic violence prior to their current incarceration. This study will also examine whether males are more likely to be incarcerated with a previous and/or current domestic violence related criminal history. Very little research has been conducted on the domestic violence histories of incarcerated individuals, and this research will raise awareness of this topic while allowing for a stronger understanding of the criminal histories of incarcerated populations. With a better understanding of the incarcerated population, programming can be provided that addresses the specific needs of the inmates.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

With the impact domestic violence has had on communities throughout the world, researchers have utilized more resources into examining the extent and impact domestic violence has on families. A literature review will be conducted on two different literary areas in order to understand the totality of the domestic violence problem. 1) The prevalence of domestic violence will be analyzed to research whether domestic violence is truly a problem throughout the world. 2) The connection between the crime of domestic violence and other crime will be analyzed to reveal if the crime of domestic violence and other crimes are linked. Many of these studies are conducted from previous surveys and not on a currently incarcerated population. By conducting more research on our incarcerated populations, we can fill a gap by more analysis on their criminal histories, and their risk factors. This will help us so that we can better understand our incarcerated populations, and provide more rehabilitation and programming while the offender is still incarcerated.

Prevalence Studies

Prevalence of domestic violence throughout the world. Alhabib, Nur, and Jones (2009) reviewed numerous prevalence studies from around the world that focused on the significance of domestic violence in several countries. The data included within this study consisted of prevalence articles that were retrieved via searches of six databases from the period of 1995 through 2006, which resulted in 134 studies for inclusion. From the 134 studies included, the authors recorded prevalence estimates of domestic violence and the type of violence that was reported. The authors found that Japanese Americans face the greatest lifetime prevalence of physical, sexual, and emotional violence, followed by South Americans and Europeans. They also found that the mean lifetime prevalence of physical violence was the highest in studies

conducted in the psychiatric and obstetrics/gynecology clinics. Their results suggest that domestic violence has no racial, ethnic, or socio-economic group barriers and that truly anyone can be affected by domestic violence. The authors noted one very important limitation that could have affected the outcomes of their study. Not every country defines violence, especially domestic violence the same way. Many Middle Eastern countries do not see violence towards women as criminal, but rather it is in their culture. This could affect the numbers due to Middle Eastern countries underrepresenting the actual number of victims of domestic violence. Even with this limitation, the prevalence of domestic violence throughout the world is significant. The findings in this study indicate that domestic violence is learned through traditions, as suggested by the social learning theory, and that behaviors are reinforced through generations. The authors concluded their article by suggesting that doctors in all areas of the world must recognize the needs of women who face this violence and explore potential preventative measures. Training should be provided to all on the significance of domestic violence and the harmful effects this violence has on women.

Watts and Zimmerman (2002) examined violence experienced by women from a global perspective by assessing the most common and severe form of violence against women is violence committed by their husband or an intimate partner. They discussed the notion that domestic violence is often due to sex inequality and the unequal balance of power. This notion fits with the patriarchal explanation of domestic violence, explaining the violence as an imbalance of power among males and females in the home. Violence committed by intimate partners is often times used to enforce a man's position in the home and to gain subordination from the woman. Common forms of violence used by an intimate partner include physical, sexual, and emotionally abusive behaviors. The authors found that up to 52 percent of women

from around the world have reported physical violence by an intimate partner in the previous year. When examining violence such as rape and sexual coercion, the authors found that most forced sex is perpetrated by someone the victim knows such as an intimate partner. With this violence typically perpetrated by an intimate partner, many health concerns and consequences are possible. The authors suggest that prevention and intervention are necessary in order to help women experiencing violence and that the healthcare sector needs to have involvement in the prevention of further violence against women.

Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, and Watts (2005) reviewed the prevalence and health outcomes of domestic violence against women from multiple countries. This study analyzed data collected from over 24,000 women in 10 different countries on prevalence, negative health outcomes, and strategies and services that women could use in order to handle the violence they experienced from their intimate partners. Data was collected through surveys conducted by female interviewers that were trained in ethical and safety guidelines. The authors found that violence against women by an intimate partner is widespread throughout the world. On average, countries reported between 23 percent and 49 percent of women experience domestic violence by an intimate partner. Women that experienced physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner was between 30 percent and 60 percent on average. With the physical and sexual violence involved in the domestic violence, many negative health outcomes affected the victims of domestic violence. The authors found that women who have experienced domestic violence were significantly more likely to report poor or very poor health. Victims of domestic violence were also reported to have significantly higher levels of emotional distress and thoughts of suicide. With the number of females that experience domestic violence throughout the world and the negative health outcomes that violence can have on a victim, the authors provided some

recommendations in order to help women suffering from domestic violence by their intimate partners. This study is aligned with the findings of the radical feminist theory, where victims of domestic violence are women, and that is due to the innate need for men to be aggressive and dominant over women. The authors suggest that as a nation, we should promote more primary prevention methods so that this will not happen to more women. This includes education and programming in order to help those currently in violent relationships as well as educating young children about the importance of safety. The authors also suggest that we should strengthen the health sectors response to domestic violence by providing education to healthcare providers and support services to women who do report the violence to the health sector. A final suggestion made by the authors included the education and training to the criminal justice system so that the different needs that victims of domestic violence can be fully understood.

Prevalence of domestic violence in the United States. Wilt and Olson (1996) reviewed existing academic literature specific to domestic violence in an effort to provide a better estimate of the actual prevalence of domestic violence in the United States. Studies reviewed included samples of pregnant women and women treated in emergency rooms. The effects of age, marital status, socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity, and alcohol and drug use were also included to examine the prevalence of domestic violence. This research found that 9 percent of women in the general population have experienced severe domestic violence at some time in their life and that at least 30 percent of women have experienced any type of domestic violence. When looking specifically at the prevalence of domestic violence in pregnant women, the authors found that pregnant women were no more likely to experience domestic violence than the general population. With the inconsistencies and differences in definitions of what domestic violence is, studies have provided a range from 11 percent to 54 percent of lifetime prevalence of domestic

violence in women who come to emergency rooms. When looking at demographic differences, the authors found that domestic violence is more common in young adults than older, women who are separated or divorced are more likely to have experienced domestic violence, couples of lower socioeconomic status are found to have more domestic violence incidents, and domestic violence is prevalent amongst all races and ethnicities. Even with some mixed results from the different studies, they found that the prevalence of domestic violence among intimate partners in the United States is quite high. Because a significant number of women are victimized by domestic violence each year, the authors suggest that routine questioning at emergency rooms and other healthcare settings should be provided to all patients where domestic violence could be an issue and a full range of medical and social services should be offered to the victims.

Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) provided specific findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey provided to a representative sample of 16,000 males and females throughout the United States. This survey is conducted through telephone interviews with males and females about their experiences with intimate partner violence. The survey inquired about the subject's experiences as victims of many forms of violence, including rape, physical assault, and stalking by their current or previous intimate partners. The authors of this research report also summarized the results based on factors such as gender and racial differences. Tjaden and Thoennes found through the survey results that intimate partner violence is truly pervasive in the United States. They found that nearly 25 percent of women and 7.6 percent of men said they were raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former intimate partner. According to these results found by the survey, nearly 1.5 million women and 825,000 men are raped and/or physically assaulted annually in the United States. Stalking by current or former intimate partners is also prevalent throughout the United States. It was found that almost 5 percent of

women and 0.6 percent of men reported being stalked. The authors also found that while many previous studies provide results showing that males and females are equally likely to be physically assaulted by an intimate partner, the findings provided within this survey shows that women are at a significantly greater risk of intimate partner violence than men. In addition to having a significantly greater risk of intimate partner violence, women also experience more chronic and injurious physical and emotional assaults than men. Even with the high number of intimate partner rapes and physical assaults, most are not reported to the police. The research found that approximately only 20 percent of rapes, 25 percent of physical assaults, and 50 percent of stalking incidents perpetrated against a female are reported. Those numbers are even less for male victims of intimate partner violence. These findings are consistent with other research showing that intimate partner violence is typically not reported due to the belief by the victims that the criminal justice system is not the correct method of stopping the violence.

Prevalence of domestic violence and its implications. In another research report based off of the findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey, Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) explored the prevalence and consequences of violence against women and what implications this violence may have. The National Violence Against Women Survey interviews men and women randomly through a digit dialing service from households with telephones throughout the entire United States. Approximately 16,000 men and women were surveyed about physical assaults they experienced as children by adult caretakers, the physical assault they experienced as adults by any type of assailant, and forcible rape and stalking they experienced at any time in their life by any type of perpetrator. Tjaden and Thoennes found through their analysis that victimization of men and women is widespread throughout the United States. Approximately 51.9 percent of women and 66.4 percent of men said that they were physically

assaulted as a child by a caretaker and/or as an adult by any type of attacker. The authors also found there is a relationship between being victimized as a child and then later being revictimized as an adult, as women who reported to have been raped before the age of 18 were twice as likely to report being raped again as an adult. This relationship was also true with physical assaults by an adult caretaker as a child. The researchers also found that an intimate partner is the one who primarily commits the violence committed against a woman. Sixty-four percent of women who reported being raped, physically assaulted, and/or stalked since the age of 18 were victimized by current or former intimate partners. The authors proposed some policy changes that may increase prevention and educate in intervention. The authors believe that America's medical community should be properly trained about identifying victimization and the medical needs of women who are raped and physically assaulted. Education to medical staff about who are primarily the perpetrators of violence against women is also necessary. This knowledge is important in identifying who is at risk for further victimization and what safety measures may need to be taken. Violence against women also needs to be treated and recognized as a significant social problem in the United States. The perpetrators of such criminal acts should be treated as such and criminal justice intervention is necessary.

Prevalence of domestic violence with an incarcerated population. In a study conducted by the United States Department of Justice (2005), the authors utilized data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities that was conducted in 1997. This survey included face-to-face interviews with State prisoners that included questions to obtain information on their victims, criminal histories, weapons used, and location of the offense. The authors found that of the nearly 500,000 males and females incarcerated in a State prison for a violent crime, 15 percent were there for a crime against a

family member. Almost half of the offenders currently incarcerated for a crime against a family member were serving a sentence for a sex offense against a family member. Of those offenders currently incarcerated for a crime against a family member, approximately 90 percent had injured their victims. Many of the victims were sexually assaulted or killed due to spousal abuse by the offender. The authors found that demographically, 93 percent of the offenders incarcerated for family violence were male and 78 percent of the victims were female. This finding is aligned with the radical feminist explanation of domestic violence, as the radical feminist theory suggests that males have an innate desire to dominate and be aggressive towards women. These alarming statistics only include offenders willing to disclose about their criminal histories and the current crime for their incarceration. The data does not include unreported violence against family members. This unreported violence against family members could drastically increase the total numbers of offenders incarcerated due to family violence and the number of victims that suffer from family violence. The authors found that vital information can be provided by front-line medical care such as emergency rooms and clinics where victims may be more willing to report such violence.

Domestic Violence and General Criminality Studies

Domestic violence and general deviance. Several studies have examined the relationship between domestic violence and general criminality. As explained previously, many mass murderers have significant domestic violence related criminal histories in their past. Through multiple studies, this connection has also been found with other types of crime. Norwood, Jouriles, McDonald, and Swank (2004) examined the connection between domestic violence and general deviance. The authors compiled data from the National Youth Survey that consisted of participants between the ages of 18 and 24 in the United States. Domestic violence

was defined as violence toward female partners that occurred one or more times in the year prior. Deviant behavior was defined as 44 different crimes ranging from minor crime to serious deviant behavior. Of the 176 married or cohabiting men from the sample, 38 percent reported engaging in domestic violence related behavior towards their female partner, and 75 percent reported engaging in one or more deviant acts. Results from the author's study indicate that 76 percent of men who had engaged in domestic violence also reported engaging in one or more other deviant acts concurrently. The authors also reanalyzed the study to redefine deviant behavior as two or more acts in the past year, but the pattern of the results did not change. The authors found that domestic violence and other deviant behavior were associated, regardless of the operationalization of deviance. The results of this study suggest that the relationship between domestic violence and general deviance may have important policy and procedure implications. The authors suggest that criminal interventions with a greater attention to the characteristics of domestic violence may help with the intervention of domestic violence crimes, as well as to help intervene with general deviance crimes.

Domestic violence linked to homicide of an intimate partner. Many studies have provided results showing that domestic violence assaults are correlated with intimate partner homicides. Block (2003) examined intimate partner homicides, and some indicators that signal potentially dangerous situations. Some of the indicators that Block examined includes: past violent incidents, timing of past violence, and type and severity of the violence experienced by women. In a review of the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study, the author found that in a majority of intimate partner homicides, the female victim of the homicide had experienced violence by her partner in the past year. The author also found that in only 1 out of 5 women, this intimate partner homicide was the first experience with violence. This finding strengthens the

previous finding, that a majority, or in this study, 80 percent, experienced violence from their partners previously. The author also found that 40 percent of women were experiencing more frequent acts of violence from their partner prior to the intimate partner homicide in where the woman was fatally killed. The findings from this study best align with the findings of the control theory, as this theory explains domestic violence as a male trying to gain and maintain control over their intimate partner. When that control is lost, it can lead to significant consequences, such as homicide. The author suggests that since research provides evidence that homicide is linked to previous domestic violence acts, health practitioners and the criminal justice system should take victims seriously if they are reporting the crime. The domestic violence acts may be severe enough to where the victim believes their partner may end up killing them one day, and as the study shows, in 80 percent of intimate partner homicides, the victim has experienced domestic violence previously.

Domestic violence related to crime outside of the home. In a study conducted by Fagan and Wexler (1987), the authors reviewed previous research in order to examine the relationship between family violence within the home, and violent crime committed against strangers. Previous research studied violence within the home and violence on the streets as separate entities. The authors in this study wanted to examine street crime and domestic violence together in order to determine if there is a connection between the two types of crime. In this study, the authors looked at available research on two types of crimes committed by males; those violent crimes committed against their partners and those committed against strangers. The authors found through their analysis that 50 percent of men who were violent towards their partners had spent time in prison, and that 33 percent were incarcerated for violent crimes towards strangers. They also found that men that were violent towards their wives were twice as likely to be

arrested for serious crimes compared to their nonviolent counterparts. The authors also analyzed the connections found in men who commit violent crimes against strangers, and men who commit violent crimes against their wives. They found that men who are violent towards strangers, often times are young, poor, lack empathy, and lack personal skills. For men who are violent against their wives, the authors found that these men often times exhibited extreme jealousy, low self-esteem and a need for control. The findings from this study suggest that the violence is learned, as found in the social learning theory. This theory suggests that a person imitates behaviors, and can replicate these behaviors towards their intimate partners in the home. This study suggests that men who are violent towards their partners are also likely to be violent towards strangers, and that crime may not be confined to the home. This violence requires intervention to assess the low self-esteem and jealousy issues found in many men who are violent towards their wives, as well as, intervention for the lack of empathy, and lack of interpersonal skills found in men who are violent towards strangers.

Piquero, Brame, Fagan, and Moffitt (2006) looked at the criminal careers of domestic violence offenders to determine if these offenders also commit violent crimes outside of the home. The authors in this study look to determine the extent to which domestic violence offenders specialize in violence in and outside of the home. The authors used data from the Spouse Assault Replication Program (SARP) to examine the arrest history of the offender prior to the incident in which the offender was included in the SARP. The authors also used this data to obtain information from the victim through interviews provided in order to get a more detailed description of the nature of the violence. The authors found that approximately 54 percent of individuals who were included in the SARP for a violent offense against their partner also had a previous criminal history to include violent and nonviolent crimes. This research suggests that

not only are domestic violence offenders exhibiting violent crimes towards their partners in their home, but also this violence is also present outside of the home towards non-family members.

This study also reveals that a substantial number domestic violence abusers have participated in nonviolent forms of criminal behavior as well. This suggests that in order to intervene, specialized intervention programs must be in place in order to address all of the criminal behavior exhibited by a person.

As stated in many of the studies provided, domestic violence is truly a problem throughout the world and has impacted the lives of many. Domestic violence by an intimate partner has proven to negatively affect the lives of the victim, the families, and the community. Studies have also shown that there is a connection between domestic violence and general criminality, and that many people who are committing domestic violence acts are also committing non-person crimes, as well as crimes against strangers or acquaintances. With this large impact, it is important to conduct more research to identify those who commit domestic violence, and possible solutions to end this violence. Very little research has been conducted which explores the domestic violence related criminal histories of incarcerated populations. With domestic violence abusers being incarcerated, additional research in this area is necessary, as it is important to identify the risks and needs of inmates with domestic violence related criminal histories. This is important during a period of incarceration to assist with assessing programming needs, and for public safety implications, as these individuals return to their communities. By conducting additional research that focuses on incarcerated populations, prison administrators may be able to better identify the risks and needs of the incarcerated populations, and be better able to provide programming and resources to inmates that may reduce domestic violence related recidivism.

Research Question

Although a great amount of research has been conducted concerning the prevalence of domestic violence and the relationship between domestic violence and other types of crime, it is clear that additional research is needed in order to better understand the domestic violence related criminal histories of incarcerated populations. Further, it is also important to research whether there are significant gender differences regarding previous or current domestic violence related criminal histories. This study will examine the criminal histories of male and female inmates for the purpose of exploring the number of inmates who are currently incarcerated with domestic violence related criminal histories in Minnesota.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Statement

This study collected data on the criminal histories of males and females incarcerated in Minnesota prisons to explore and document how many inmates' criminal histories include domestic violence related offenses. By conducting this research, there will be a better understanding of the incarcerated population's risks and needs as it relates to domestic violence. As previous research has provided, domestic violence is correlated with other types of crime and has proven to be a prevalent issue throughout the world. This study aims to explore whether there are a significant number of inmates incarcerated in a Minnesota prison with a previous domestic violence related criminal history, and to assess whether there are significant gender differences regarding domestic violence related criminal histories. By better understanding an inmate's domestic violence related criminal histories, prison personnel and treatment providers may create goals and plans specific to the risks and needs the inmate's criminal histories present. With very little examination on incarcerated individuals and domestic violence, this study will help gain a better understanding of this understudied area, and help to create programming specific to the domestic violence related needs the inmate presents.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses guiding this study include:

1. A significant number of inmates within the Minnesota Department of Corrections will have a domestic violence related criminal history.
2. Male inmates are more likely to have a domestic violence related criminal history than females incarcerated within the Minnesota Department of Corrections.

Variables and Operational Definitions

Domestic Violence: Whether each subject has a criminal history which includes domestic violence, was operationalized as “yes (coded as 1)” or “no (coded as 0)”. A subject was considered to have a criminal history that includes domestic violence if one of the following conditions were met:

1) have a current and/or previous prison commit for a qualified domestic violence related offense, 2) if the subject has a charge of a qualified domestic violence that was ultimately dismissed, 3) a misdemeanor and/or gross misdemeanor conviction of a qualified domestic violence offense, and/or 4) is the respondent of a protection order. A subject is not considered to have a domestic violence related criminal history if there is no evidence in the subject’s criminal history of a domestic violence related offense.

Gender: Gender was operationalized as whether each research subject is male or female. Female was coded as “1” and male was coded as “2”.

Research Design

Sample. The sample for the current study was comprised of all male and female inmates committed to any Minnesota Department of Corrections prison facility between January 1, 2014, and December 5, 2016, with a new prison obligation. The data of this study included 5,310 total inmates examined. Of those inmates, 485 (9%) were females and 4,825 (91%) were males. The county of sentencing was also collected with the data, which revealed that 1,904 (36%) of the inmates had committed their offenses in Ramsey and Hennepin counties. This data did not capture average age or race, but according to the Minnesota Department of Corrections (2014), on January 1, 2014, the average age of their inmates was 36.4 and the inmate population on that date included 53 percent white and 34 percent black.

Data collection and analysis. Data that was collected included offender identification number, name, gender, current offense description, county of sentence, and release date. This information was obtained from the Minnesota Department of Corrections through a query system of their computerized offender management system. Individuals committed to the Minnesota Department of Corrections between January 1, 2014, and December 5, 2016, were included in this query. Criminal justice databases such as the Minnesota Public Criminal History website, the Minnesota Trial Court Public Access website, MNCIS Odyssey Assistant, and criminal complaints was used to record whether each inmate had a criminal history which included domestic violence.

A univariate analysis was conducted to examine the number and percentage of incarcerated inmates with a domestic violence related criminal history. A chi-square analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between gender and domestic violence and whether there is a relationship between gender and domestic violence related criminal histories of the inmates.

Chapter 4: Results

Findings

The hypotheses for this study were supported by the data. Hypothesis 1) a significant number of inmates within the Minnesota Department of Corrections will have a domestic violence related criminal history. In total, the domestic violence audit was completed on 5,310 male and female inmates incarcerated in a Minnesota prison from January 1, 2014, through December 5, 2016, with a new prison commit. Of the 5,310 offenders audited, 3,298 (62%) were either currently incarcerated for a domestic violence related offense or were incarcerated with a domestic violence related criminal history prior to their current incarceration. 2,012 (38%) were incarcerated with no known domestic violence history (See Figure 1).

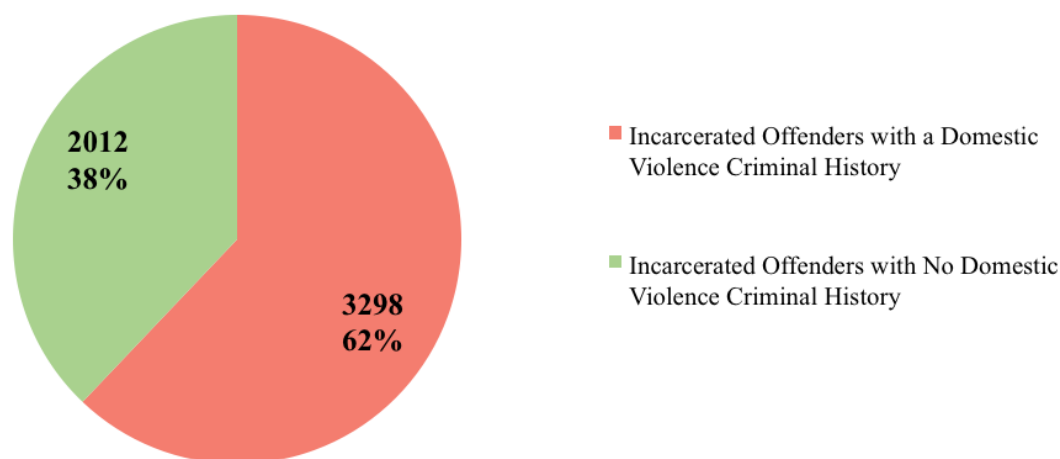


Figure 1: Incarcerated inmates between January 1, 2014 and December 5, 2016, with a new prison commit and a domestic violence related criminal history

When further analyzing the data, a breakdown of the 3,298 (62%) of inmates with a domestic violence related criminal history revealed that 1,171 (22%) were currently incarcerated with an active qualified domestic violence related offense obligation, 235 (4%) were incarcerated

for an offense not related to domestic violence, but had a prior incarceration for a qualified domestic violence related offense obligation, and 1,892 (36%) were incarcerated for an offense not related to domestic violence, but had a known domestic violence history (See Figure 2).

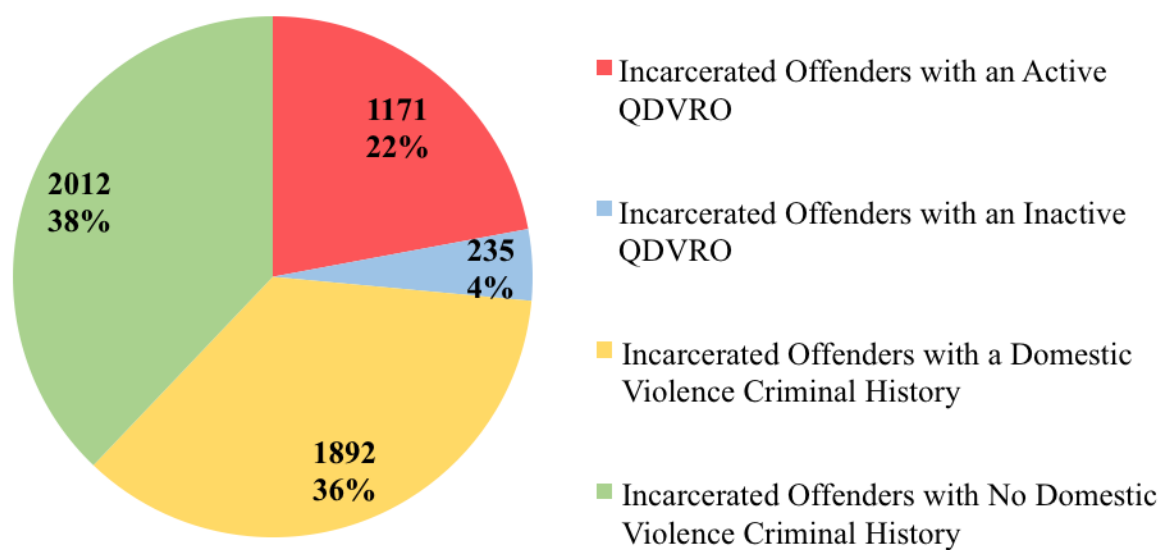


Figure 2: Incarcerated inmates between January 1, 2014 and December 5, 2016, with a new prison commit and a domestic violence related criminal history. This figure includes a specific breakdown of the incarcerated population.

The second hypothesis was also supported by the data. Hypothesis 2) male inmates are more likely to have a domestic violence related criminal history than females incarcerated within the Minnesota Department of Corrections. This hypothesis was also supported by the data, as significantly more male inmates had a domestic violence related criminal history as compared to female inmates. Results indicated that male inmates accounted for 4,825 (91%) of the population and females accounted for 485 (9%) of the population. A chi-square goodness of fit test showed that the number of male inmates $n= 3,083$ (64%), was significantly greater than female inmates $n= 215$ (44%), $X^2(1, N= 5,310) = 71.694, p < .0005$ (See Appendix A).

Limitations

Although this study reached its aims, some limitations of this study should be noted. As this study includes inmates incarcerated in Minnesota from January 1st, 2014, through December 5th, 2016, the results of this study are not generalizable to inmates incarcerated prior to or following this date. Further, this study only includes a portion of the incarcerated population, in total, 5,310 inmates were included in this study. With a small sample size, it can be difficult to ensure that these results are representative of the incarcerated population. Future research of this area could include the entire incarcerated population, which would allow the results to be generalizable to the entire incarcerated population. Another limitation of this study is that this research only accounts for domestic violence related criminal history offenses that were committed in Minnesota. The databases utilized in this research only accounted for Minnesota charges and convictions, so inmates could have criminal histories from another state that include domestic violence, but would not have been included in this data. This study also does not account for those offenders who engaged in domestic violence and were not arrested. This limitation suggests that the actual number of incarcerated offenders with domestic violence related criminal histories could be greater than the findings from this study suggest.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This research found that more than 60 percent of the Minnesota prison population examined during the time frame of this study had a criminal history which included previous official criminal charges and/or convictions for domestic violence. This finding suggests that efforts should be taken in order to address domestic violence. These efforts can include: offender programming specifically developed for domestic abusers, and more victim safety measures. By providing offender programming to domestic abusers in prison, it can help rehabilitate offenders so that in the future, fewer offenders will be incarcerated for domestic violence, and the number of domestic violence victims will decrease (Babcock and Steiner, 1999). Studies have shown that just incarceration alone, will not help the offender rehabilitate and no longer victimize their partners (Babcock and Steiner, 1999). Programming within the prison which extends to the community following the incarceration is vital to the successful rehabilitation of an abuser (Bennett et. al, 2007).

Consistent with existing research, this study also found that more men were charged and/or convicted for domestic violence prior to their most recent incarceration as compared to women. This finding is not new, as many studies have stated that women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence rather than perpetrators. With that said, this research did find that 44 percent of women who were incarcerated did have a criminal history that included domestic violence. Covington and Bloom (2006) suggest that women who commit domestic violence commit that crime for different reasons than males do, and suggest that domestic violence programming should be gender-specific in order to address the different risks and needs that males and females present. The authors suggest that a domestic violence program for women may include therapy related to why the woman committed the crime of domestic violence, and

more victim trauma related education, as many women are victims of domestic violence. When women are previous victims of domestic violence, many of these victims have experienced sexual abuse from their partners. When a woman experiences sexual abuse by a partner, trauma-informed therapy specific to sexual abuse is necessary. Studies have suggested that women are typically victims of domestic violence, but women can also be perpetrators of domestic violence. When providing programming for women, it is important to address the underlying issues related to why she committed the crime of domestic violence. The Duluth Model (2018) suggests that programming for men must be different from programming for women in that it must identify some of the gender specific differences. A male domestic violence program may include education about power and control, parenting classes, and addressing any substance abuse. The male role in domestic violence has been explained as one rooted in manipulation and power and control of another person. Men's programming must include specific work to address the innate need of power and control.

Policy and Procedure Implications

In effort to help protect victims of domestic violence and provide the programming offenders need in prison, a few policy and procedure implications are suggested:

A consistent and cohesive batterer's intervention program within our prisons and in the community are essential. When a batterer's intervention program is provided to offenders in the community, it has proven to successfully help change the mentality of the offender. Bennett, Stoops, Call, and Flett (2007), examined the effects of batterer intervention program completion by domestic abusers and re-arrest rates. The authors found that the average elapsed time between batterer program intake and recidivism was 2.4 years. When looking at re-arrest for those who completed batterer's intervention programming and those who did not, 14.3 percent of

completers and 34.7 percent of non-completers were re-arrested for domestic violence, suggesting that batterer intervention program completion reduces domestic violence related recidivism. Men who complete programming are less than half as likely to be arrested for a domestic violence related offense in the future compared to those who do not complete programming; even after controlling for differences in violence history, personality, demographics, and motivation. The findings from this study suggest that behaviors can be learned. If the domestic violence behaviors were previously engrained through social learning previously, re-teaching the inmates how to think about women and violence may help in rehabilitation. Though this procedure is needed, it is met with a significant barrier. Perpetrators need to be motivated for change instead of being forced into change. Motivation is key in order for an inmate to successfully complete programming, and lack of motivation is often cited as the reason for dropouts, failure to comply, and re-offense (Stewart and Picheca, 2001). A suggestion to this is to allow inmates to decide if they want to be involved in the programming. This may help with the overall buy-in to the program from the offender, if they choose to do the programming rather than being forced. Inmates motivation comes from the belief that they can successfully change and that their future behavior is dependent on their actions and completion of programming now (Stewart and Picheca, 2001).

Studies suggest that incarceration for domestic abusers without domestic violence programming does not work to address the primary reasons for which domestic violence occurred. Researchers have found that incarceration paired with domestic violence programming is essential to reducing this crime. In a study that examined the relationship between incarceration, treatment, and recidivism of battering, Babcock and Steiner (1999), studied 400 men who were convicted of committing a domestic violence related offense. All of the 400 men

were court-mandated into one of three groups. The first group was a domestic violence group treatment program, the second was a domestic violence group treatment program plus chemical dependency treatment, and third was incarceration without treatment. In order to measure the recidivism rates of each subject, the authors conducted a criminal history check after approximately two years after the initial arrest. The results revealed that incarceration without treatment was related to greater domestic violence related recidivism, however, completing a domestic violence treatment program resulted in statistically significant reductions in domestic violence related offenses in the future. By providing treatment within prison facilities, inmates may feel more obligated to complete the treatment, and this participation may contribute to future reductions in domestic violence.

When providing programming to men and women within the prison environment, it is important to provide gender-specific programming to address the unique risks and needs they possess. As the study has revealed, domestic violence related criminal histories are more prevalent in males than in females. This may be explained by theoretical paradigms suggesting that it is in a man's innate behavior to be dominant and aggressive. The Duluth Model (2018), a renowned domestic violence batterer's program, specifically provides programming to males while addressing the patterns men use to intentionally control and dominate their intimate partners. The Duluth Model also addresses the significant problem of societal acceptance of men using power and control to gain compliance from women. In order to address the specific needs of female offenders, Covington and Bloom (2006) state that three of the most critical issues in a woman's life are substance abuse, trauma, and mental health. Women's programming must include elements of rehabilitation for substance abuse, opportunities to improve on their current

mental health, promote connections with children and family, and address the significant trauma the woman has faced previous to her incarceration.

When an offender is released from prison, it is vital that release agents in the community and case managers in the prison work together in order to help protect the victim. Victim-centered release planning by prison staff and release agents will help to create a safety plan for the victim of domestic violence. Often times offenders will try to get revenge on their victims by contacting them once released, and potentially harassing the victim to take the offender back into the home. Prison staff and release agents can help relieve some of this by providing boundaries for the offender once he/she is released, not allowing contact with the victim of the domestic violence. The Ohio Family Violence Prevention Center (2010) states that it is important that a safety plan is in place for victim whether they decide to stay in the relationship or not. The information and resources provided in a safety plan can help in the future if the victim ultimately decides to leave their abuser. The Ohio Family Violence Prevention Center suggests that three strategies are created in situations where the victim may stay, need protection, or decides to leave. The protection strategies seek to prevent or respond to physical violence the victim is experiencing. These strategies can include, fleeing the abuser, having a third party intervention, self-defense, and/or temporary leaving the relationship. The staying strategies addresses issues and risks the victim experiences while she remains in the relationship. These strategies can include, joining support groups for victims of domestic violence, preserving the support system of the victim by keeping close with family and friends, and always trying to agree with the abusive partner in order to avoid more severe punishment. The final strategy is the leaving strategy, which responds to the risks the victim may experience one they decide to leave the relationship. These strategies can include getting a degree so that the victim is able to be

economically stable on their own, developing a stable financial plan, and obtaining legal system involvement if needed.

Another way to help victims is wrap-around safety planning with high-risk victims so that a safety plan is in place for when an offender is released into the community. Before an offender is released from prison, it is important for high-risk victims to get specialized safety planning in order to protect themselves from the offenders. With a safety plan in place, victims of domestic violence can have a plan for worst-case scenarios. The Ohio Family Violence Prevention Center (2010) states that some victims that may be considered high-risk or in need of specialized safety planning include, victims with children, refugee and immigrant women, victims with physical and mental disabilities, and teen victims. All of these victims are especially vulnerable to being abused by an intimate partner. Each one of these victims present a specialized safety concerns when creating a safety plan. It is important when creating the safety plan to know which resources the victims can fully utilize in order to get the specialized help they may need. Both victim-centered release planning and wrap-around safety planning are necessary in order to help keep the victim safe from abuse by the perpetrator, but many times, the resources required to conduct these policy and procedure changes are not available. Resources are scarce, especially for victims, and in order to have successful victim-centered release planning and safety planning for victims, personnel from the prison and the community need to come together. This can prove to be difficult when there is not enough personnel or community resources and advocacy programs available for victims.

As well as providing resources for victims of domestic abuse, resources should be offered to inmates as they reintegrate into the community. Some suggestions include, community programming to continually address the core issue of the domestic violence, therapy and/or

programming to help teach better coping skills, and resources to help the inmate find housing, education, and employment. Even though these resources are a necessity in order for successful reintegration into the community, many inmates are not put into contact with the correct resources, or there are not enough resources available for the inmate upon release. This barrier is severe, as it can greatly impact the future of the inmate. The Leadership Conference (2017) conducted a study that analyzed a population of 262,000 inmates that were being released from prison. This study suggested that when inmates are released from prison and cannot obtain stable employment, 50 percent will commit a new crime or violate the terms of their probation or parole, and be sent back to prison. The study also found that 40 percent of inmates have not graduated or obtained a high school degree, and will struggle to gain that education once in the community. In order to be successful in the community, inmates must receive the proper resources in order to address the needs as the inmate is re-entering the community.

Training should be provided to health care professionals and the criminal justice system in order to fully understand the extent of domestic violence. Health care professionals can better identify a woman coming to the doctor's office due to domestic violence related injuries. Services and safety planning can then be provided to the victim so that the victim has the resources needed if she decides to leave her abusive partner. According to Kalra, Tanna, and Garcia-Moreno (2017), healthcare providers are a first point of contact for many victims of intimate partner violence. The healthcare provider may be the only person the victim feels comfortable talking to about the abuse they are experiencing at home. By being able to identify and provide care for women who are victims of domestic violence, healthcare providers can help in the reduction of violence experienced by the victim. Healthcare providers can also play an important role in collecting the necessary evidence for legal action against the perpetrator.

Future Research

The findings from this study suggest that further research is needed in order to better understand domestic violence related criminal histories among inmates. Because this study only analyzed a select sample of incarcerated individuals within Minnesota, further research in this area should include larger samples from the Minnesota Department of Corrections population, as well as, additional jurisdictions. Future research should also include additional demographics and social factors to examine the prevalence of domestic violence by race, age, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. This would allow to specifically focus on certain risks and needs each population has through specialized programming. This study did analyze the prevalence of domestic violence by gender in order to examine whether there was a significant difference between men and women, but further research could complete a comprehensive examination into the gender differences, and look at the relationship of the inmate to their victim. This would provide insight into who is the victim of the domestic violence related offenses. This examination is important because someone who is violent toward their intimate partner is going to require different programming as compared to someone who is violent towards their young child. Also, future research could specifically look at the female populations who have a domestic violence related offenses, and analyze the situation as to why the female was charged and/or convicted of domestic violence. Analysis of the complaint could provide information on whether the female was defending herself in a domestic violence situation or if she was the perpetrator of the violence herself. This examination could provide a better understanding of why females commit domestic violence, and if that violence was used to defend herself against a male perpetrator or if the female was using violence as a coping mechanism. As found by the authors of the Adverse Childhood Experiences study, some victims of domestic violence may use

violence as a way of dealing with their future problems, as they may not know how to properly work through the problems they face (Whitfield et al, 2003).

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Appendix: Chi-Square Output

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Gender * Offense Description	5310	100.0%	0	0.0%	5310	100.0%

Gender * Offense Description Crosstabulation

			Offense Description		Total
			0	1	
Gender	1	Count	270	215	485
		% within Gender	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%
		% within Offense Description	13.4%	6.5%	9.1%
		% of Total	5.1%	4.0%	9.1%
2	Count	1742	3083	4825	
	% within Gender	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%	
	% within Offense Description	86.6%	93.5%	90.9%	
	% of Total	32.8%	58.1%	90.9%	
Total	Count	2012	3298	5310	
	% within Gender	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%	
	% within Offense Description	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	71.694 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	70.865	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	69.336	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	71.680	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	5310				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 183.77.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.116	.000
	Cramer's V	.116	.000
N of Valid Cases		5310	