

GMU Inmate Study

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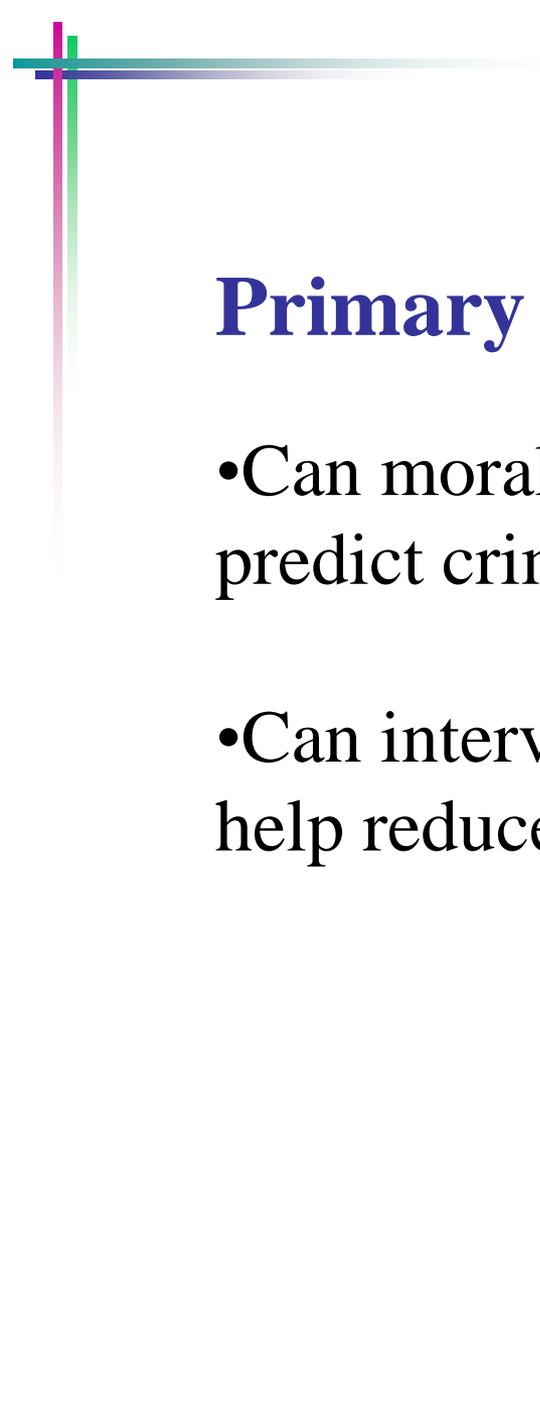
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Primary Questions:

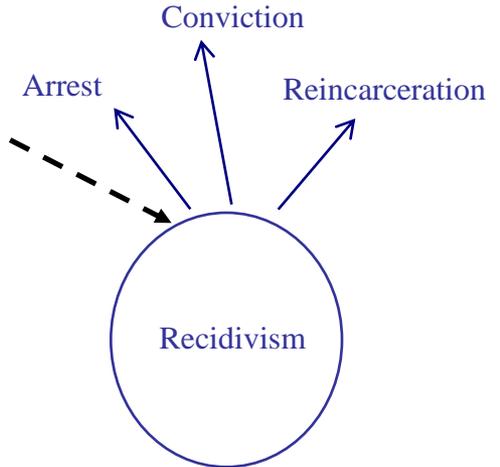
- Can moral emotions (shame and guilt) help predict criminal recidivism?
- Can interventions targeted at moral emotions help reduce the rate of recidivism?

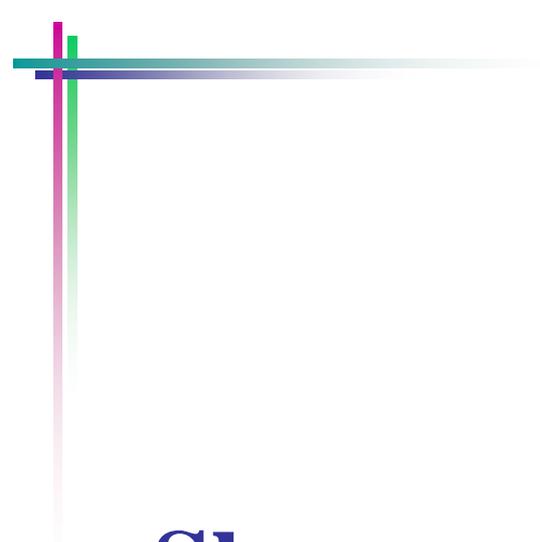
GMU Inmate Study

Tombstone Factors

e.g.

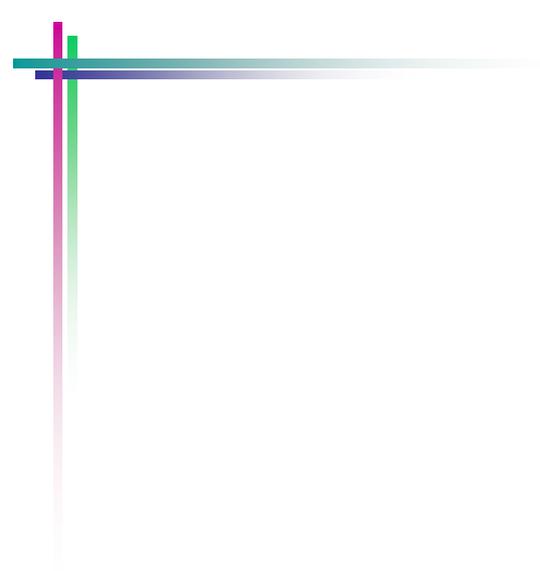
- age at first arrest
- number of prior arrests
- criminal versatility
- history of alcohol or substance abuse





Shame and guilt are moral emotions

-presumed to inhibit illegal, immoral,
interpersonally harmful behavior



**What's the difference
between shame and guilt?**

Phenomenological Differences Between Shame and Guilt

SHAME

- Focus on entire self
- Feel badly about ourselves
- “How could **I** have done that?”
- Extremely painful
- Considerable shift in self-perception
- Sense of shrinking, being exposed
- Self is impaired, paralyzed
- Motivation to hide

GUILT

- Focus on specific behavior
- Feel badly about something we’ve done
- “How could I have **done** that?”
- Moderately painful
- Little shift in self-perception
- Sense of tension, remorse
- No impairment, paralysis of self
- Motivation to take reparative action

Adapted from Lewis (1971) and Lindsay-Hartz (1984)

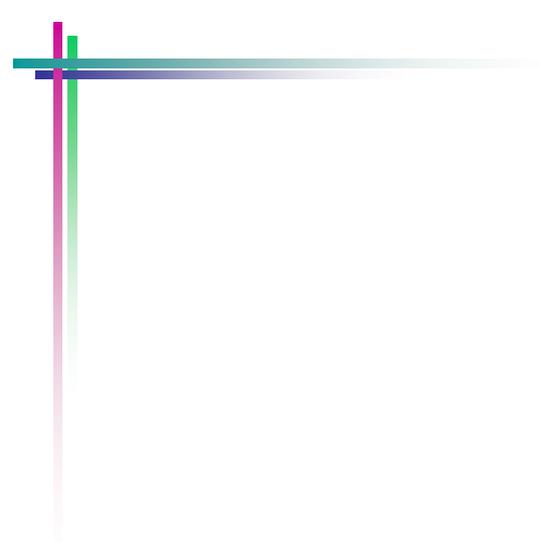
Shame and Guilt are Not Equally “Moral” Emotions (in conventional samples)

SHAME

- Hiding
- Low empathy
- Anger and aggression
- Psychological symptoms
- **No deterrence**

GUILT

- Amending
 - Other-oriented empathy
 - Constructive Anger Management
 - Unrelated to symptoms.
 - Adherence to Conventional Standards
-



Initial Research Questions

1. Can we measure moral emotions in an inmate population?
2. Are there individual differences in proneness to shame and guilt among offenders?
3. Do shame and guilt serve the same functions among offenders?

GMU Inmate Study

- Setting and Recruitment
 - Adult Detention Center outside Washington DC
 - Inmates expected to be incarcerated 4+ months (Typically felony charge and at least \$7k bond)
- Participants
 - 446 enrolled in study
 - 84.5% Males, 15.5% Females
 - Mean Age = 32 yrs
 - 46% African American
 - 33% Caucasian
 - 11% Mexican American/Hispanic
 - 3% Asian/Pacific Islander
 - 7% Other/Mixed

Assessment of Shame and Guilt

Test of Self-Conscious Affect – Socially Deviant
(TOSCA-SD; Hanson & Tangney, 1996)

- Modeled after the TOSCA (Tangney, et al. 1992) for adults
- Scenario-based

Tosca-SD Scenario

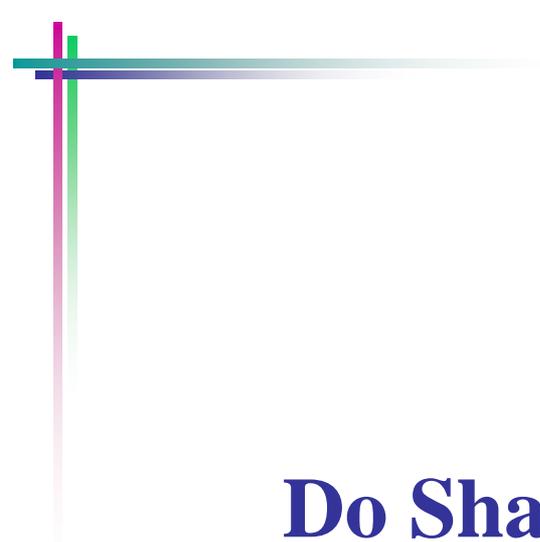
5. You are driving down the road and hit a small animal.

	not likely	very likely
a) You would think the animal shouldn't have been on the road.	1---2---3---4---5	
b) You would think: "I'm terrible".	1---2---3---4---5	
c) You would feel: "Well, it was an accident".	1---2---3---4---5	
d) You would probably think it over several times wondering if you could have avoided it.	1---2---3---4---5	

Practical Application Of “Touch Screen Tablet” For Standardized Interview



- Audio and visual presentation accommodates participants with minimal reading ability
- Touch-screen response mode does not require familiarity with computers
- Circumvents social desirability demands of face-to-face interviews



**Do Shame and Guilt Serve the Same
Functions Among Inmates as Observed in
the General Population?**

Shame and Guilt among Inmates

New Findings

SHAME

- Self-oriented Distress
- No inhibition of Aggression
- Inclined to Blame others
- Psychological symptoms
- High rates of Substance Abuse

GUILT

- High Empathy
 - Low Aggression (verbal and physical)
 - Acceptance of Responsibility
 - Unrelated to Anxiety, Depression, etc.
 - Low Substance Use and Abuse
-

Interim Summary

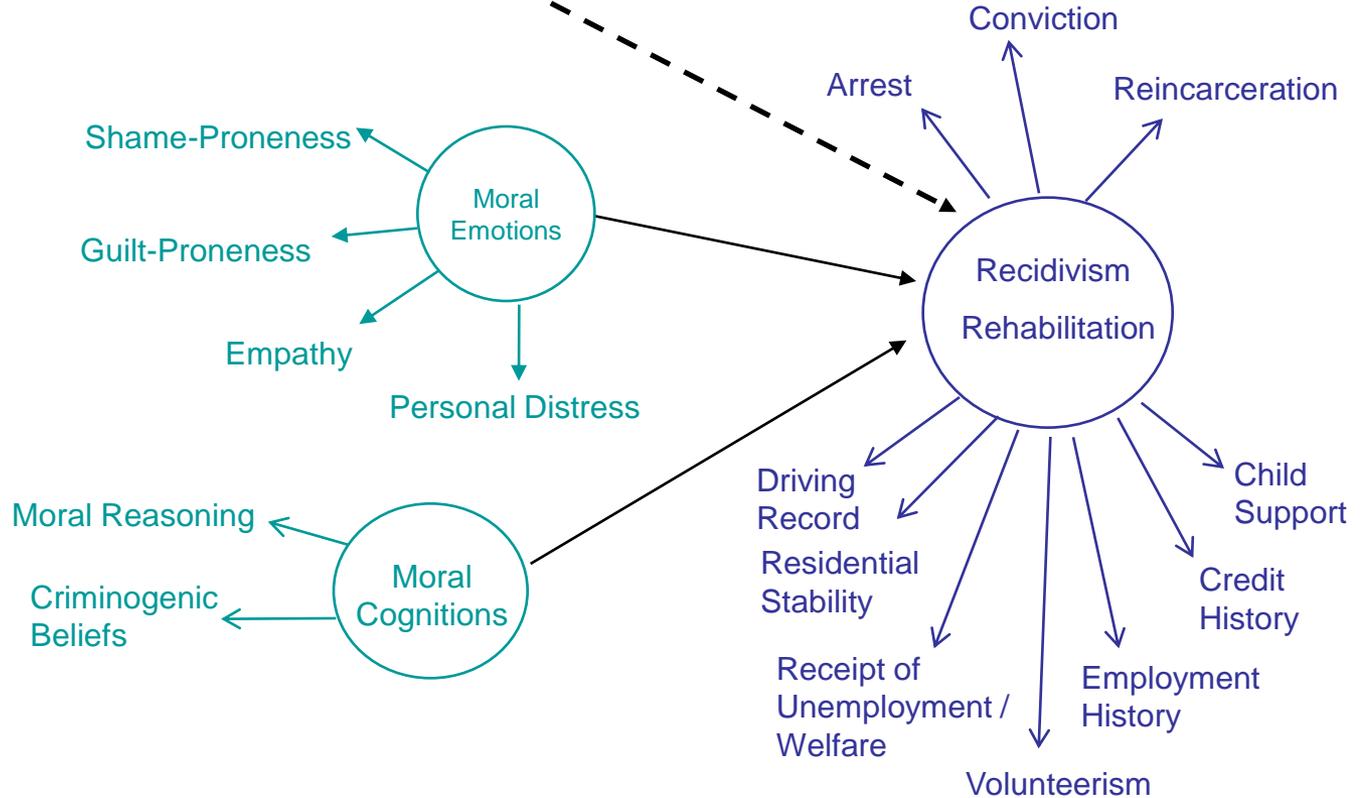
- Shame and guilt can be validly assessed in an inmate population
- There's a lot of variance in inmates' capacity for moral emotions
- Shame and guilt appear to function similarly in an offender population (*Guilt is good, Shame is Bad*)

Tombstone Factors

e.g.

- age at first arrest
- number of prior arrests
- criminal versatility
- history of alcohol or substance abuse

GMU Inmate Study



Criminogenic Beliefs

- Criminals who persist in a life of crime often hold a distinct set of beliefs that serve to rationalize and perpetuate criminal activity.
- Cognitive Biases
(e.g., You're not hurt unless you are bleeding)
- Theoretically amenable to CBT-based intervention

Criminogenic Beliefs and Assumptions Scale

(CBAS; Tangney, Meyer, Furukawa, Hastings & Cosby, 2002)

- **Failure to Accept Responsibility** (5 items)
 - It's someone else's fault
- **Notions of entitlement** (5 items)
 - When I want something, I expect people to deliver
 - I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve
- **Negative attitudes toward authority** (5 items)
 - If a guard tells me to do something, there's usually a good reason
 - People in positions of authority generally take advantage of others
- **Short-term orientation** (5 items)
 - The future is unpredictable and there is no point planning for it
 - Even though I got caught, it was still worth the risk
- **Insensitivity to impact of crime** (5 items)
 - A theft is all right as long as the victim is not physically injured
 - Victims of crime usually get over it with time

Concurrent Correlates of Criminogenic Beliefs

- Low Guilt (but unrelated to shame)
- Low Empathy
- High Psychopathy
- High Antisocial Personality Disorder
- High Risk for Violent Re-Offense
- “Connectedness” to the Criminal Community
- HIV risky sexual behavior

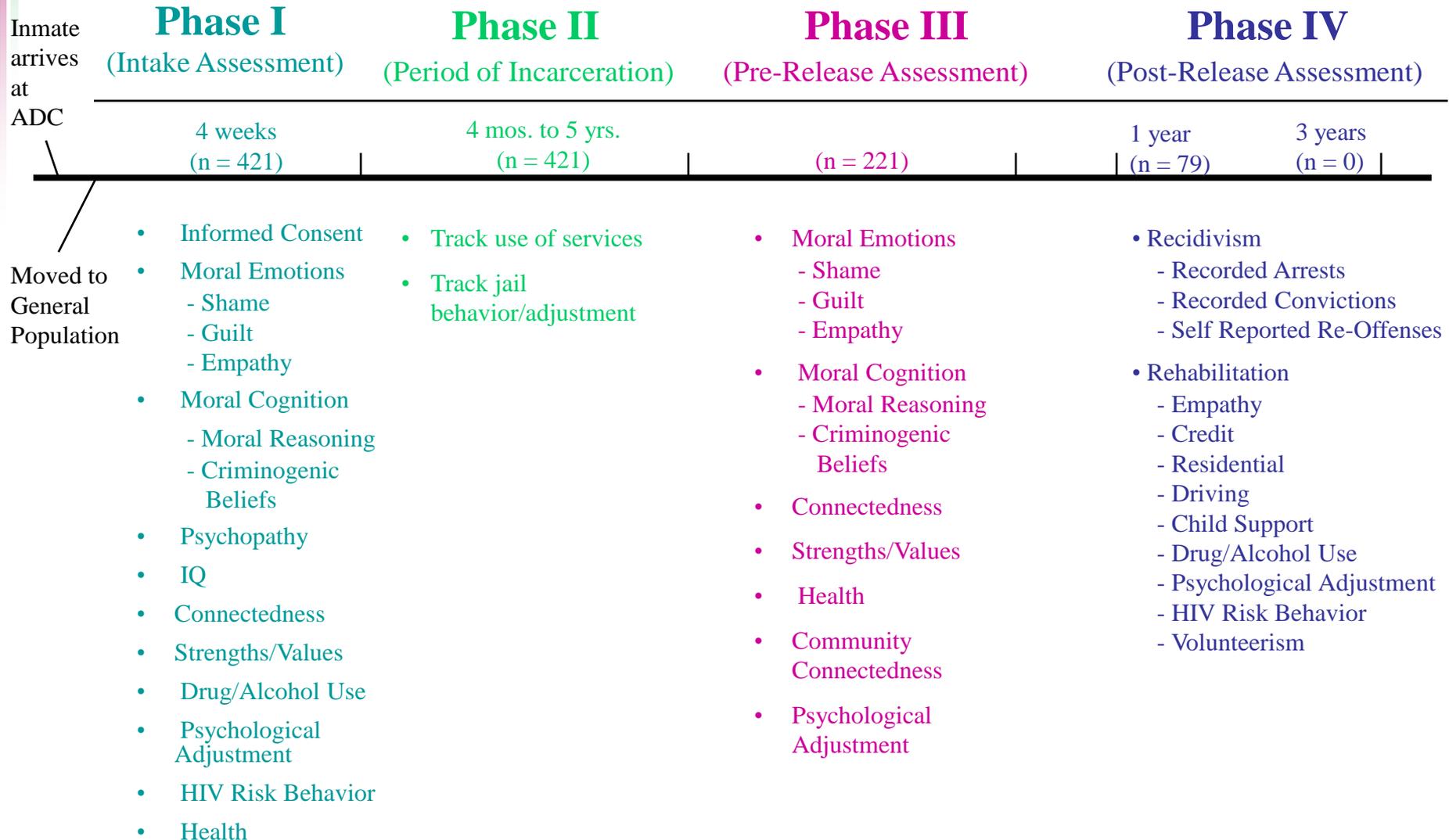
- Age (Younger)
- Lower IQ

- NOT much related to substance abuse

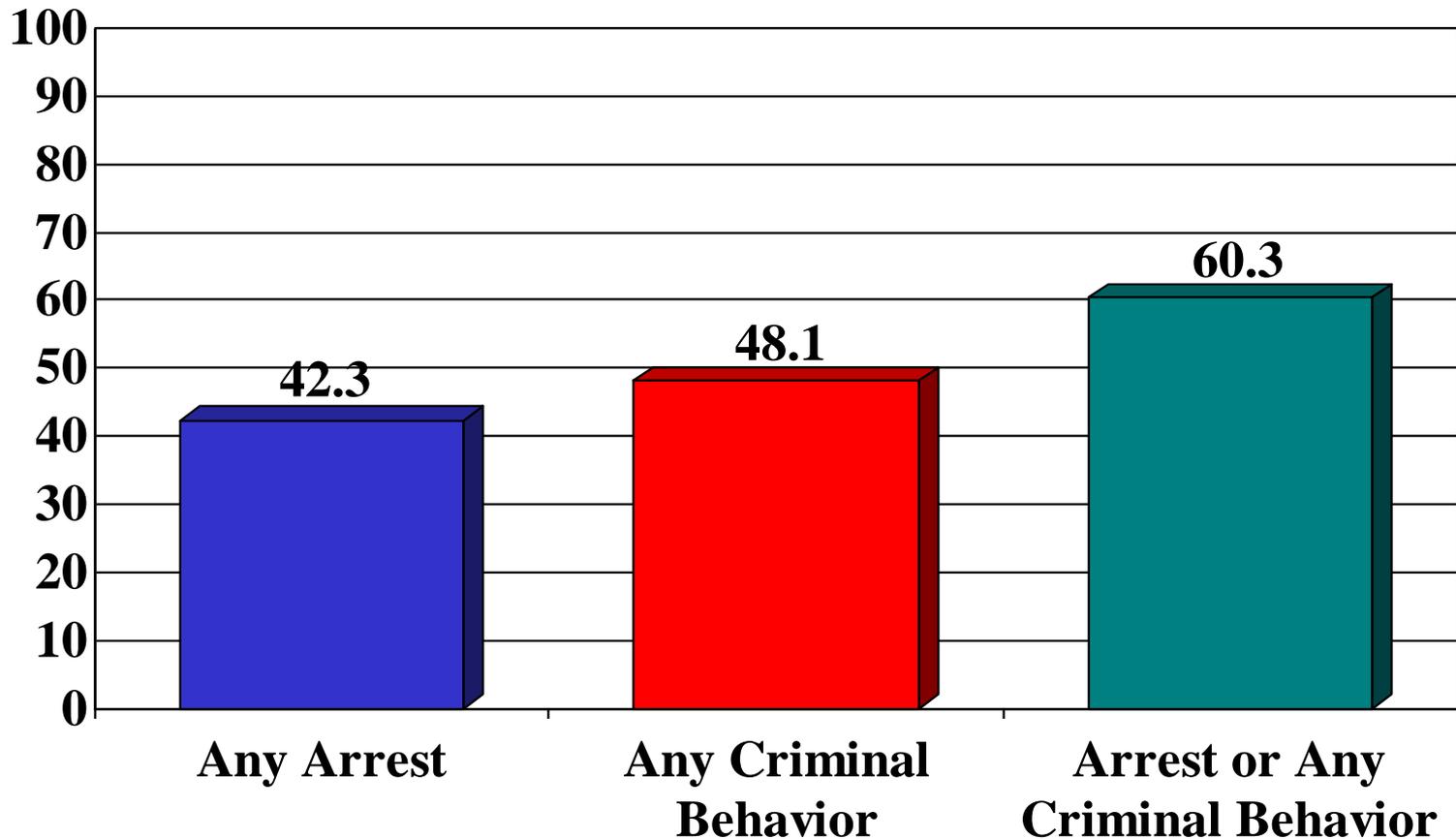
(n=305-444)

**Predicting Re-Offense
in the First Year Post-Release**

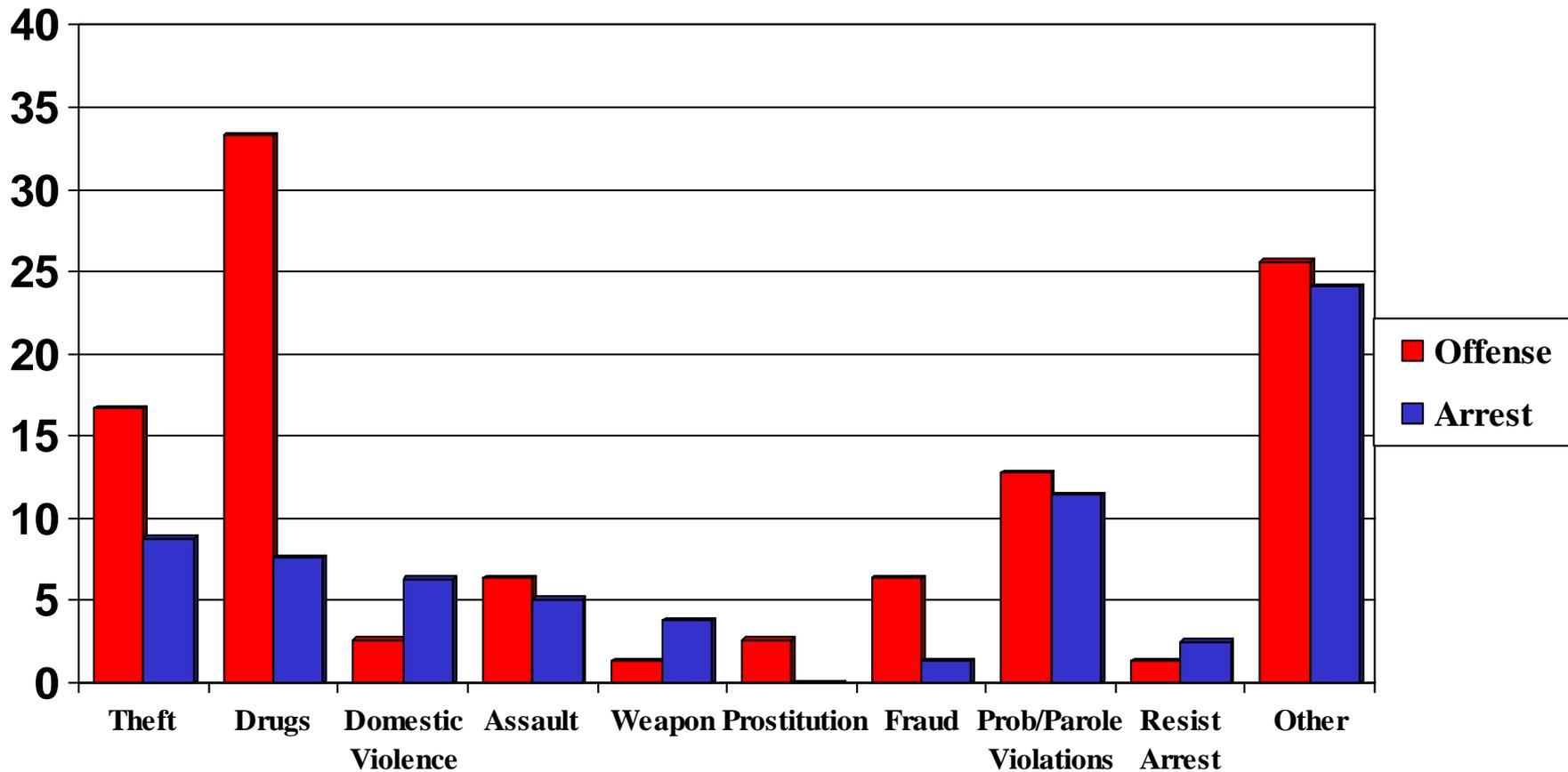
GMU Inmate Study Timeline



Percentage of participants self-reporting arrest and/or criminal behavior



Percentage of participants that report criminal behavior versus arrest



No reports of arrest or offense for robbery, murder, kidnapping, or arson. One report of arrest for a sexual offense. No report of arrest for prostitution

Predicting Post-Release Offense

	Arrests		Undetected Felonies	
	(Yes/No)	Versatility	(Yes/No)	Versatility
Prev Jail/Prison Exp (ICA)	0.22	0.15	0.16	0.19
Psychopathy	0.25*	0.25*	0.28*	0.38**
Factor 1 - Personality	0.06	0.05	0.14	0.24*
Factor 2 – Behavior	0.35**	0.35**	0.33**	0.38**
Criminogenic Beliefs	0.26*	0.19	0.29*	0.27*
Shame	0.05	0.19	0.06	-0.01
Guilt	-0.17	-0.19	-0.06	-0.16

N=32-77

Note: $p < .05^*$ $p < .01^{**}$ $p < .10^\dagger$

Practical Considerations

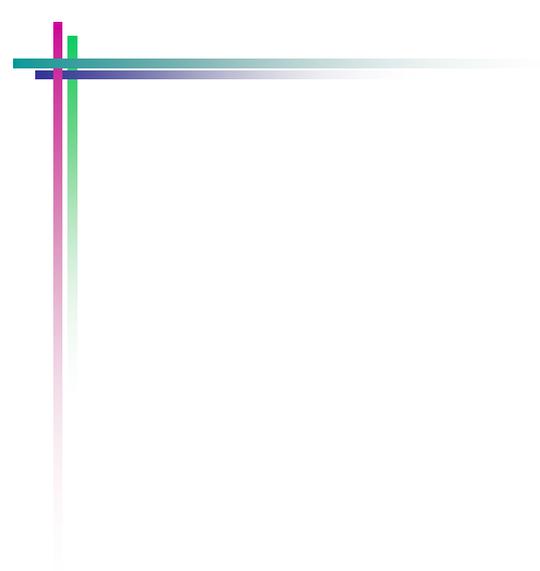
What does it cost?

Psychopathy Checklist (PCL:SV)

- Checklist based on intensive social-clinical interview (2-4 hrs)
- Scoring (2 hrs)
- Post-graduate degree
 - plus extensive specialized training required

Criminogenic Beliefs and Assumptions Scale

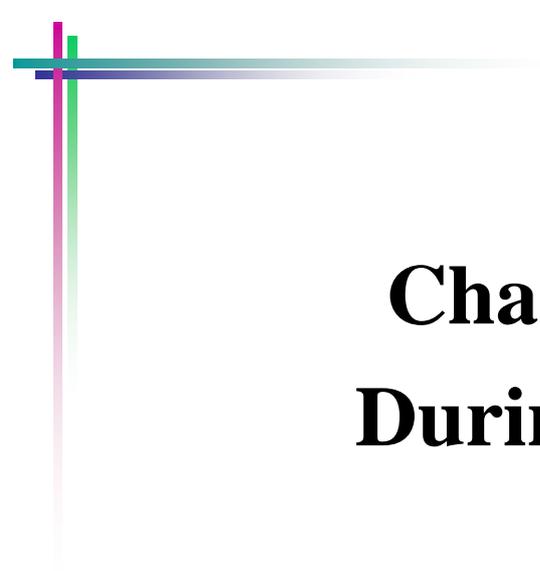
- 25 item self-report measure
- 5 minutes to administer
- No training required for administration
- Immediate results



Most Important:

This is Not a “Tombstone” Factor

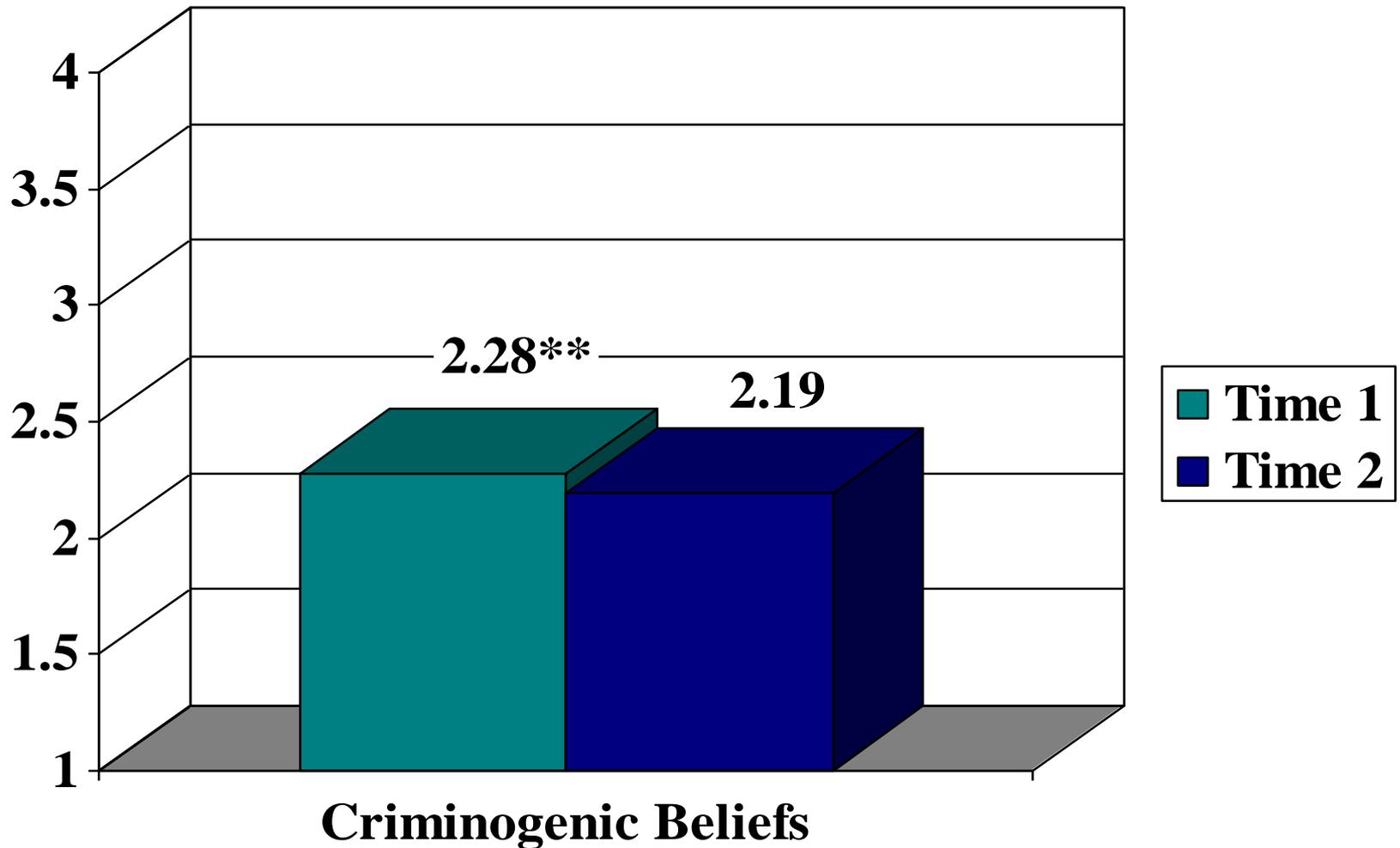
**Criminogenic Beliefs Are
Malleable!**



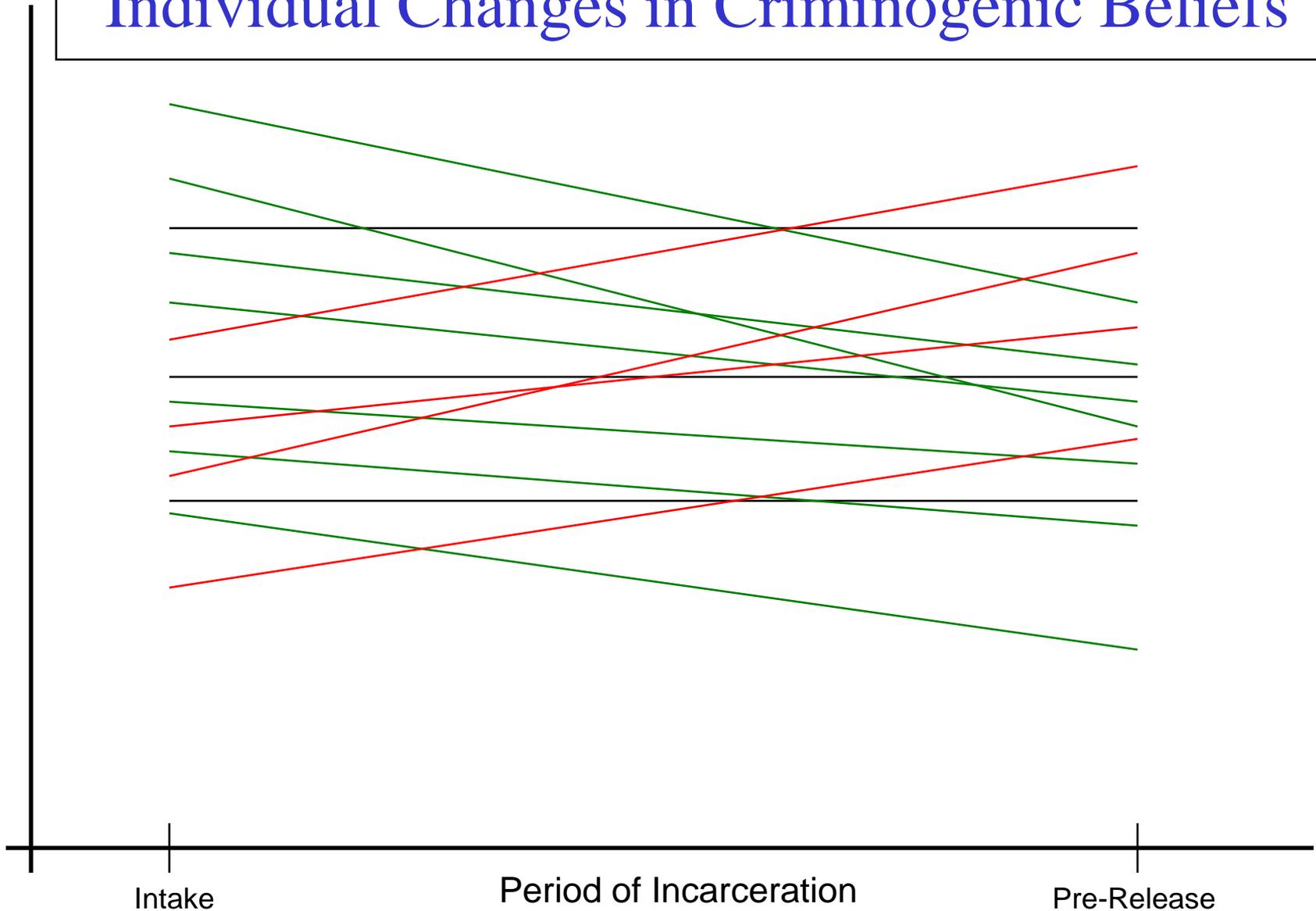
**Changes in Criminogenic Beliefs
During the Period of Incarceration**

Is There a “Prisonization” Effect?

Changes in Criminogenic Beliefs During the Period of Incarceration



Individual Changes in Criminogenic Beliefs



What Explains Individual Change in Criminogenic Beliefs?

None of a “tombstone” nature. **Not:**

- Psychopathy
- Violence Risk

- Age
- Prior Jail Experience

Nor:

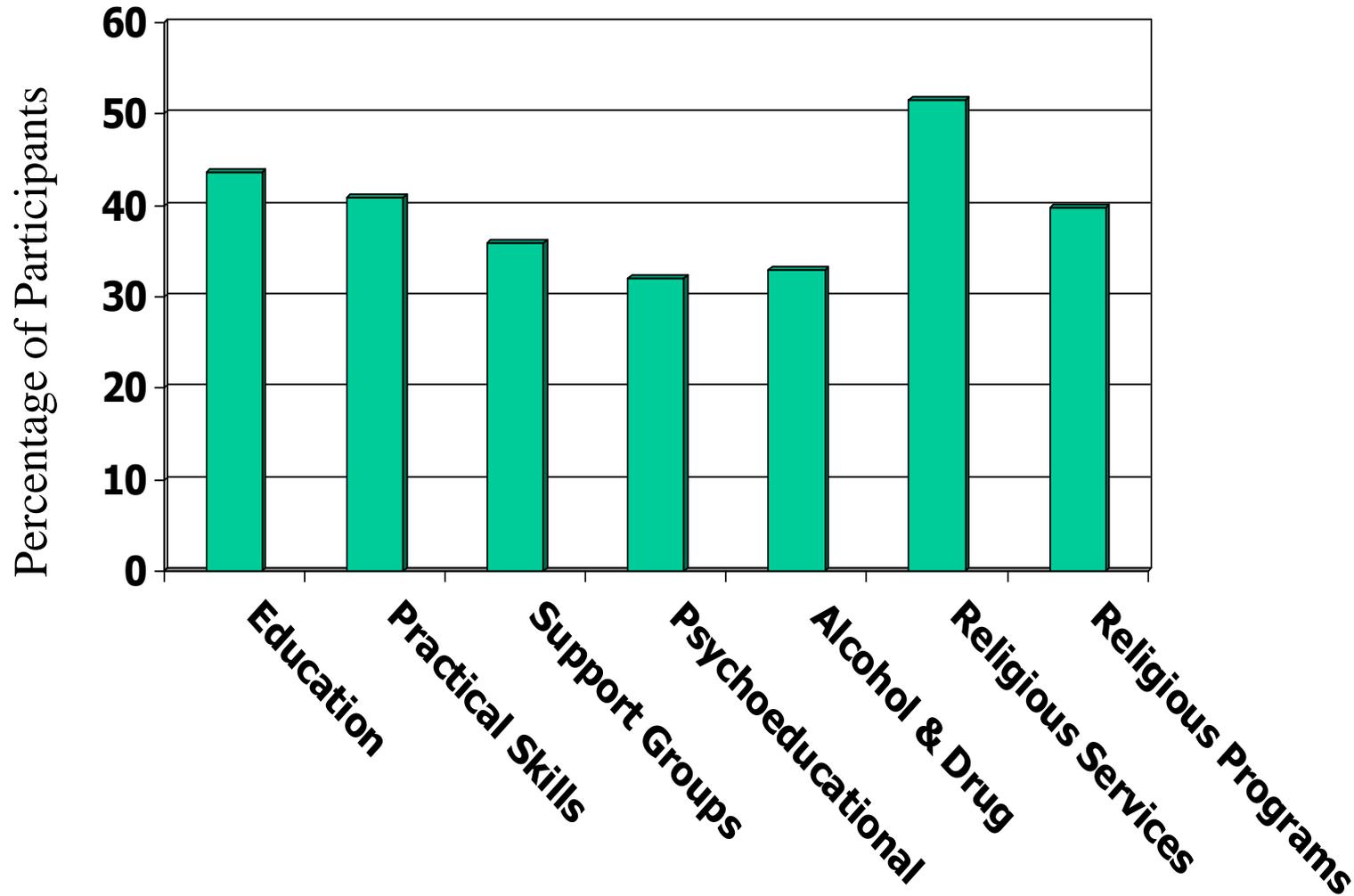
- Baseline Shame
- Baseline Guilt

- Duration of this incarceration!

What accounts for changes in Criminogenic Beliefs?

- **Something that happens during the period of incarceration?**
- **Treatment?**

Percentages of Participants Who Enrolled in Programs



Program Involvement and Changes in Moral Emotions & Cognitions

	Religious Services	Religious Programs	Alcohol & Drugs	Psycho- educ.	Number of Programs
Criminogenic Beliefs	-.08	-.08	-.17*	-.17*	-.18*
Shame	.11	.09	.14+	.11	.16*
Guilt	.16*	.28***	.10	.06	.22**
Empathy	.06	.04	-.01	.06	.05
Perspective Taking	.01	.09	.02	-.10	.01
Personal Distress	.16*	.17*	.21**	.11	.23**

+ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Restorative Justice

- Emphasis on community, personal responsibility, and reparation.
- Active participation of offenders, victims, and the community
- Aim: Repair the fabric of the community (not punishment)
- “Guilt-inducing, shame reducing”
- Encourage offenders to:
 - Take responsibility for their behavior
 - Acknowledge negative consequences
 - empathize with the victim
 - Feel guilt for having *done* wrong
 - Act to make amends
- Emphasis is not on moral angst, but on moral action and change

Impact of Crime Workshop

(12 group sessions)

Integrates Didactic and Interactive Group Experiences

- Definitions (e.g., “What is assault?”)
- Facts and statistics (e.g., About 10,000 people are injured in drunk driving incidents each year.)
- Case Studies
- Facilitated Discussion
- Homework - Self Study

Volunteer Speakers

- Victims of various offenses talk to inmates about the impact of crime

Community Service Project

- Workshop participants work together to develop and carry out a project (e.g., Making a key chain with helpful phone numbers to be distributed to those who are being released)

The Impact of Crime (IOC) Workshop

Reduces Criminogenic Beliefs!!

- Effects shown in two studies
 - One large correlational study
 - One smaller experimental study

Summary

- Moral emotions and criminogenic beliefs can be validly measured in correctional settings
- Criminogenic beliefs (and to a lesser extent guilt, but **not** shame) predict post-release offense
- Moral emotions and criminogenic beliefs are malleable
 - Moderate stability over the period of incarceration
 - Change unrelated to personality, moral emotions, age, time in jail
- Treatment reduces criminogenic thinking...
- Which in turn is associated with reduced recidivism

Mechanisms of Action: *Moral Emotions and Cognitions*

Program
Involvement



Change in
Behavior
(recidivism)

Mapping the Mechanisms of Action



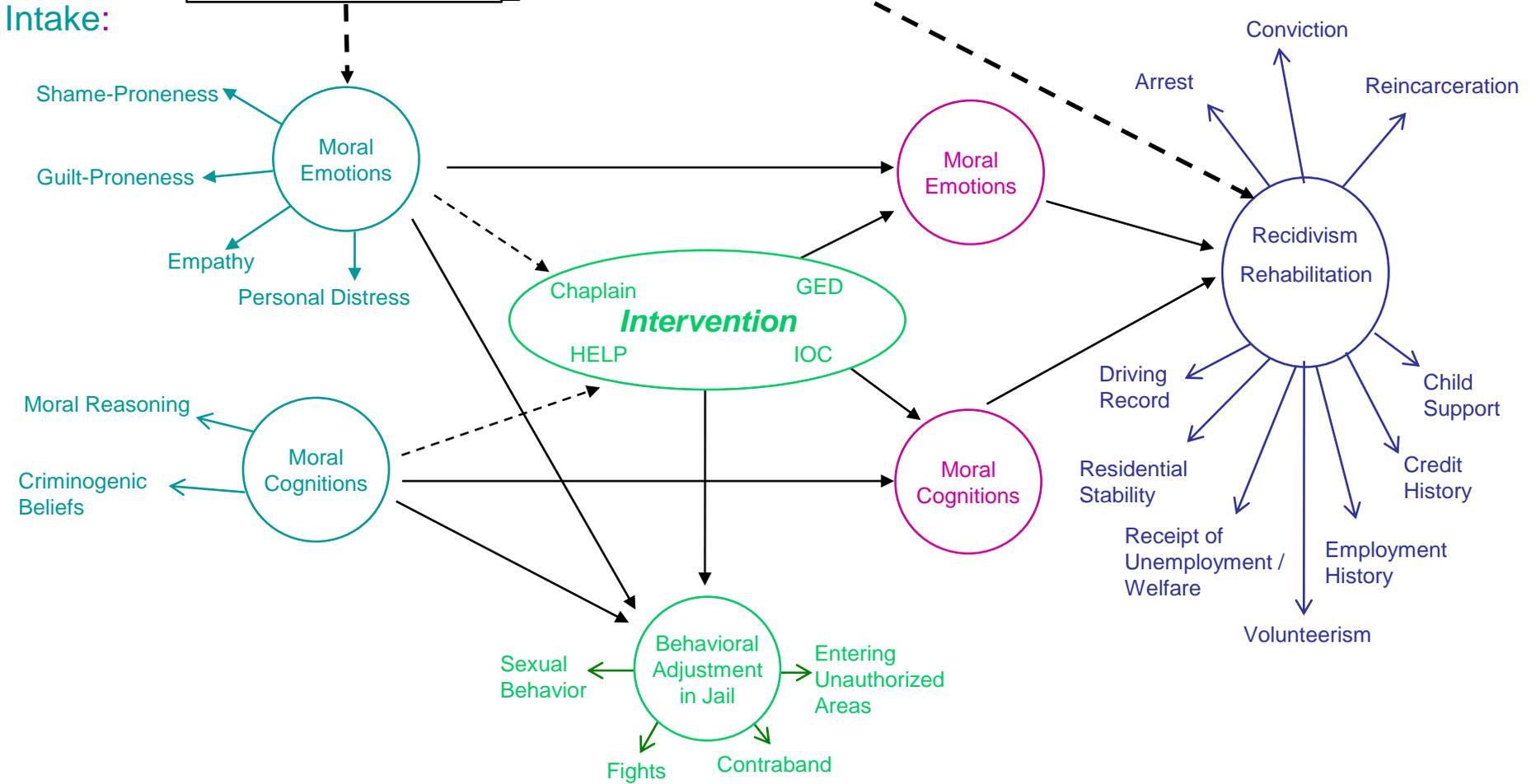
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Tombstone Factors

e.g.

- age at first arrest
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- criminal versatility
- history of alcohol or substance abuse

Intake:



Of Immediate Relevance to ADC Staff:

- Criminogenic Beliefs predict Jail Misbehavior
- Above and beyond current classification risk assessment
- And it only takes 5 minutes to fill out....

What's Next?

- Continue following up offenders at 1 and 3 years post-release
- Seeking additional funding to:
 - Expand implementation and evaluation of IOC workshop
 - Develop a CD-ROM assisted version of IOC to export to other jails and prisons
 - Develop new treatments targeting inmates with Borderline Personality Disorder (30% of inmates held on felony charges)

MANY THANKS...

- Carla Taylor, an inspiring partner
- Brandon Cosby, for bringing the OAR workshop alive
- Clinical caseworkers at OAR, for providing the inspiration for the Criminogenic Beliefs Scale
- OAR Staff and Volunteers, for all the work you do...it really makes a difference...in these inmates' lives and in the communities they will eventually rejoin
- Sheriff Barry, for opening your doors and welcoming us as very few sheriffs would
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- Lt. Larry Nida, for keeping us well trained, current with procedures, and keeping us from stepping on toes
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