

**Self-Rated Health
of French Prison Inmates:
Measurement and Comparison
with Other Health Indicators**

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ABSTRACT

Studies conducted abroad have shown that the proportion of prison inmates reporting poor health is high, but little is known about the situation in French prisons. In this paper, data are taken from the 2001 French survey on disabilities in prisons (HID-prisons survey). We measure the prevalence of less-than-good self-rated health (SRH) in the French prison population, and we compare the inmates' self-rating with two other health indicators available in the survey: health-related difficulties and limitations in everyday life.

In line with the literature, we find that 36% of French inmates rate their health as less-than-good; 87% of these inmates have at least one health-related difficulty, and 56% are limited in their everyday life. Only 5 % of inmates report less-than-good health and no health-related difficulty, while almost two in five inmates report (very)good health and a difficulty/limitation. Our findings suggest that SRH and the two other indicators under study capture different aspects of inmates' health. In addition, we find that several individual characteristics others than health status (age, level of education, place of birth and time spent behind bars) play a role in the self-rating of health.

The high prevalence of less-than-good SRH in the French prison population highlights the need for appropriate measures to improve prisoners' health. We argue in favour of the use of SRH as a routine measure of prisoners' health.

Compared with the general population, higher rates of mental and physical problems have been consistently described among prison inmates (Fazel&Danesh, 2002; Fazel et al., 2004; Brugha et al., 2005; Désesquelles, 2005a; Binswanger et al., 2009; Wilper et al., 2009). Two explanations for the link between health and incarceration are commonly put forward (Schnittker&John, 2007; Binswangler et al., 2009; Douglas et al., 2009). First, a disproportionate number of incoming prisoners are in poor health or are at high risk of health deterioration. Both the low socioeconomic status of many inmates (Kensey et al., 2000) and the link between illegal and health-damaging behaviours (e.g., drug use) contribute to this selection effect. Second, though it is often argued that incarceration may have some health benefits by providing access to treatment, the pathogenic nature of the poor living conditions in prison (confinement, exposure to communicable diseases, stress, etc.) has also been emphasized (Désesquelles, 2005a; Massoglia, 2008).

Until recently, little information was available on the health of French prisoners. In the last decade, the aging (Kensey, 2001) and overcrowding of the prison population, as well as the increasing number of suicides (Duthé et al., 2009), have prompted growing concern about the inmates' health (Mouquet, 2005; Coldefy, 2005; Désesquelles, 2005a; Falissard et al., 2006; Lukasiewicz et al., 2007). In this paper, based on the data of the 2001 French survey on disabilities in prisons ("*Handicap-Incapacités-Dépendance*" or HID-prisons survey) (Désesquelles, 2005b), our focus is on the self-rated health (SRH) of French inmates.

SRH is a complex construct that involves several dimensions. It is strongly related to mental and physical problems (Kaplan et al., 1996; Goldberg et al., 2001; Manor et al., 2001; Singh-Manoux et al., 2006; Désesquelles et al., 2009). However, depending on individual characteristics that determine norms and reference groups for comparison (age, sex, level of education, social and cultural background, etc.), the same health problems may be perceived differently (Krause&Jay, 1994; Baron-Epel&Kaplan, 2001). Psychosocial characteristics may

also influence the subjective appraisal of one's health (Tessler&Mechanic, 1978; Mechanic, 1986; Eriksson&Lindström, 2006). From that perspective, several potential consequences of the prison experience, such as reduced self-esteem, increased attention to bodily perceptions as well as intentional exaggeration of problems to achieve other goals, may contribute negatively to prisoners' self-assessment of health. But it has also been suggested that over-rating of one's health could be a way of maintaining a good self image (Beaurepaire, 1997; Gullone et al., 2000; Douglas et al., 2009).

Our premise is that the proportion of French inmates with less-than-good SRH is high, and that divergences between SRH and other health indicators are frequent. Our study follows a three-step plan. We begin with an evaluation of SRH in the French prison population. Then we evaluate the correlation between less-than-good SRH and two other health indicators available in the survey. Lastly, we examine how far other individual characteristics contribute to variations in the self-rating of health.

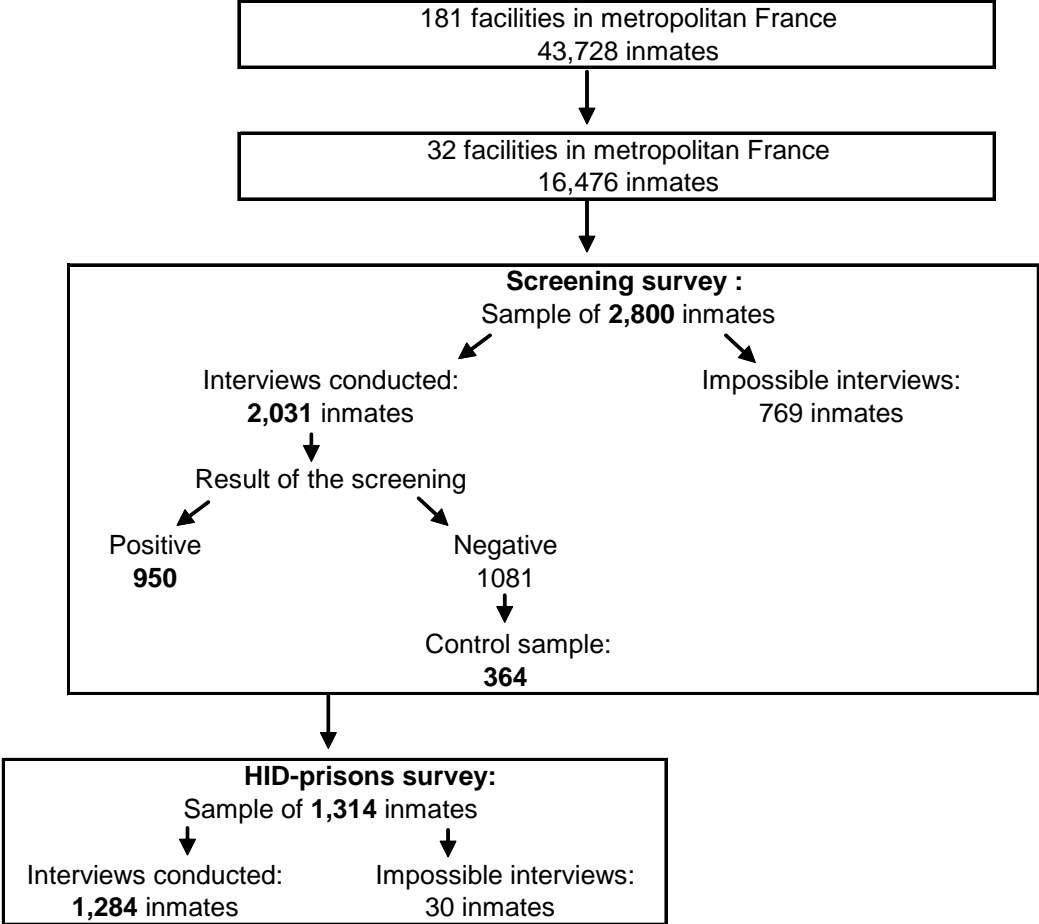
METHODS

Survey design

The HID-prisons survey uses a three-stage sample design (Chart 1). First, 25 remand prisons and 7 detention centres were randomly selected from among all prisons in metropolitan France. Remand prisons receive remand prisoners and convicted prisoners with less than one year to serve. Detention centres receive convicts serving terms of one year and over. A sample of 2,800 inmates was then drawn from the list of inmates of these 32 facilities using a random start point and a predetermined skip interval. Minors, prisoners on partial release as well as hospitalized inmates were excluded from the survey. All questionnaires were administered face-to-face by trained professional interviewers. Selected inmates were first invited to answer a short screening questionnaire on disabilities. Out of the 2,031 inmates who agreed to answer this questionnaire, 950 were found to have a disability, and labelled as "positive". An

additional 364 “negative” inmates were randomly selected and included in the sample in order to control for possible false negative cases. Out of this sample of 1,314 inmates, 1,284 agreed to answer the HID-prisons questionnaire. Normalized weights were computed to adjust for sampling design and non-response.

Chart 1: Survey design



The participation rate was 73% for the screening survey. The survey design included complementary data gathering to evaluate the extent of non-response bias. Physicians at all participating facilities were asked to assess the health of the 2,800 initially selected prisoners. This information, cross-checked against data on survey participation, showed that the physician-reported health of respondents and non-respondents did not differ significantly (Désesquelles, 2005b).

Measures

SRH is measured at the end of the HID-prisons questionnaire with the following question: “How do you assess your current health compared to that of others of your own age? Very good/good/average/fairly poor/very poor/cannot say”. Respondents who chose the “cannot say” item (13 inmates) were omitted from all analyses.

Unfortunately, the physician-reported health status cannot be cross-checked against the survey micro data. We compare the prisoners’ self-reported health with the responses given to two questions asked at the beginning of the interview, before a long section dedicated to topics unrelated to health:

- Health-related difficulties: “Do you experience any physical, sensory, intellectual or mental difficulties in your everyday life as a result of an accident, a chronic illness, a birth defect, an infirmity, old age, etc? Yes/ No”. Inmates who answered “yes” were asked about the nature of this difficulty. This information was post-coded into following categories: “motor”, “auditory”, “visual”, “speech”, “visceral/metabolic”, “intellectual/mental”, and “other/unknown”. For the purpose of this study, we created five exclusive categories that provide for the possibility of combined difficulties: “Motor and/or visceral/metabolic difficulty with Intellectual/mental difficulty”, “Motor and/or visceral/metabolic difficulty without Intellectual/mental difficulty”, Intellectual/mental and/or speech difficulty only”, “No difficulty”, “Other situation”. In this residual group, 67% of the inmates have sensorial (visual, auditory, speech) difficulties, and 49% have an intellectual/mental difficulty.
- Health-related limitation: “Because of health problems, are you limited in the activities you can do? Yes/ No”. All inmates reporting a limitation have at least one difficulty.

Other measured factors that may affect SRH include age (“18-29”, “30-49”, “50 and over”), gender, level of education (“no qualification”, “primary”, “lower secondary”, “upper/post-

secondary”) and birthplace (“France”, “Other European country”, “Other”). The effect of prison experience is measured by the length of current stay in prison. We created four categories (“less than 2 months”, “2 months to 2 years”, “2 to 5 years”, “at least 5 years”) that capture the whole spectrum of situations, from very short to much longer periods of imprisonment.

Statistical analysis

All analyses are conducted on the weighted sample of the 1,271 inmates who answered the SRH question. Proportions are compared using Chi-square tests. The correlation between SRH and the health-related difficulties/limitations is examined with a logistic regression model. SRH is collapsed into a dichotomous variable: the models test the probability of reporting less-than-good (i.e., average, fairly or very poor) vs. (very)good health. The sample size permits further investigation of the variations in the self-rating of health among: 1) inmates with a difficulty but no limitation and 2) inmates with both a difficulty and a limitation. We use polytomous regression models to test the probability of providing a self-assessment that is better or worse than the most frequent response to the SRH question. Since “good” is the most commonly used item among inmates with a difficulty but no limitation, models in that group (models A.1 and A.2) estimate the probability of reporting very good or less-than-good vs. good health. For inmates with both a difficulty and a limitation, models (models B.1 and B.2) estimate the probability of reporting (very)good or fairly/very poor vs. average health. With respect to covariates, we first introduce the type of difficulty then add the sociodemographic characteristics and the time spent behind bars.

RESULTS

Among French inmates, a total of 36% report less-than-good health, increasing from 27% at ages 18-29 to 49% at ages over 50 (table 1). However “good” is the most commonly used item, accounting for 44% of all responses. The prevalence of less-than-good SRH is significantly higher among inmates with a health-related difficulty (46% vs. 14%) and a limitation (67% vs. 22%). Figure 1 displays a synthetic view of the overlaps between these indicators. Only 5% of the inmates report less-than-good health and no health-related difficulty. A larger share (37%) report (very)good health and a difficulty or a limitation. For the rest of the prison population, less-than-good SRH is combined with at least one difficulty. In all, 87% of the inmates with less-than-good health have a difficulty, and 56% are limited.

Table 2 shows that all types of difficulties are significantly correlated with less-than-good SRH. Not surprisingly, the odds ratio is especially high for inmates combining intellectual/mental difficulties with motor and/or visceral/metabolic difficulties (OR: 13.0 – $p < 0.001$). When including the information on limitations (OR: 3.3 – $p < 0.001$), the goodness-of-fit of the model significantly improves but the model explains 18% of the inter-individuals variance only, suggesting that other factors influence the self-rating of health.

Tables 3 and 4 display the results of the polytomous regression models. When including the covariates, the goodness-of-fit of the models significantly improves. However none of the variables significantly impact the reporting of very good rather than good health among inmates with a difficulty but no limitation. The same holds true for fairly/very poor vs. average SRH among inmates with a limitation. In model A.2, type of difficulty, age, level of education and time spent behind bars significantly affect the self-rating of health. The more educated have higher odds of reporting good rather than less-than-good health. A similar effect is observed for age under 30 and for long durations of imprisonment (5 years or more). In model B.2, gender and level of education do not significantly contribute to differences in

SRH but the other individual characteristics do. All other things being equal, inmates born outside Europe are more likely to report average rather than (very)good SRH. A similar effect is observed for age over 50 and for durations of imprisonment of less than 2 years or more than 5 years (U-shape).

DISCUSSION

The prevalence of less-than-good SRH among the French inmates (36%) is consistent with the findings of other studies. According to the British survey of the physical health of prisoners (Bridgwood, 1995), 35% of inmates aged 18-49 reported less-than-good health. The 1999/2000 national survey on health in Irish prisons led to an estimate of 30% (Hannon et al., 2007). Data collected among incoming French prisoners (Mouquet, 2005; Coldefy, 2005) give a lower prevalence (25%) which is not comparable with ours, however (e.g., sample of incomers only, different response items, and evaluation made by physicians). Less-than-good SRH is much more frequent in prisons than in the French general population: the prevalence is 35% among prisoners aged 18-59 and 12% among non-incarcerated individuals of the same age and sex.

As expected, less-than-good SRH and health-related difficulties/limitations only partially overlap. We find that very few inmates with no reported difficulty rate their health negatively. The reverse situation is more frequent (almost two in five inmates). In all, we cannot be as categorical as Tessler (1978) who found no significant association in his sample of prisoners between having a health problem and SRH, but contrary to our study, his evaluation of health problems came from a physician's judgement. It should also be noted that other cut-offs of the SRH categories could be used to define "overlapping cases" (see figure1). For example, is the reporting of a difficulty but no limitation in contradiction with good SRH (this combination represents half of the potential cases of potential "over-rating")? The question on health-related difficulties is very broad, and we suspect that it accounts for very heterogeneous

situations. Conversely, not every health-related problem (e.g., symptoms like sleeping problems, unhealthy behaviours such as smoking) results in difficulties or limitations in everyday life. One firm conclusion is that SRH and the two other indicators capture different aspects of inmates' health.

Results of the polytomous regressions lead to similar conclusions. We find that several individual characteristics (age, level of education, country of birth and time spent behind bars) significantly impact the self-rating of health. Since the respondent's age group is explicitly mentioned in the SRH question, the age effect is rather unexpected. It may signal that the health of inmates over 50 is poorer than that of younger inmates in areas not accounted for by health-related difficulties/limitations. A similar interpretation can be made for the other significant variables. However, we cannot rule out that they exert a direct role on SRH, independently of health status. The effect of birth place possibly reflects cultural specificities in the appraisal of health. In the case of inmates incarcerated far from their home country, psychosocial distress resulting from family and social isolation could also play a role. Psychosocial factors are likely to be involved in the effect of time spent behind bars too. For short durations of imprisonment, stress resulting from incarceration and, for remand prisoners, uncertainty about the outcome of their trial, may increase sensitivity to symptoms and lead to a more negative self-perception of one's health. With respect to long durations of imprisonment, analyses performed among inmates with and without limitation produce diverging results. And indeed, the effect of increased time in prison is potentially bidirectional. On the one hand, it may be associated with reduced self-esteem, social isolation and lack of perspectives for the future. On the other hand, over time prisoners may adjust to their environment (Gullone et al., 2000; Douglas et al., 2009).

Limitations

The exclusion of hospitalized inmates from the survey sample probably results in a slight underestimation of the prevalence of less-than-good SRH. With respect to self-rating, some of the variations may be due to randomly distributed measurement errors. This could explain why none of the covariates reach statistical significance when the outcome under study is very good vs. good SRH, or fairly/very poor vs. average SRH. At the same time, we cannot rule out that with a larger sample size more variables might have reached significance.

Implications and future research

Our results highlight the urgent need to improve prisoners' health. In line with studies conducted elsewhere, we show that the prevalence of less-than-good self-rated health among French inmates is much higher than in the general population, and we identify several subgroups whose self-assessment is more negative. Further research on this latter point is needed.

The data we use are for the year 2001. Since then, the number of elderly prisoners and the prison population density has increased further, while the proportion of inmates of foreign origin has decreased (Hazard, 2008). The overall impact of these changes is not known but it is unlikely that they radically modify the picture. However, there is certainly a need to obtain more up-to-date data and to monitor prisoners' health on a regular basis. Self-rated health would provide a simple and effective routine measure for this purpose. Follow-up of inmates' SRH would help to disentangle the respective roles played by the conditions of detention and the selection effect at prison entry on the huge health disadvantage of the prison population. From the policy perspective, this is a very important issue that is central to the balance between measures targeting prisoners and actions geared towards the most precarious members of the community.

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TABLES

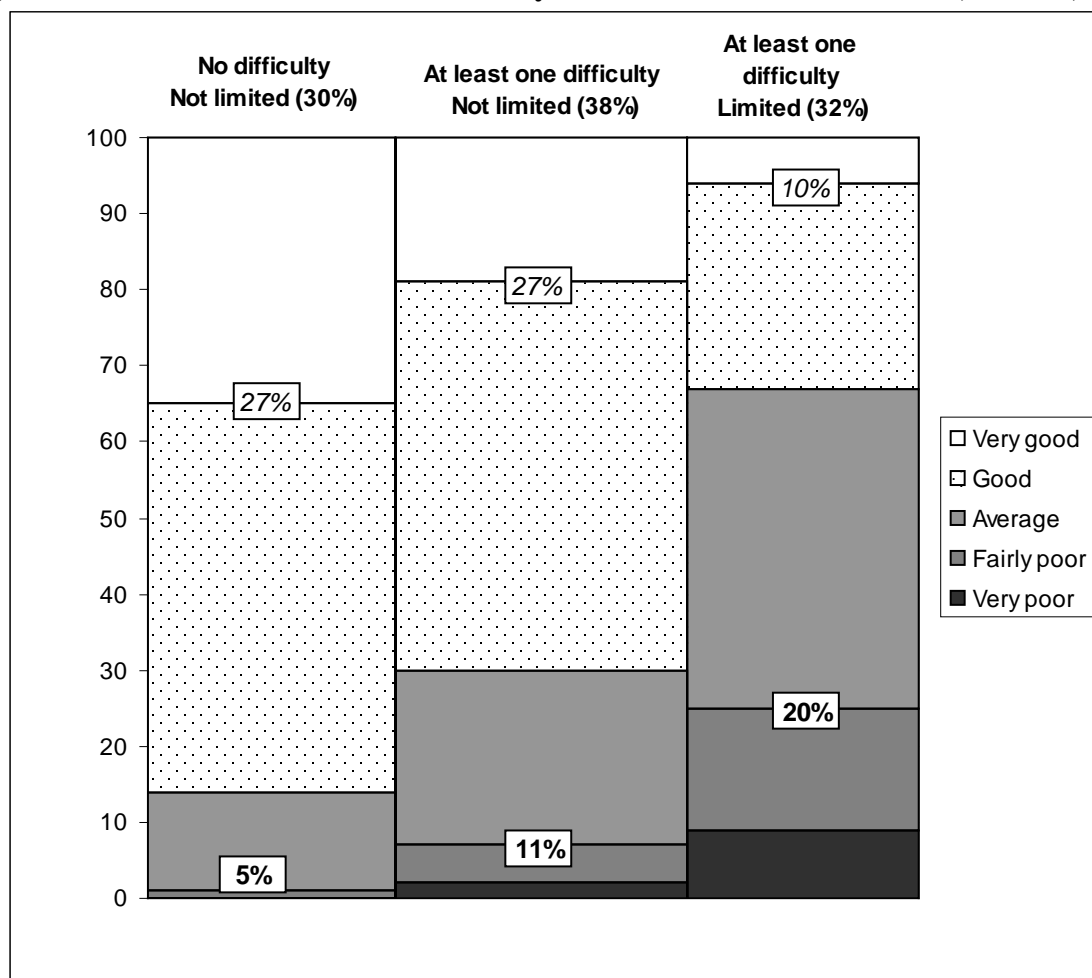
Table 1: SRH by age group and health-related difficulty/limitation status– All inmates, France, 2001.

| | % of all inmates | Very good | Good | Average | Fairly poor | Very poor | % Less-than-good SRH | Chi2 |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------------|------|
| AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 44 | 25 | 49 | 19 | 5 | 3 | 26 | *** |
| 30-49 | 44 | 18 | 40 | 30 | 8 | 4 | 42 | |
| 50 and over | 12 | 10 | 41 | 35 | 10 | 4 | 49 | |
| DIFFICULTY/ LIMITATION | | | | | | | | |
| No difficulty - Not limited | 32 | 35 | 51 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 14 | *** |
| At least one difficulty - Not limited | 38 | 19 | 51 | 23 | 5 | 2 | 30 | |
| At least one difficulty - Limited | 30 | 6 | 27 | 42 | 16 | 9 | 67 | |
| ALL INMATES | | 20 | 44 | 26 | 7 | 3 | 36 | |

*Significance: *** p<0.001 **p<0.01 * p<0.05 NS not significant*

Data: HID-prisons survey

Figure 1: SRH and health-related difficulty/limitation status– All inmates, France, 2001.



Interpretation: 5% of inmates have no difficulty, no limitation and report less-than-good SRH. Conversely, 10% of inmates have a difficulty, a limitation, and report (very)good SRH.

Data: HID-prisons survey

Table 2: Odds ratios of Less-than-good vs. (Very)good SRH. All Inmates, France, 2001.

| | OR | | OR | |
|--|------|-----|------|-----|
| HEALTH-RELATED DIFFICULTY | | | | |
| No difficulty | Ref. | | Ref. | |
| Intellectual/Mental/Speech | 1.9 | *** | 1.6 | * |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic | 6.1 | *** | 3.3 | *** |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic/Intellectual/Mental | 13.0 | *** | 5.9 | *** |
| Other situation | 3.4 | *** | 2.4 | ** |
| HEALTH-RELATED LIMITATION | | | | |
| Yes vs No | | | 3.3 | *** |

*Significance: *** p<0.001 **p<0.01 * p<0.05 NS not significant*

Data: HID-prisons survey

Table 3: Odds ratios of Very good or Less-than-good SRH vs. Good SRH. Inmates with a difficulty but no limitation, France, 2001.

| | % of all inmates with a difficulty but no limitation (n = 479) | Model A.1 | | Model A.2 | |
|--|--|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | OR: Very good vs. Good | OR: Less than good vs. Good | OR: Very good vs. Good | OR: Less than good vs. Good |
| HEALTH-RELATED DIFFICULTY | | | | | |
| Intellectual/Mental/Speech | 42 | Ref. | Ref. | Ref. | Ref. |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic | 20 | 0.6 | 2.2 ** | 0.7 | 2.2 * |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic/Intellectual/Mental | 15 | 0.7 NS | 4.2 *** | 0.6 NS | 4.2 *** |
| Other situation | 23 | 0.7 | 1.7 NS | 0.7 | 1.6 NS |
| AGE | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 43 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| 30-49 | 45 | | | 0.9 NS | 2.6 *** |
| 50 and over | 12 | | | 0.7 | 2.2 * |
| GENDER | | | | | |
| Male | 97 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Female | 3 | | | 0.6 NS | 0.4 NS |
| LEVEL OF EDUCATION | | | | | |
| No qualification | 44 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Primary | 14 | | | 0.5 | 0.8 NS |
| Lower secondary | 25 | | | 1.7 NS | 0.8 NS |
| Upper/Post-secondary | 17 | | | 0.8 | 0.3 *** |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | |
| France | 72 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Other European Country | 5 | | | 0.6 NS | 1.7 NS |
| Other | 23 | | | 1.2 | 1.3 NS |
| TIME SPENT BEHIND BARS | | | | | |
| Less than 2 months | 10 | | | 1.5 | 1.9 NS |
| 2 months to 2 yrs | 51 | | | Ref. NS | Ref. |
| 2 to 5 yrs | 20 | | | 1.5 | 0.6 NS |
| At least 5 yrs | 19 | | | 1.4 | 0.4 ** |

Significance: *** $p < 0.001$ ** $p < 0.01$ * $p < 0.05$ NS not significant

n: non weighted sample size

Data: HID-prisons survey

Table 4: Odds ratios of (Very) good or Fairly/very poor SRH vs. Average SRH. Inmates with a difficulty and a limitation, France, 2001.

| | % of all inmates with a difficulty and a limitation (n = 529) | Model B.1 | | Model B.2 | |
|--|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | | OR: (Very)good vs. Average | OR: Fairly/very poor vs. Average | OR: (Very)good vs. Average | OR: Fairly/very poor vs. Average |
| HEALTH-RELATED DIFFICULTY | | | | | |
| Intellectual/Mental/Speech | 11 | Ref. | Ref. | Ref. | Ref. |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic | 9 | 0.6 NS | 0.7 | 0.7 NS | 0.8 |
| Motor/Visceral/Metabolic/Intellectual/Mental | 31 | 0.4 * | 1.5 NS | 0.4 * | 1.5 NS |
| Other situation | 49 | 1.1 NS | 1.5 | 1.4 NS | 1.7 |
| AGE | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 34 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| 30-49 | 48 | | | 0.8 NS | 0.9 NS |
| 50 and over | 18 | | | 0.4 * | 0.8 NS |
| GENDER | | | | | |
| Male | 95 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Female | 5 | | | 0.7 NS | 1.4 NS |
| LEVEL OF EDUCATION | | | | | |
| No qualification | 47 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Primary | 17 | | | 1.1 | 0.5 |
| Lower secondary | 28 | | | 1.2 NS | 1.5 NS |
| Upper/Post-secondary | 8 | | | 1.1 | 1.5 |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | |
| France | 81 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| Other European Country | 4 | | | 0.6 NS | 0.9 NS |
| Other | 15 | | | 0.5 * | 0.9 NS |
| TIME SPENT BEHIND BARS | | | | | |
| Less than 2 months | 11 | | | 0.6 NS | 0.7 |
| 2 months to 2 yrs | 46 | | | Ref. | Ref. |
| 2 to 5 yrs | 22 | | | 2.6 *** | 1.6 NS |
| At least 5 yrs | 21 | | | 1.1 NS | 1.4 |

*Significance: *** p<0.001 **p<0.01 * p<0.05 NS not significant*

n: non weighted sample size

Data: HID-prisons survey

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