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## SELF-ESTEEM AND SENSE OF ENTITLEMENT IN VIOLENT AND NONVIOLENT CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

by

Susan Frank, M.A.

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION LOUISIANA TECH UNIVERSITY

May 2004

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## **ABSTRACT**

There are two conflicting theories concerning self-esteem in violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. One theory proposes that low self-esteem is more influential than high self-esteem in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior, whereas the other theory proposes the opposite. Limited research is available concerning the role that sense of entitlement has in criminal behavior, beyond its previously explored role in rape. The first purpose of this study was to clarify the role of self-esteem in criminal behavior by having individuals currently incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent crimes complete the Self-Esteem Rating Scale. Using the scores obtained on this scale, a discriminant function analysis was conducted to predict membership into groups of violent and nonviolent offenders. The second purpose of this study was to determine the role sense of entitlement has in criminal behavior. Independent samples t-tests were conducted using the obtained scores of the Entitlement Attitudes Scale by this sample along with the scores obtained by another sample of nonincarcerated individuals, to determine if there was a difference between the two samples. The results of the discriminant function analysis did not allow for classification into either group based on self-esteem level beyond what would be expected by chance. The results of the independent samples t-tests did not produce statistically significant differences on the total scores of the Entitlement Attitudes Scale, nor its first factor, Self-Reliance/Self-Promotion. This analysis did, however, produce a statistically significant

difference on the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor, indicating that the sample of non-incarcerated individuals scored higher on this factor than the incarcerated individuals. These unexpected results pointed to possible limitations within this study including the truthfulness of the participants' answering patterns. Overall, the results of this study did not support either of the predictions made, nor did they provide support for any of the available research concerning self-esteem and sense of entitlement in violent and nonviolent criminal behavior.

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated with great love to my parents, Susan and Thomas

Frank, without whose love and support the dream of becoming a doctor would not have happened. I am forever grateful to you both.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My extreme gratitude and appreciation go to my committee: Tony Young, Ph.D., Chair, Jonathan Schwartz, Ph.D., and Jeffrey Walczyk, Ph.D., without whose patience and dedication this dissertation would not have been accomplished.

With special thanks to Matt Mosbly, Dr. Susan Tucker, and Jason Burns at Forcht Wade Correctional Center, without who's incredible help the data would not have been collected. Matt, I will forever owe you.

With special thanks to Eric Madsen, my supervisor at Brunswick Correctional Center, whose patience and understanding made an exceptionally difficult time entirely more bearable.

Finally, with forever love to Michael Wayne Dolinger, who allowed me to see all that I am and afforded me the ability to be all that I could be. In either body or soul, you were with me every step of the way. Thank you.

#### CHAPTER 1

#### Introduction/Literature Review

#### Introduction

Of all of the people born in the United States during the year 2001, it is estimated that 6.6% will be confined in either a state or federal prison at least once in their lives. This estimation is based on the current rate of incarceration. For males, this means that one in three Blacks, one in six Hispanics, and one in 17 Caucasians will be incarcerated at least once. As for women, the likelihood of one incarceration within a lifetime is six times greater than it was in 1974. It has also been estimated that approximately one out of every 37 adults or 5.6 million people residing in the United States had been incarcerated at least once by the end of 2001. This information excludes people who have been incarcerated in local jails only and those individuals incarcerated in juvenile facilities (Bonczar, 2003).

Furthermore, out of the approximate 5.6 million adults who have been incarcerated at least once in their lives, 67.5% are likely to be rearrested, 49.9% reconvicted, and 25.4% incarcerated again for a new offense. An additional 26.4% will be reincarcerated for a technical violation of parole. Based on these statistics, the overall recidivism rate is 51.8% (Langan & Levin, 2002). Taking this rate of recidivism into consideration, out of the estimated 5.6 million American adults who have been

incarcerated at least once in their lives, approximately 3 million will return to prison (Sabol, Adams, Parthasarathy, & Yuan, 2000).

Based on the expected rates of incarceration and recidivism, there appears to be a tremendous need to augment what is currently known or understood of the factors that contribute to an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. By enhancing this understanding, the professionals who work with such individuals should be afforded the ability to provide more effective intervention and prevention techniques. Currently, there are numerous theories available concerning both the external and internal factors that contribute to an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior both originally and after he or she has been incarcerated (Baron, 2003; Baumeister, 1997; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; "Causes of," 2004; Clingempeel & Henggeler, 2003; Cottle, Lee, & Heilburn, 2001). These theories are from a diverse assortment of fields including, but not limited to, psychology, biology, sociology, and criminology. These theories also encompass a wide variety of suspected contributing factors ranging from external environment sources to internal personality traits or characteristics.

The research concerning internal personality traits or characteristics that factor into an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior encompasses a large variety of different phenomena. These phenomena include such attributes as recklessness; a lack of sense of responsibility and inhibition; absence of shame, guilt or regret; poverty of affect; lack of goal-directedness; and low intelligence (Gibson, Piquero & Tibbetts, 2001; Steiner, Cauffman & Duxbury, 1999). Also included in these phenomena are absence of empathy, egocentricity, poor impulse control, and a lack of self-control (Frick, Bodin & Barry, 2000; Peter, LaGrange & Silverman, 2003). Beyond these separate

personality characteristics involved in the decision to participate in criminal behavior, an individual's self-concept also plays an important role (Cottle et al., 2001).

An individual's self-concept is his or her actual self-identity or the way in which an individual would describe himself or herself. Within this self-concept are both affective and cognitive constructs (Baron & Byrne, 1994). Included in these constructs are self-esteem and sense of entitlement. Self-esteem is an individual's overall evaluation of himself or herself that is generally completed in either positive or negative assessments. Sense of entitlement is an individual's basic belief of how he or she should be compensated within a given situation (Bishop & Lane, 2002). Both self-esteem and sense of entitlement have been indicated to play a significant role in an individual's overall level of psychological functioning (Bishop & Lane, 2002; Watson, Suls & Haig, 2002), yet, what is not clear is the role that either of these constructs plays in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior.

The traditional view holds that low self-esteem is the primary contributor to an individual's decision to participate in violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. In 1969, Toch conducted a research study of 32 police officers who had suffered assaults; 19 men who assaulted the police officers; 44 prison inmates; and 54 inmates who had been paroled (Toch, 1992). After conducting interviews with each of the subjects, a typology of violence was developed that included two main groups divided into a number of different categories. One of the two main groups was presupposed to use violence as a direct way to enhance or reinforce the individual's ego or self-esteem. Within this particular group, there was a specific category where violence was considered to be a direct compensatory measure against low self-esteem. Even within the second of the two

main groups, the assumption was made that the violence expressed actually hides an individual's underlying feelings of self-doubt (Toch, 1992). It was proposed that low self-esteem was also a factor in nonviolent criminal behavior, although the study did not examine the specific relationship (Toch, 1992).

This traditional view of low self-esteem and criminal behavior appears to have been the generally accepted hypothesis in the field of psychology until the late 1980s to early 1990s. Around this time, a new hypothesis was being investigated that proposed high self-esteem as the primary contributor to an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. The research being conducted during the late 1980s to early 1990s was providing empirical support for this hypothesis, especially in consideration of violent behavior (Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1993: Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Kernis, Cornell, Sun, Berry, & Harlow, 1993; Kernis, Grannemann, & Barclay, 1989). In 1997, Baumeister accounted for violent criminal behavior by examining the research available and appraising violent criminal behavior from the perspective of both the victims and perpetrators. Based on this exploration, Baumeister concluded that it was not low self-esteem, but high, unstable self-esteem that more strongly influenced an individual's decision to participate in violent criminal behavior.

High unstable self-esteem was believed to occur when an individual holds a good overall evaluation of himself or herself that is unrealistic or unfounded. This type of self-esteem causes fluctuations in the individual's evaluation, in turn causing the self-esteem to be vulnerable to outside threats. Outside threats were considered to be anything that would cause the individual to have to reconsider his or her self-esteem in a more realistic fashion. Included in these threats would be anything that an individual perceives to be a

negative assessment of himself or herself, such as personal criticism or a negative job evaluation (Baumeister et al., 1993; Baumeister et al., 1996; Baumeister, 1997; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998).

Based on this vulnerability to threats, a caveat was added to the new hypothesis concerning self-esteem and violent criminal behavior. This caveat afforded that high unstable self-esteem had to be threatened in order to be a primary contributor to an individual's decision to participate in violent behavior (Baumeister et al., 1993; Baumeister et al., 1996; Baumeister, 1997; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). As with the research concerning low self-esteem, nonviolent criminal behavior was not specifically explored. Instead, the suggestion was given that, if a treat to high unstable self-esteem was the primary contributor in violent behavior, the same held true with nonviolent behavior (Baumeister et al., 1993; Baumeister et al., 1996; Baumeister, 1997; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998).

Beyond the postulates made concerning self-esteem and criminal behavior, both Toch (1992) and Baumeister (1997) included sense of entitlement as a contributing factor in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. However, neither provided evidence supporting the role a sense of entitlement in such behavior. The research on what role, if any, sense of entitlement has in either violent or nonviolent criminal behavior is very limited. Generally, the research completed on the role a sense of entitlement has in criminal behavior investigates either masculine or sexual entitlement in sexual coercion and rape or the role of sense of entitlement in narcissism. Hill and Fischer (2001) completed one of the few empirical studies conducted directly linking sense of entitlement and criminal behavior. This study examined the role that a general

sense of entitlement played in rape and sexual coercion. What was determined in this study was that an excessive sense of entitlement mediated the link between masculinity and rape-related variables (Hill & Fischer, 2001). This study, in fact, only looked at sense of entitlement's role in rape-related variables and did not associate sense of entitlement with any other type of criminal behavior. Focusing on only entitlement's role in rape-related variables leaves the unanswered question of what role, if any, sense of entitlement has on an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior.

## Statement of Problem

There are three main problems within the research concerning how self-esteem and sense of entitlement affect an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. The first problem concerns the role of self-esteem in violent criminal behavior. There are conflicting postulates concerning which type of self-esteem is more influential in an individual's decision to commit a violent act (Baumeister, 1997; Toch, 1992). On the one side, there is the postulate that low self-esteem is more influential, yet the other side holds threatened high unstable self-esteem as being more influential (Baumeister, 1997; Toch, 1992). Both sides appear to have strong arguments supporting the hypotheses made. Nevertheless, given what is known regarding self-esteem, at the moment the decision is made, the individual is unlikely to have both high and low self-esteem. The unlikelihood that an individual holds both high and low self-esteem at the moment the decision is made to commit a criminal act indicates that one of the postulates concerning which type of self-esteem is more influential in violent behavior is incorrect. Therefore, there is a need to clarify which type of self-esteem is actually more influential in an individual's decision to participate in violent criminal behavior.

The second problem within the research concerns which type of self-esteem appears to be more influential in an individual's decision to participate in nonviolent criminal behavior. As with the role of self-esteem in violent behavior, there are two hypotheses concerning which type of self-esteem is more influential in the decision to participate in nonviolent criminal behavior. Again, one side holds low self-esteem as being more influential while the other side holds high unstable self-esteem as more influential (Baumeister, 1997; Toch, 1992). The same issues and concerns occur with this conflict of postulates that occurred with the conflict of postulates concerning self-esteem and violent behavior. Added to these concerns is the issue that there does not appear to be any research that directly relates self-esteem to nonviolent criminal behavior. Although both sides make a postulation regarding self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior, neither side provides any support for it. Instead, it appears as though both sides make inferences stemming from their postulation concerning self-esteem and violent behavior. The research, therefore, needs to examine the actual role self-esteem plays in an individual's decision to participate in nonviolent criminal behavior.

The final problem within the research concerning the roles self-esteem and sense of entitlement play in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior is based on the research on entitlement (Baumeister, 1997; Toch, 1992). Although sense of entitlement is purported to influence an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior, there is very limited supporting empirical research. The research conducted on sense of entitlement in criminal behavior usually concerns the role masculine or sexual entitlement in rape and sexual coercion or the role narcissism in criminal behavior (Baumeister, Catanese, & Wallace, 2002; Hill & Fischer, 2001). There are virtually no

studies that directly examine the role a general sense of entitlement has in the decision to commit criminal acts other then rape or sexual coercion (Hill & Fischer, 2001). This limited research indicates the need to test the hypothesis that sense of entitlement does influence an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior.

## Justification

The importance of this research survey is threefold. It may help clarify the relationship between self-esteem and criminal behavior. Clarification is especially important for understanding the role that self-esteem plays in nonviolent criminal behavior as most of the available research involves self-esteem and violent behavior. Second, this research may also help clarify the role that sense of entitlement plays in both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. At the present time, sense of entitlement seems only to have been empirically linked to rape, sexual coercion and narcissism. Third, this research may assist in the therapeutic intervention of people who commit violent and nonviolent criminal behavior.

Federal law mandates rehabilitative and/or therapeutic services to inmates in most prisons; however, the services do not appear to be helping in the race to lower recidivism (Ditton, 1999). One factor for this inability to lower the recidivism rate is that most of the services offered tend to be generalized and do not necessarily look at the individuals' concept of themselves that may have initially caused the criminal behavior. Although this generalization is understandable, in order to help lower the recidivism rate, changes may need to be made in the way rehabilitative and/or therapeutic services are offered. Without a clear-cut answer to which of these concepts, self-esteem or sense of entitlement, plays in the bigger role in the initiation of criminal behavior, individualizing

a prison's approach to rehabilitative and/or therapeutic services may not be sufficiently effective.

#### Literature Review

This literature review is presented in different sections. The first section explores current theories concerning crime, as well as some of the factors that are apt to influence an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. The second section reviews the construct of self-esteem, including its definition and how it arises and the psychological consequences stemming from the construct. The next section examines the research concerning self-esteem and criminal behavior. The construct of entitlement is defined and the relevant literature reviewed. The subsequent section discusses the relationship of entitlement to criminal behavior, and the last two sections investigate the relationship between self-esteem and sense of entitlement, providing the hypotheses to be tested in the proposed research, respectively.

## Causes of Criminal Behavior and Recidivism

For as long as there have been individuals who commit criminal acts, there have been theories trying to explain why. An underlying theme in some of the earliest theories that attempted to explain criminal behavior placed the responsibility of such acts not on the individual but on external factors. Included in these external factors were planetary or zodiac alignment, demonic possession, the will of God, or natural illness ("Causes of," 2004). Although there are some people who still attribute criminal behavior to planetary or zodiac alignment and demonic possession today, for the most part, these explanations have been discarded. The more current theories attempting to explain the causes of criminal behavior come from a number of diverse fields and generally invoke both

external and internal factors. Since there are numerous theories attempting to explain criminal behavior to choose from, only three of the more predominate ones will be discussed ("Causes of," 2004; "Criminal Mind," 2004; Hoffman, 2003; Peter et al., 2003).

One theory of crime is the Differential Association Theory, is strongly associated with the Social Learning Theory of criminal behavior (Hoffman, 2003). The underlying assumption of the Differential Association Theory is that all criminal behavior is learned. An individual acquires his or her tendency to commit criminal acts through association with people who condone such behavior (Alarid, Burton, & Cullen, 2000; McCarthy, 1996). The learning process that occurs in Differential Association Theory is governed by nine principles, based on the belief that all criminal behavior will follow the same rules that govern any type of learned behavior. This theory postulates that the primary associations that teach an individual criminal behavior are intimate relationships involving the family, peers, and school ("Causes of," 2004; Hoffman, 2003; McCarthy, 1996). Differential Association Theory affords an explanation for the distribution of crime rates across populations as it proposes that criminal associations vary across communities (Hoffman, 2003).

A second theory, Strain Theory, was originally developed in the 1940s as an attempt to explain the role that social stress plays in the development of criminal behavior (Agnew, 2001; Warner & Fowler, 2003). A basic assumption of Strain Theory is that criminal behavior is caused by a divergence between the goals that society expects an individual to achieve and the individual's ability and/or available means to achieve these goals (Peter et al., 2003). This divergence was proposed to result from the community to

which the individual belongs as the community places restrictions on the various opportunities available to an individual (Hoffman, 2003). In other words, if an individual lives in a community where there is limited ability to find work, then divergence may occur. When divergence occurs, the individual has five different means to resolve it: conformity, ritualism, innovation, retreatism, and rebellion. It is when the individual chooses to rebel against the divergence that criminal behavior develops (Agnew, 2001; Warner & Fowler, 2003).

Strain Theory was recently elaborated by broadening where strain could be derived. Previously, strain arose from placement in one community; however, the recent elaboration allowed strain to be a consequent of a number of factors, including family, school, cognitive ability, and stressful life events (Agnew, 2001; Hoffman, 2003). The updated Strain Theory also tended to focus more on the negative relationships that an individual has with others (Peter et al., 2003). Negative relationships are believed to be any relationship in which the individual feels that he or she is being treated unfairly or even exploited and abused. Such relationships will cause a negative effect, which in turn requires some type of corrective response (Hoffman, 2003; Peter et al., 2003). Within this corrective response resides the possibility of criminal behavior (Peter et al., 2003).

Another theory is Gottfredson and Hirshi's A General Theory of Crime (AGTC). Beginning with its conception in 1990, AGTC has been very influential, generating numerous theoretical and empirical debates (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1995; Peter et al., 2003). AGTC stems from Hirshi's Social Control Theory developed in the late 1960s, which proposed that there was no special motivation for an individual to violate the law and assumed that, if there were no consequences of criminal

behavior, then almost everyone would participate in such acts ("Criminal Mind," 2004; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1995). Instead of individuals having special motivation to violate the law, social controls and social bonds motivated the individual to obey the law. These bonds include (1) attachment or ties to significant others, such as family and peers; (2) commitment or investment in conventional society, such as school; (3) involvement in conventional activities, such as appropriate recreational activities; and (4) belief or endorsement of conventional values and norms, such as respect for authority (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1995; Nakhaie, Silverman & LaGrange, 1999). Social Control Theory was more concerned with explaining why an individual obeyed the law than with explaining why he or she did not (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1995).

AGTC was developed from Social Control Theory's lack of explanation of why an individual participates in criminal acts and its sole reliance on external issues of control. AGTC proposes that not only do external issues of control, but also internal issues of control, influence an individual's decision to commit criminal acts (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994). Consequently, AGTC adds personality characteristics into the causes of criminal behavior. The primary personality characteristic that AGTC is concerned with is self-control, construed as the ability to delay gratification; sensitivity to the interests and desires of others; independence; and willingness to accept restraints (Nakhaie et al., 1999). According to AGTC, the role that social control has in criminal behavior is within its interaction with self-control. Social control helps with the development of self-control and affords opportunities within the community to use self-control (Nakhaie et al., 1999; Peter et al., 2003). AGTC proposes that self-control is promoted through everyday social

interaction and socialization with an individual's family, peers, and social encounters. If these social interactions are either negative or lacking, then the individual is more predisposed to participate in criminal behavior. However, the individual must first encounter opportunities within the community that foster criminal behavior (Nakhaie et al., 1999).

Differential Association Theory, Strain Theory, and AGTC all share the common theme that the social environment of the individual plays a significant role in whether or not he or she will participate in criminal behavior. From an empirical point of view, this role has been shown to be true. Extensive research has demonstrated that individuals raised in lower-class environments are more likely to commit criminal acts than those individuals raised in middle to upper classes (Ellis & McDonald, 2001). Individuals are also more likely to commit criminal acts when they are raised in urban neighborhoods ("Causes of," 2004). Within the relationship between the environment and criminal behavior, the most important determinant of criminal behavior stemming from the social environment is the actual family structure. Numerous studies indicate that the type of family environment in which an individual is raised in can not only predict whether he or she will participate in criminal behavior, but also whether this behavior will continue (Clingempeel et al., 2003; McCord, 1996; Tolan, Gorman-Smith, Huesmann, & Zelli, 1997).

The type of family environment most conducive to producing participation in criminal behavior has several characteristics. The first is the stability of the family. The more transitions the family experiences, such as moving, divorces, and familial separations, the more likely the individual will be to participate in criminal behavior

(Gibson et al., 2001). A history of familial criminality is also a predictor of future criminal behavior, with research demonstrating that those individuals whose relatives are involved in criminal behavior are more likely to commit criminal acts themselves than those with no such family history (Cottle et al., 2001). This fact also produces an argument for the possibility that criminal behavior has genetic origins, and there is research available to support that argument; however, a nature versus nurture discussion is beyond the scope of this review.

Within the family environment, the single most important aspect that contributes to an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior is parenting style.

Individuals that commit any type of criminal behavior generally have poorly bonded parental relationships (Kierkus & Baer, 2002). Their parents are usually had an authoritarian parenting style, employing harsh yet inconsistent discipline, as well as failing to reinforce prosocial behaviors. These parents also tend to have little positive involvement with the individual and provide little monitoring and supervision (Garnesfski & Okma, 1996; Kierkus & Baer, 2002; Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989).

Beyond the social and familial environmental factors that contribute to criminal behavior, there are also common personality characteristics found in individuals who commit criminal acts. AGTC assumes the main personality characteristic that contributes to an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior is self-control. Numerous research studies have been conducted on the concept of self-control in criminal behavior, including impulse control (Lynam, Caspi, Moffitt, Wikstrom, Loeber, & Novak, 2000; Nakhaie et al., 1999). Generally, the research does support the prediction that self-control

has a significant role in criminal behavior, but poor self-control alone is not sufficient to account for the personality aspects of criminal behavior (Baron, 2003). The other personality characteristics commonly associated with criminal behavior are lack of remorse, absence of empathy, and egocentricity (Frick et al., 2000).

Not only are certain personality characteristics involved in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior, but also the individual's self-concept plays an important role (Youngstrom, Weist, & Albus, 2003). Self-concept is an individual's actual self-identity or the way in which an individual would describe himself or herself. Included with an individual's self-concept are both affective (feelings) and cognitive (thoughts) constructs, indicating that self-concept involves both the way in which an individual thinks and feels about himself or herself (Baron & Byrne, 1994). An individual's self-concept influences his or her reactions and subsequent adjustment to life difficulties and determines whether or not he or she will internalize or externalize negative occurrences, which, in turn, will help determine how he or she behaves (Youngstrom et al., 2003). Included in an individual's self-concept would be the constructs of self-esteem and sense of entitlement.

## The Construct of Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is one of the most widely studied constructs in psychology. Research on this construct can be found in a variety of disciplines in psychology, including but not limited to, psychopathology, organizational behavior, therapeutic outcomes, personality, and social psychology (Watson et al., 2002). Not only is self-esteem considered to be important in the field of psychology, but also a number of politicians and educators consider the enhancement of self-esteem to be an important societal goal (Watson et al.,

2002). To the general public, the construct of self-esteem is an almost magical cure-all to most everyday aliments. It has commonly been said that if one could enhance or raise one's self-esteem, then his or her overall quality of life would be concomitantly improved. The research does show that self-esteem plays an important role in an individual's overall psychological functioning. There are some indications, however, that what is publicly believed concerning self-esteem is not necessarily what the research supports (Kernis et al., 1989).

Self-esteem, in its most basic terms, is what a person thinks or feels about himself or herself. It is a person's overall evaluation of the self, usually in terms of positive (high) and negative (low) assessments. This evaluation is not necessarily a conscious one, although there is usually a general awareness of what one thinks about oneself (Baron & Byrne, 1994). Research appears to support this definition; however, beyond the definition is little agreement. Some research views self-esteem as a state that changes depending on the situation and other research interprets self-esteem as a trait that is relatively stable (Watson et al., 2002). There is also debate over whether self-esteem is primarily a cognitive function or an affective function (Watson et al., 2002). Further disputes exist over whether self-esteem is a global feeling of self-worth or a series of domain-specific evaluations, such as academic and social self-esteem (Watson et al., 2002). For the purpose of the current research, self-esteem is considered to be a global self-evaluation of one's overall functioning.

The self-esteem an individual holds can stem from a number of different sources.

A primary source of self-esteem results from an individual's interaction with his or her parents (King, 1999). Numerous research studies concerning self-esteem and parental

interactions have been conducted, which indicate that parental involvement in a child's life may be the single, most important aspect affecting the development of either high or low self-esteem (DeRoss, Marrinan, Schattner, & Gullone, 1999; King, 1999; Mruk, 1995; Sim, 2000). Other important aspects of parental interactions that effect the development of self-esteem include parental warmth, respect, consistency, and expectations (Mruk, 1995).

Beyond parental interactions, there are many other factors that influence self-esteem. Although gender has been shown to influence an individual's self-esteem, it is usually in terms of which trait an individual will place more emphasis on when making the overall evaluation. For instance, women tend to place more emphasis on whether they are accepted by others, whereas, men tend to place more emphasis on obtaining material success. Race and socioeconomic background have also been linked to self-esteem, yet this link is often mediated by discrimination and fewer opportunities available for success (Branden, 1969). Social comparisons and acceptance, unconditional positive regard, power, and guilt are also considered to be important influences on self-esteem (King, 1999). Success and failure are probably the most important factors, outside parental interaction, that effect the development of self-esteem (Dutton & Brown, 1997; Mruk, 1995).

James, an American psychologist who is considered to have been very influential in the origins of self-esteem construct, once stated that self-esteem involves success (James, 1952; Mruk, 1995; Pelham, 1995). In this observation, James meant that success has a positive influence on self-esteem. The subsequent research has indicated that not only is there a positive correlation between success and self-esteem, but there is also a

negative correlation between failure and self-esteem (Dutton & Brown, 1997; James, 1952; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2003). Research has also shown a relationship between self-esteem and how an individual handles both success and failure (Dutton & Brown, 1997). Self-esteem not only influences an individual's ability to handle success and failure, it also influences almost every aspect of his or her lives (Dutton & Brown, 1997; Trzesniewski et al., 2003)

According to Baron and Byrne (1994), "a person expressing high self-esteem believes himself or herself to be fundamentally good, capable, and worthy; low self-esteem is a view of one's self as useless, inept, and unworthy" (p. 179). Whereas, low self-esteem is associated with negative personal characteristics, high self-esteem is associated with more positive ones, such as positive affect or an overall more positive mood (Wood, Heimpel, & Michela, 2003). In other words, individuals that have a high self-esteem feel better about themselves and are generally in a better mood than those with low self-esteem. Individuals with high self-esteem appear to be more effective in dealing with the various tasks and challenges of living and are more apt to ask for help when difficulties arise (Heimpel, Wood, Marshall, & Brown, 2002; Trzesniewski et al., 2003). These individuals are also more able to complete tasks successfully, although self-efficacy, or the belief in one's ability, may be more influential in this ability (Branden, 1969).

Individuals who possess high self-esteem are likely to be more independent, self-directed, and autonomous than individuals who possess low self-esteem (Branden, 1969). They are also more likely to speak-up for their rights, be more assertive, and perceive situations more realistically (Mruk, 1995). Additionally, individuals with high self-

esteem are more open to positive feedback and participate in more self-enhancing techniques than individuals with low self-esteem (Wood et al., 2003). One self-enhancing technique is revealed in the tendency of individuals with high self-esteem to discount negative feedback that interferes with their positive self-evaluation (Kernis et al., 1993; Mruk, 1995). The opposite is true for individuals with low self-esteem, who tend to be hypersensitive to negative feedback and tend not to participate in any self-enhancing techniques (Bernichon, Cook, & Brown, 2003).

Beyond the differences in their method of handling feedback and self-enhancement, individuals with low self-esteem differ from individuals with high self-esteem in other ways. Low self-esteem is associated with a more negative outlook and affect, as well as being strongly associated with depression (Kernis et al., 1993, Heimpel et al., 2002). This association with depression is understandable in light of the fact that individuals with low self-esteem have an overall self-opinion that includes feelings of inferiority, unworthiness, loneliness, and insecurity (Baron & Bryne, 1994; Mruk, 1995). Individuals with low self-esteem are not only apt to have more difficulty coping with stress; but they are also prone to have difficulty handling positive life events (Shimizu & Pelham, 2004). These individuals further appear to be deficient in self-knowledge and, therefore, may have more problems in setting and attaining appropriate goals from themselves, which may stem from a higher susceptibility to inhibitory factors, as well as a reluctance to take risks (Kernis et al., 1993; Baumeister et al., 1996).

With so many positive characteristics associated with high self-esteem and the great number of negative ones associated with low self-esteem, it is no wonder that high self-esteem is so desirable. However, just as low self-esteem has a negative effect on an

individual's psychological functioning, so can high self-esteem. This effect is especially the case when the high self-esteem is unrealistic or unfounded. A good example of this negative effect would be narcissism. Sigmund Freud first coined the term "narcissism" after the Greek mythology figure, Narcissus (Blechner, 1987; Freud, 1952). Narcissus was a handsome young man who was cursed by an avenging goddess and who fell in love with his own image reflected in a creek (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Freud, 1952). A narcissistic individual generally has an exaggerated sense of self-importance and uniqueness; an excessive sense of entitlement; craves admiration; exploits others; and displays arrogance and a lack of empathy (Bushman, Bonacci, van Dijk, & Baumeister, 2003).

One of the most common characteristics of narcissism is grandiose ideation about oneself (Campbell, Foster, & Finkel, 2002; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1998). Narcissism is commonly related to an excessively high self-esteem, and the current research continues to show a positive correlation between narcissism and high self-esteem (Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991). However, the research has also indicated that narcissistic individuals will occasionally score low on self-esteem inventories (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). There are at least two possible reasons for such an occurrence. The first is that the narcissistic individual's veneer of high self-regard is actually a defense mechanism for underlying feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). The second is that the narcissistic individual has become emotionally invested in his or her grandiose self-esteem even through he or she has also developed a less favorable self-appraisal (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). Based on these two possible explanations, the question then becomes whether the grandiosity commonly found in

narcissism is really an indicator of high self-esteem or a defense mechanism designed to protect low self-esteem.

The answer to the question of whether the grandiosity commonly found in narcissism is a true indicator of high self-esteem or a defense mechanism designed to protect low self-esteem may actually be that it is a combination of both. When describing the diagnostic features of Narcissistic Personality Disorder, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (1994) states that such an individual's "selfesteem is almost invariably very fragile" (p. 658). In describing this disorder, the DSM-IV (1994) manual never discusses high or low self-esteem directly; instead, it discusses grandiosity, the need for constant attention and admiration from others, and the vulnerability of self-esteem. As a matter of fact, not one of the nine criteria listed for Narcissistic Personality Disorder specifically states high self-esteem. Within these criteria there are a number of factors that logically are associated with an inflated self-esteem such as grandiosity, arrogance, haughtiness, and attitudes of being special and unique (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 1994). Thus, it appears reasonable to assume that the narcissistic individual does hold high self-esteem. However, the vulnerability and/or fragileness of this self-esteem and the need from admiration from others could indicate that there is a lack of conviction in the narcissistic individual's overall positive regard of himself or herself. Accordingly, this lack of conviction could mean in fact that the individual holds a low self-esteem (APA, 1994; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998).

In regard to how narcissism and self-esteem are related, the research tends to agree on a four main points. First, there is a positive correlation between high self-esteem and narcissism. Second, the high self-esteem found in narcissism is excessive and

unfounded. Third, narcissistic individuals not only have an excessive and unfounded high self-esteem, they also have a strong desire for others to recognize their unwarranted worth. Finally, the high self-esteem found in a narcissistic individual is fragile and vulnerable (Baumeister, Bushman, & Campbell, 2000; Baumeister et al., 1996; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Campbell et al., 2002; Kernis et al., 1993; Raskin et al., 1991; Rhodewalt & Morf, 1998).

Where the research differs; however, is in how this excessive, unfounded, and fragile excessive self-esteem is described. A number of researchers describe the self-esteem found in narcissism as high, unstable self-esteem. This type of self-esteem indicates that the individual generally holds a positive evaluation of himself or herself that has periods of fluctuation (Baumeister, 1997; Bushman and Baumeister, 1998; Kernis et al., 1993). On the other hand, other researchers describe the self-esteem found in narcissism as defensive. Defensive self-esteem indicates that the narcissistic individual holds a high self-esteem that has an underlying layer of insecurity and doubt (Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003; Mruk, 1995)

Regardless of which term is used, unstable or defensive, this type of high self-esteem has a number of negative effects on the narcissistic individual's psychological functioning. It has been determined that individuals with this type of high self-esteem have a greater propensity to experience anger and hostility, especially when their self-esteem is threatened (Kernis et al., 1989). These individuals also tend to be more sensitive to feedback than individuals with stable or non-defensive high self-esteem, and even individual with low self-esteem (Kirkpatrick, Waugh, Valencia, & Webster, 2002). Probably the most important characteristic of individuals with this type of self-esteem is

the propensity for aggression when there is a perceived threat against their self-evaluations (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Heatherton & Vohs, 2000).

Self-Esteem and Criminal Behavior

Until recent years, the assumption was that criminal behavior, especially violent occurrences, was associated with low self-esteem. According to Baumeister (1997), the argument for low self-esteem and criminal behavior was that individuals who suffer from a personal, internal sense of worthlessness strike out in order to prove their worth and gain esteem. This argument was further elaborated by the belief that these individuals would not commit violent acts causing crime to be vastly reduced if society would only provide them with good feelings about themselves (Baumeister, 1997). Low self-esteem had traditionally been linked to domestic violence, terrorism, gang violence, armed robbery, hate crime, and genocide (Baumeister, 1997). In 1969, Toch completed a study of individuals who had both participated in and had been incarcerated for violent behavior. Low self-esteem was determined to have been influential in these individuals' decisions to participate in violent behavior (Toch, 1992). From this study, a topology of violent behavior was developed, categorizing violent behavior into two main groups: self-preserving strategies and approaches that dehumanize others (Toch, 1992). These two main groups are further compartmentalized into different categories. Table 1 depicts Toch's topology of violence by showing the two main groups and which categories fall under each group.

Table 1: Toch's Topology of Violence

Self-Preserving Strategies	Approaches that Dehumanize Others		
Rep Defending	Bullying		
Norm-Enforcing	Exploitation		
Self-Image Compensating: Self-Image Defending Self-Image Promoting	Self-Indulging Catharting		
Self-Defending			
Pressure-Removing			

The first group, self-preserving strategies, uses violence as a way to enhance and reinforce one's ego or self-esteem. The categories of this group include rep-defending, norm-enforcing, self-image compensating, self-defending, and pressure-removing. The self-image compensating category included two strategies wherein violence is directly used as a compensatory measure against low self-esteem. These two strategies are self-image defending and self-image promoting (Toch, 1992). In the self-image promoting strategy, the individual intentionally provokes situations in which he or she can use violence to enhance his or her self-image as someone who is formidable and fearless to both self and others. This self-image was believed by Toch to hide a self-esteem that was lacking in conviction of the individual's worth (Toch, 1992). This belief was based on the deduction that since the individual was so afraid of being seen as weak and insignificant, that he or she actually suspects that he or she is weak (Toch, 1992). At the same time, however, Toch discussed how this individual would involve himself or herself in the affairs of others "because his exaggerated self-esteem tells him he is needed."

The self-image defender is similar to the self-image promoter because both portray a self-image that is formidable and fearless, yet tends to hide a self-esteem that is

uncertain. However, whereas the self-image promoter is unaware of this low self-esteem, the self-image defender is, in fact, consciously aware of his or her doubts and feelings of unworthiness. Self-image defenders are extraordinarily sensitive to the implications of other people's action that could be perceived as questioning their self-worth. The violence the self-image defender participates in is a reaction or retaliation to perceived challenges, slights or questions of the individual's self-worth. This individual does not necessarily seek out situations that will test his or her portrayed self-image; instead, he or she is constantly on guard for any perceived slight against it (Toch, 1992). This individual may react at once to a perceived slight against his or her portrayed self-esteem or may delay the reaction and use violence long after the other person has forgotten the original incident. This delay may be due to the self-image defender needing time in order to gain the courage to attack the offending person (Toch, 1992).

The second main group in Toch's topology of violent behavior is the approaches that dehumanize others. The violent individuals in this group see themselves and their needs as the only relevant factors. Individuals within this group see others as a means to an end, rather than actual human beings with needs and feelings who must be treated with dignity. This group includes the categories of bullying, exploitation, self-indulging and catharting, all of which use violence as a means to get needs satisfied with little or no regard for victims, and in some of the categories, violence is the actual requirement (Toch, 1992). Although Toch never specifically states that this group's violent behaviors are concluded to deal with low levels of self-esteem, he does suggest that self-doubt is implied through the desperate, feverish quality of the violence. Toch goes further to propose that any violence-provoking incidence typically consists of the classification of

the other person as an object or threat and that action is needed to protect one's integrity or self-esteem (Toch, 1992).

Based on this topology and Toch's definition of a violence-provoking incident, it follows that low levels of self-esteem cause violence. Toch repeatedly noted how the individuals in his study of incarcerated offenders and parolees used violence as a way to overcome fear or being seen as potential victims to others. He also notes how these individuals' violent reactions to perceived threats appear to be both frantic and desperate, which could be perceived as projective of low self-esteem (Toch, 1992). At the same time, Toch does not necessarily provide unequivocal empirical evidence that attributes these frantic and desperate violent acts to actual low self-esteem. At one point, Toch even contradicts his assumption that some violent acts are caused by low self-esteem when he discusses an individual's exaggerated self-esteem (p. 136). The question remains does low self-esteem cause criminal behavior and aggression?

Although the traditional view holds that low self-esteem is a contributing cause of criminal behavior and aggression, there is little strong empirical evidence that supports that view. Not only is there little evidence, there appears to be no original theoretical statement that holds the view that low self-esteem is directly related to aggression (Baumeister et al., 2000). Baumeister, Smart and Boden (1996) completed meta-analysis of the available research concerning the relationship between self-esteem and crime, aggression and violence, and determined that low self-esteem is generally not related to violence or aggression. Instead, it was proposed that individuals with high self-esteem are more likely to act violently (Baumeister et al., 1996). The authors went further to clarify

their proposal by arguing that when this high self-esteem is threatened, the individual is more likely to participate in aggressive and violent behavior (Baumeister et al., 1996).

Further research indicates that when high esteem is threatened it is more likely to result in violence than low self-esteem (Baumeister, 1997). However, it is not just high self-esteem that is the factor; it is also the stability of self-esteem that is significant (Baumeister et al., 1996; Kernis et al., 1989). Kernis et al., Grannemann, and Barcaly (1989) explored the relationship between the stability and level of self-esteem and the tendencies to experience anger and hostility. The results indicated that individuals with high unstable self-esteem showed a greater propensity to experience anger than individuals that possessed stable or unstable low self-esteem (Kernis et al., 1989). Research of Bushman and Baumeister (1998) also indicated that when high unstable self-esteem, as found in narcissism, is threatened, the propensity toward violence is greatly increased.

Based on the aforementioned research, it appears as though high unstable self-esteem that is threatened is more likely to result in violence than low self-esteem. This research would explain the link between self-esteem and violent criminal behavior, yet it does not indicate in what mechanism self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior interconnect. Moreover, there is little research connecting nonviolent criminal behavior to self-esteem. Mruk (1995) wrote about a connection between low self-esteem and antisocial personality disorders, as well as a link between low self-esteem and substance use. He also speculated that juvenile delinquency may be a result of an adolescent trying to gain self-esteem through committing petty crimes (Mruk, 1995). Toch (1992) also

briefly discussed a connection between low self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior, although he did not present research studies supporting this link.

Baumeister (1997) suggests a connection between high self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior. Again, however, no research is presented that directly supports this connection. Indeed, most of the research connecting either low or high self-esteem to nonviolent criminal behavior seems to stem from the research that connects self-esteem to violent criminal behavior. Extrapolations appear to be the main source of information concerning self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior. The same appears to hold true concerning the concept of sense of entitlement and criminal behavior.

The Construct of Entitlement

Entitlement, or sense of entitlement, is the basic belief that an individual should be afforded rights or privileges across any life domain based on any of the following: who they are, what they have done, or what they have suffered from in the past. As Major (1993) stated, "a sense of entitlement is experienced as a more imperative or right" (p. 142). All human beings experience a sense of entitlement whether it is expressed or not. In most cases, the sense of entitlement felt by an individual is considered to be normal. It is when the extremes of these feelings are experienced, either too much or too little, and/or the affective and behavioral reactions to these feelings are inappropriate, that problems arise.

Although the psychological construct of entitlement has been recognized since at least the early part of the twentieth century, there has not been a significant amount of research completed on the subject. Generally, the studies conducted investigate a patient's sense of entitlement within psychoanalytic therapy or how entitlement interacts

with violence and/or rape or its role in narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2003; Bishop & Lane, 2000; Hill & Fischer, 2001). Only in the past couple of decades has the research concerning entitlement shifted towards a more global level of functioning beyond just the role sense of entitlement has in the therapeutic relationship and, even then, there still has been very limited research completed on the construct.

When one looks at the pattern of research on entitlement, one can understand why most of the original research was concerned with psychoanalytic therapy. In 1916, Freud first discussed the attitude of pathological entitlement in patients that he called "the exceptions" (Bishop & Lane, 2002). These patients portrayed the attitude that they should be exempt from having to explore certain things in both life and therapy since they had already suffered enough (Bishop & Lane, 2002). According to Bishop and Lane (2002), these patients "considered themselves 'exceptions' that had renounced and suffered enough and should thus be exempt from any further 'disagreeable necessity'" (p. 740). In these patients' perceptions, the suffering they endured in childhood was special, unjust, and at no fault of their own (Bishop & Lane, 2002). This suffering, therefore, afforded or entitled these patients to special privileges and/or rights, especially within the therapeutic relationship (Bishop & Lane, 2000).

Over the years, the psychological definition of entitlement has been expanded beyond psychoanalysis to include an individual's belief concerning exemption from ordinary laws and morality, as well as the expectation that one should receive anything for nothing (Coen, 1986; Major, 1993). It also has been included as a central construct in both equity theory and relative deprivation theory, both of which are psychological theories of social justice (Major, 1993). These theories share the basic assumption that

when people have not received the outcomes that they feel they legitimately deserve, they believe they have been treated unfairly (Major, 1993).

Entitlement is a cognitive judgment that contains both affective and motivation implications. The cognitive component of entitlement is the judgment that an individual is entitled to a particular outcome based on either who he or she is, or what he or she has done. The motivational implications of entitlement appear to be based on what the individual believes the outcome of a behavior should be, regardless of what the outcome actually is. The affective implication is concerned with an individual's emotional reaction to the actual outcome of a situation versus what he or she believed the outcome should have been (Major, 1993).

More recent research on entitlement has distinguished between normal, excessive, and restrictive senses of entitlement (Bishop & Lane, 2002; Blechner, 1987). Within a normal sense of entitlement, an individual has an appropriate, realistic view of what he or she should be compensated within a given situation (Bishop & Lane, 2002). In restrictive sense of entitlement, the individual undermines what he or she is worth and expects considerably less compensation (Grey, 1987). This type of entitlement is the one that is likely to be most overlook, although it no less of an indicator of psychological problems then an excessive attitude of entitlement (Grey, 1987). However, since the reaction to this type of entitlement is going to be less severe and straightforward, little attention has been given to it (Grey, 1987).

The sense of entitlement that has received the most attention in both the research and in the therapeutic relationships is the excessive one. The excessive or problematic sense of entitlement occurs when an individual feels that he or she should be afforded or

given special rights and privileges based on who he or she is and/or what he or she has suffered from in the past (Bishop & Lane, 2002). Such behavior is likely to provoke a negative reaction from the person encountering it, as well as a negative reaction from the individual expecting these rights or privileges when he or she does not receive them.

Added to these negative reactions is the likelihood of confusion, since the expectations are not likely to be clearly stated or consciously understood by either party (Grey, 1987). Given the potentially explosive nature of such encounters, it is no wonder why the excessive sense of entitlement has been the one that has been explored the most in the research.

There are a number of hypotheses on the origins of an excessive sense of entitlement. In psychoanalytic theory, the main cause associated with such an attitude is some type of deprivation encountered by a child during his or her development (Blechner, 1987). This deprivation usually comes from the parent's interaction or lack of interaction with the child, such as when a parent idolizes the child yet at the same time is overly critical of the child or when the parent does not spend any time with the child (Grey, 1987). In order to be compensated for deprivation and the negative feelings associated with it, the child begins to feel entitled to special rights and privileges. Other theorists propose that an excessive attitude of entitlement is caused by a child's identification with a parent who has similar attitudes or when the level of parental attention is withdrawn abruptly with child, such as with a parent starts to work after being home all the time (Bishop & Lane, 2002). Blechner (1987) proposed that beauty or genius could possibility lead to an excessive sense of entitlement since the parents of the

individual possessing these characteristics, as well as other people, are unlikely to believe that any type of human weaknesses could accompany such gifts.

Regardless of what causes either a restricted or excessive sense of entitlement, these types of entitlement have a detrimental effect on an individual's overall psychological functioning (Grey, 1987). Less information is available concerning the detrimental effects that a restricted sense of entitlement has an individual's psychological functioning than an excessive sense of entitlement. Both are considered to contain feelings of worthlessness, being unloved, envy, hostility and rage; however, with a restricted sense of entitlement, the individual is less likely to act upon these feelings.

Based on this unlikelihood of action and constant undermining of a person's worth, several inferences could be made concerning the affects that a restricted sense of entitlement could have on an individual's overall psychological functioning (Blechner, 1987; Grey, 1987). Such inferences would include the likelihood of the individual being dependent upon others and the likelihood of being victimized by others. However, these inferences are unsupported by available research.

A research review of an excessive sense of entitlement by the author did produce several of articles concerning this type of entitlement's effect on an individual's psychological functioning. An excessive sense of entitlement is generally thought to be defense against feelings of fear and shame and strongly related to frustration and feelings of rage (Tenzer, 1987). Individuals with an exaggerated sense of entitlement often have difficulty trusting and empathizing with others, leading to strained social interactions (Bishop & Lane, 2002). Not only are the individual's relationships with others strained due to difficulty trusting and empathizing, they are also further hindered by the

individual's wish to control the relationship. This control is usually associated with intense rage and a wish to humiliate, destroy, or obliterate (Grey, 1987). These individuals have the tendency to devalue others and view them as a means to narcissistic need fulfillment (Bishop & Lane, 2002). There is a great deal of exploitation of others done by the individual that has an excessive sense of entitlement.

Sense of Entitlement and Criminal Behavior

As with low self-esteem and criminal behavior, there is virtually no research directly connecting an excessive sense of entitlement to either violent or nonviolent criminal behavior (Baumeister, 1997; Hill & Fischer, 2001; Toch, 1993). In the work of Toch (1993) and Baumeister (1997), there is an assumed link between criminal behavior and an excessive sense of entitlement, although neither study provides supportive data. The one area of research that does deal directly with entitlement and criminal behavior is sexual coercion and rape, even though it is usually sexual or masculine entitlement that is linked to these behaviors (Hill & Fischer, 2001). These types of entitlement deal directly with men feeling entitled to have their general needs (masculine) or sexual needs met by women. There are empirical data that directly link sexual entitlement to rape, especially acquaintance rape (Hill & Fischer, 2001).

The postulation concerning masculine entitlement and rape presupposes that masculine entitlement is a result of an individual being socialized in a rigid, extreme masculine gender role, where the man is dominant over the woman. Strong masculine gender roles have been linked to attitudes supportive of date-rape beliefs, yet it does not account for the variance found between this type of socialization and rape. It is believed that the masculine sense of entitlement would be the crucial factor mediating this link

between masculine gender roles and attitudes supportive of date-rape beliefs (Hill & Fischer, 2001). This conclusion appears to be reasonable, based on the fact that men generally do score higher on scales of entitlement than do women; however, the assumption had not been empirically tested (Hill & Fischer, 2001).

In 2001, Hill and Fischer tested whether masculine entitlement had links to rape. Beyond testing whether masculine entitlement had links to rape, the Hill and Fischer (2001) study also appears to be the only available study that examines the relationship between a general sense of entitlement and any type of criminal behavior. These researchers hypothesized that general entitlement, along with sexual entitlement, would mediate the links between masculinity and rape-related variables. The hypotheses were supported, indicating a link between masculine gender roles and general and sexual entitlement (Hill & Fischer, 2001). Other research in the area of sexual coercion and rape indirectly examines a sense of entitlement through its association with narcissism (Baumeister et al., 2002; Bushman et al., 2003).

In addition to the grandiosity, another characteristic of narcissism is an excessive sense of entitlement. Baumeister, Catanese, and Wallace (2002) discuss how an excessive sense of entitlement plays an important role in narcissism and how this role supports the narcissistic reactance theory of rape. According to this theory, narcissistic individuals believe that they are better than others and this belief enables them to feel that they rightfully deserve special treatment, privileges, and greater rewards than other people. This excessive sense of entitlement is apt to cause these individuals to form higher expectations of receiving sexual favors and reacting with force when these expectations are not met (Baumeister et al., 2002). Bushman, Bonacci, van Dijk, and Baumeister

(2003) also explored narcissism, sense of entitlement, reactance and rape. They argue that due to narcissistic individuals' inflated sense of entitlement, they are likely to be more prone to react aggressively due to the fact they believe that they deserve things they are not receiving (Bushman et al., 2003).

Researchers have also linked the excessive sense of entitlement found in narcissism to other violent behaviors. Some researchers state that the excessive sense of entitlement found in narcissism is an important risk factor for interpersonal violence (Baumeister et al., 2002). Other researchers report that egotistical individuals hold the belief that they are entitled to help themselves to the resources of others and may aggress against them to obtain the resources without compunction (Baumeister et al., 1996). One research study found that the biggest difference among scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory between violent prisoners and college students was obtained on the entitlement subscale (Baumeister et al., 2002). All of these studies indicate that an excessive sense of entitlement does play a role in violent criminal behavior, yet they do not necessarily indicate that an excessive sense of entitlement plays a role in nonviolent criminal behavior.

Given what is known about individuals with an excessive sense of entitlement, it is logical to assume that this characteristic would indeed play a role in nonviolent criminal behavior. Following fifteen years experience in the correctional field, Yochelson and Samenow (1985) created a program designed to facilitate more effective therapeutic interventions with offenders. Within this program, there are therapeutic interventions designed to assist in eliminating the "ownership attitude" offenders were postulated to commonly exhibit (Yochelson & Samenow, 1985). According to Yochelson and

Samenow (1985), this ownership attitude is based on the offender's beliefs that it is proper for him or her to take possession of anything in anyway possible, including by force. Within this ownership attitude is the offender's belief that his or her rights, desires, and objectives outweigh or preempt those of others, as well as the belief and expectation that others owe him or her fulfillment of wishes and desires. This attitude is applied to all aspects of an offender's life including both criminal and non-criminal behavior (Yochelson & Samenow, 1985). Based on how closely this ownership attitude resembles an excessive sense of entitlement, it appears as though it is just another name for the same. One could use this attitude as an example of how sense entitlement is involved with both violent and nonviolent behavior; however, again no supporting data was supplied.

The problem with relating an excessive sense of entitlement to nonviolent criminal behavior is that there appears to be no empirical data available concerning this issue. There is research linking narcissism to nonviolent criminal behavior and research indicating a prevalence of comorbity between Narcissistic Personality Disorder and Antisocial Personality Disorder (Cottle et al., 2001). However, narcissism involves more than an excessive sense of entitlement. It also involves high unstable self-esteem, which as reported above, could explain the relationship between narcissism and criminal behavior (APA, 1994; Baumeister et al., 2000; Baumeister et al., 2002; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). At the same time, given that an individual with an excessive sense of entitlement has a tendency to devaluate and exploit others, it seems reasonable to assume that these individuals would be apt to commit nonviolent criminal behavior such as fraud and robbery.

The current research proposes to test the assumption that an excessive sense of entitlement does indeed play a role in both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. It also proposes to test the role of low self-esteem in both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. Before going into the hypothesis of the current research, the relationship between self-esteem and sense of entitlement needs to be explored.

# Self-Esteem and Entitlement

Based on what has been discussed thus far, self-esteem is the global self-evaluation that one makes about oneself, and entitlement is the basic belief that an individual should be afforded rights and privileges based on who he or she is, what he or she has done, or his or her past suffering. Normal amounts of self-esteem and sense of entitlement support the psychological health of an individual. However, these two constructs can be very detrimental to an individual's overall level of functioning when the individual has either too much or too little. Research has indicated that low self-esteem is related to depression and a general feeling of worthlessness; whereas, restricted amounts of entitlement could possibly lead an individual to being victimized. The research has also indicated that individuals that portray high unstable or defensive self-esteem and an excessive sense of entitlement are more prone to anger, hostility, and aggression. Yet, does one have to have high self-esteem in order to have an excessive sense of entitlement?

The precise relationship between self-esteem and sense of entitlement is difficult to determine. Beyond the research on narcissism, there is virtually no research on this subject. The research on narcissism indicates that both high self-esteem and an excessive sense of entitlement can be used to predict whether an individual is narcissistic (Raskin et

al., 1991). As a matter of fact, both grandiosity and an excessive sense of entitlement are included in the nine diagnostic criteria listed for Narcissistic Personality Disorder in the *DSM-IV*. Even so, this indication shows only that grandiosity and an excessive sense of entitlement are considered to be a part of narcissism and does not necessarily show a relationship between the two. This research also fails to indicate whether other variations of the two are possible, such as an excessive sense of entitlement and low self-esteem or a high self-esteem with a restricted sense of entitlement.

In order to determine whether other variations of self-esteem and sense of entitlement are possible, it would be easier to break them down into the different possible variations and look at each separately. The next variation to be examined is individuals possessing high self-esteem and a restricted sense of entitlement. Given that individuals with high stable self-esteem have a good overall self-evaluation, it seems unlikely that they would undermine the self-worth and expect considerably less compensation from others. This unlikelihood is compounded by the fact that individuals with high selfesteem show greater self-serving biases in the face of failures, are more able, and hold higher expectancies of success than people with low self-esteem (Dutton & Brown, 1997). The third possible combination is individuals who possess low self-esteem and a restricted sense of entitlement. The probability of this possible combination appears straightforward and logical. If individuals have a negative overall evaluation of themselves, it appears very likely that they would undermine what they are worth and would expect considerably less than what they should be compensated. Although it appears logical that individuals could posses both, no available research supports that assumption.

The last variation of the possible self-esteem and sense of entitlement combinations is when individuals possess low self-esteem and an excessive sense of entitlement. This variation is the most important to the current research since it plays directly into the hypotheses that are to be presented. Can individuals with low self-esteem have an excessive sense of entitlement? Again, no research was found that directly answered this question although it did lead back to the research on narcissism. Both grandiosity and an excessive sense of entitlement are important characteristics of a narcissistic individual. However, as shown in the section concerning the construct of self-esteem, it is possible for a narcissistic individual to score low on self-esteem inventories. One of the reasons behind this possibility is that the grandiosity portrayed is a veneer that actual hides underlying feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem. In other words, the grandiosity is a defense mechanism designed to allow the person not to endure the negative feelings associated with low self-esteem.

An excessive sense of entitlement is also a defense mechanism that buffers the individual from negative feelings, such as unworthiness. Both self-esteem and sense of entitlement appear to originate in the child's interaction with his or her parents. Given that both concepts appear to originate from the same place and are both defense mechanisms, it seems likely that this type of grandiosity and excessive sense of entitlement was born from the same painful experience. Therefore, it appears possible to have both low self-esteem and an excessive sense of entitlement.

# Summary

There are numerous theories concerning crime available in the current research.

Differential Association Theory, Strain Theory and AGTC were the three theories

explored. All three of these theories postulated that environmental factors play an important role in the production of both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. A General Theory of Crime, however, postulated that the individual's self-control was the main contributing factor in criminal behavior. Empirical research involving the causes of criminal behavior and recidivism does support the hypotheses concerning environmental factors, especially parental interaction, as important in the production of criminal behavior. This research also supports the postulate that self-control plays a significant role in the production of criminal behavior, as well as personality constructs including the individual's self-concept.

Included in the individual's self-concept is his or her self-esteem. Self-esteem is an individual's overall evaluation of himself or herself, usually made in either positive (high) or negative (low) assessments. It can be seen as stable or unstable and as either a cognitive or an affective function. Self-esteem can be derived from a number of different places; however, the two most influential factors to self-esteem appear to be the individual's original interaction with his or her parents and from achieving or not achieving success. The construct of self-esteem is considered to be influential in an individual's overall psychological functioning with both high and low self-esteem being associated with a number of consequences in an individual's functioning.

Generally, high self-esteem is considered to be very desirable and low self-esteem to be avoided. However, there are instances when high self-esteem can have a detrimental effect on an individual's functioning, especially when the high self-esteem is excessive and unfounded. Such self-esteem is generally found in narcissism in the form of grandiosity. Normally, a narcissistic individual will score high on self-esteem inventories,

although occasionally he or she may score low. This situation can occur since the self-esteem is considered to both fragile and vulnerable. Self-esteem of this type is called either high unstable or defensive, depending on which research is examined. Strongly indicated in the research is the fact that narcissism is associated with a greater propensity toward anger, hostility, and aggression, especially when there is a perceived threat to the individual's self-esteem.

Traditionally, low self-esteem was considered to be more influential in an individual's decision to participate in violent behavior, yet, there appears to be limited empirical data supporting this postulate. The more recent postulate designates individuals with high unstable self-esteem to be more likely to participate violent acts, especially when the self-esteem in threatened and a number of research studies have been completed that supports this postulate. In regard to self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior, there appears to be very limited research conducted. Inferences appear to have been made relating the type of self-esteem postulated to be more influential in violent behavior to also be more influential to nonviolent criminal behavior.

The research concerning self-esteem and criminal behavior also made references to the role sense of entitlement has in such behavior. Sense of entitlement is the belief that an individual holds that he or she should be afforded special privileges or rights based upon who he or she is, what he or she has done, or what he or she has suffered from in the past. There are three types of entitlement: restricted, normal and excessive. These types of entitlement are generally believed to stem from the individual's interaction with his or her parents. An excessive sense of entitlement has received the most attention in the literature, particularly in relation to an individual's interaction with

others and its effect on the individual's level of functioning. There is very little in the literature concerning an excessive sense of entitlement and criminal behavior, outside of its role in rape and sexual coercion and its association with narcissism.

Overall, there is conflicting research concerning which type of self-esteem is more influential in violent behavior. The research concerning either type of self-esteem and nonviolent behavior is virtually nonexistent outside inferences being made following its postulated role in violent behavior. Beyond the role of masculine and/or sexual entitlement in rape or sexual coercion, the role an individual's sense of entitlement has in criminal behavior is practically unexplored. There is additional research concerning both self-esteem and sense of entitlement through their connection to narcissism. Both of these constructs play an important role in an individual's psychological functioning, which points to a possible role in criminal behavior. This role needs to be clearly defined for each construct separately.

# Hypotheses

This research project proposed to examine two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that subjects high in self-esteem would have been incarcerated more for violent acts. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is based on the research discussed in the section on self-esteem and criminal behavior. This previously discussed research reported high unstable self-esteem plays a role in violent criminal behavior, especially when self-esteem is threatened. Even though the current research project is not designed to examine the stability of self-esteem or what occurs when self-esteem is threatened, it can explore the nature of self-esteem. If it is truly high unstable self-esteem that plays a role in violent behavior, then it is expected that an individual incarcerated on a violent crime will score

higher on self-esteem (Baumeister, 1997; Baumeister et al., 2000; Baumeister et al., 1993; Baumeister et al., 1996). The first hypothesis stems from this assumption.

The second hypothesis proposed is that subjects with an excessive sense of entitlement would have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent acts. Both the research concerning low self-esteem and high self-esteem in criminal behavior refers to sense of entitlement playing a role (Baumeister, 1997; Toch, 1993). Given that the definition of entitlement indicates that an individual believes that he or she should be afforded special privileges and rights, it seems logical to assume that this type of attitude would apply to any type of criminal behavior. Based on this logical assumption, it is believed that an excessive sense of entitlement should be linked to both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior.

#### CHAPTER 2

### Methods

The purpose this research was to determine what relationship, if any, self-esteem and sense of entitlement has with violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. In order to complete the research, a survey was administered to subjects with a variety of felony convictions. The survey included a brief questionnaire used to gather relevant background information. The survey included a self-esteem rating scale, an entitlement attitude scale, and a social desirability scale. Upon completion of the survey, the results were divided in two groups determined by the subject-reported convicted offense. These two groups were "violent" and "nonviolent." To test the first hypothesis, a discriminant function analysis was implemented using the obtained self-esteem scores as predictors and group membership as the criterion variable. An independent samples t-test comparing the means and standard deviations of this sample to another sample's means and standard deviations was completed in order to test the second hypothesis.

#### **Participants**

The survey was administered to a sample of 158 male felony subjects incarcerated in a Louisiana Department of Corrections facility. The subjects were at least 18 years old and have been incarcerated for a variety of felony convictions, including both violent and nonviolent offenses. Approximately 70 of the subjects were directly involved in the IMPACT program within the Louisiana Department of Corrections. This program is an

adult boot camp designed to provide a suitable alternative to long-term incarceration for first and second offense felony subjects. These subjects are required to participate in substance abuse treatment, moral recognition therapy, parenting and job skills training, education services, Character Counts, and various other psycho-educational programs. The remaining sample was obtained from the general population at Forcht Wade Correctional Center.

All participation within this research was voluntary. The subjects were not compensated in any fashion. In order to ensure confidentiality, the subjects were verbally informed not to place their name on any of the questionnaires administered. They signed a consent form that had a number on top that corresponded with the number of the first page of the survey packet (the background information questionnaire). The subjects were instructed to sign the form and remove it from the survey packet. The consent forms were kept in a separate file from the surveys. The subjects were informed that any questions or problems concerning this research should be directed to the Director of the Mental Health at this facility, or to members of Louisiana Tech University's Human Use Committee. The subjects were also informed that Dr. Tucker would be provided with the results of the research and that they are welcome to request this information from her.

#### Instruments

## Background Information Questionnaire

The subjects were asked to complete a 15-question survey developed by the researcher to obtain the pertinent background information. The information requested in this questionnaire included the offender's current age, age at incarceration, years incarcerated on current offense, ethnicity, relationship status, and socioeconomic

background information. Also included in this questionnaire was a list of criminal offenses from which the subject was requested to pick the one(s) that best describes his current conviction(s). This information was used to divide the subjects into the two groups — violent and nonviolent criminal behavior. This questionnaire included five questions concerning alcohol and drug use as it relates to the current conviction.

Self-Esteem Rating Scale

The Self-Esteem Rating Scale (SES) was administered in order to determine each offender's level of self-esteem. Nugent and Thomas (1993) created this scale based on the need for a self-esteem measure that can differentiate between levels of both positive and problematic self-esteem. The items contained in this scale touch on a range of areas considered to be involved in self-evaluation and include such self-worth, social competence, problem-solving ability, intellectual ability, self-competence, and worth relative to other people (Nugent & Thomas, 1993). The SES is considered to measure a single common factor (self-esteem) and is considered unidimensional. Although this scale was designed to be used on individuals between the ages of 15 and 70, the best results are obtained when it is administered to individuals between the ages of 18 and 60 (Nugent & Thomas, 1993).

There are 40 items on SES that are answered by a seven point Likert scale. The lowest answer on the scale is 1, which is equal to "never." The highest answer on the scale is 7, which is equal to "always." Twenty of the items are scored positively and twenty items are scored negatively. The items that are scored positively include numbers 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, 29, 32, 35, 36, and 37. The items that are scored negatively are 1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 38, 39,

and 40. The negatively scored items are subtracted from the positively scored items to produce the total score. The scores obtained on all of the items combined to produce a total score ranging from –120 to +120 (Nugent, 1994; Nugent & Thomas, 1993). To determine the individual's level of self-esteem, the total score was examined. Positive scores indicate more positive self-esteem and negative scores indicate more negative self-esteem (Nugent, 1994).

The SES was originally validated and normed on 353 individuals and against Hudson's Index of Self-Esteem (Nugent, 1994). The results indicated that the coefficient alpha estimate of reliability was .975. A factor analysis completed on the SES indicated that the scale is unidimensional. A review of the SES by both social work practitioners and educators resulted in minimal changes to the scale and indicated a content validity (Nugent & Thomas, 1993).

## Entitlement Attitudes Scale

The Entitlement Attitudes Scale (EAS) was administered in order to determine each subject's level of entitlement. Nadkarni, Steil, and Malone (in press) developed the EAS on the basis of psychoanalytic, psychiatric, and social psychology literature. The original scale consisted of 37 items that were answered on a seven point Likert scale with 1 indicating that the individual strongly disagreed with the item and 7 indicating that he or she strongly agreed. The original 37-item scale was then changed to a 17-item scale that loaded on two factors at .40 or higher and indicated good conceptual clarity as well as face and construct validity (Nadkarni, 1994; Nadkarni, Steil, & Malone, in press).

The two factors on which all of the 17 items on the EAS loaded were the Self-Reliance/ Self-Assurance factor and the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor.

The Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance factor reflects a self-effacing attitude; a failure to stand up for oneself; and feelings of self-doubt and low self-confidence. The Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor reflects the individual's own interests and advancement as the primary goal for the individual, as well as a self-centered, demanding attitude (Nadkarni, 1994; Nadkarni et al., in press). The internal consistency was determined for all of the 17 items and the two different factors using Cronbach's alpha. It was determined that for all 17 items the internal consistency was .74; the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor was .68; and the Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance factor was .76 (Nadkarni et al., in press).

In order to determine the reliability for the EAS, a previous study consisting of 405 undergraduate students were administered the scale as part of a larger survey study of power and close relationships. Using Cronbach's alpha, the reliability for the total score was .78. For the first factor, Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance (SRSA) the alpha reliability was determined to be .77, and for the second factor, Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion (NCSP) the reliability was .77 (Nadkarni et al., in press). Based on the available statistical information concerning the EAS, it has both good content validity and reliability.

Nine of the 17 items on the EAS were reverse scored. The nine items that were reverse scored are numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, and 16. The total score was obtained by summing all of the answers with high scores indicating a stronger sense of entitlement. The scores for the two factors, Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance and Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion, were then determined. In order to determine a score for the Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance factor, items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 16 were summed. To

obtain the score for the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor, items 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 17 were summed. The two factors determine the psychological healthiness of the entitlement that is portrayed. Higher scores on the Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance indicate a more normal sense of entitlement, whereas higher scores on the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion factor indicate a more deviant sense of entitlement (Nardkarni et al., in press).

Marlowe-Crowne Social Disability Scale

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Disability Scales (MC) was administered to control for biased responses based on desirable responding on the other two scales and the background information questionnaire (Crino, Svoboda, Rubenfeld, & White, 1983; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MC provides a good way of measuring defensive answering and was used in the current research to determine the truthfulness of the participants answering. Marlowe and Crowne first developed the MC in 1960 in order to eliminate the pathological aspects that were commonly found in the social disability scales available during that time (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MC has been normed in numerous different areas, including for use in a forensic setting (Andrews & Meyer, 2003).

Several studies have been completed on the MC concerning its validity and reliability. The MC usually portrays internal consistency/reliability scores ranging from .72 to .96. It also portrays a one-month test-retest correlation of .89 (Andrews & Meyer, 2003). A number of research studies have been completed administering the MC in a forensic setting. It was discovered that the mean score obtained was significantly higher

than would be found in a normal setting. This finding has been consistent throughout the research (Andrew & Myers, 2003; Fisher, 1967; Fisher & Parson, 1962).

The MC is a 33-item scale that is answered in a true or false format. The 33 items presented have been determined to be culturally approved behavior that has a low probability of occurring in a normal individual, indicating that most individuals do not participate in the presented behavior (Andrew & Myers, 2003). These items include such things as "Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates" or "My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant" (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Each of the 33 items has a true or false answer that indicates the way an individual would answer if he or she were being defensive. The items that have a true answer associated with them are numbers 1 2, 4, 7, 8, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 33. Items 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 28, and 32 have a false answer associated with them (Andrews & Meyer, 2003; Fisher & Parson, 1962).

In order to score the MC, the answer the individual gave is compared to the true or false answer associated with each item. If the subject's answer matches the associated answer, then one point is given for the item. If the subject's answer does not match the associated answer, then no points are given. The points are then summed together in order to obtain the total score. To determine whether the subject was answering the survey in a defensive or socially desirable fashion, the total score is examined. The higher the total score obtained by the subject, the stronger the likelihood that he was answering the survey in a socially desirable or defensive fashion (Andrews & Meyer, 2003; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

# Procedure

The survey packets were presented in the following order: (1) Consent Form, (2) Background information questionnaire, (3) Self-Esteem Rating Scale, (4) Entitlement Attitude Scale, and (5) Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Both the consent form and the background information questionnaire had a number in the top right hand corner, starting with the number "1." This number became the subject's identification, as the consent form was removed from the packet once the surveys were completed. The subjects were asked to remember their number for future identification should they have any questions concerning the research.

This survey was administered to subjects in their dormitory during the 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. counts. A brief introduction explained what the research's purpose, as well as information concerning the subjects' not to participate. Confidentiality was discussed, and the subjects were informed that the outcome of the research would be made available to them through the Mental Health Department at Forcht Wade Correctional Center.

After completion of the survey, the signed consent form was removed from the top of the packet and placed into a separate pile.

#### Data Analysis

The first hypothesis of the current research was that individuals with high selfesteem would have been incarcerated for more violent offenses than nonviolent offenses. To test this hypothesis, the subjects were first divided into two groups: violent and nonviolent offenses. Information on the background portion of the survey concerning charges was in this grouping. The violent group included any subject convicted of a crime that involves aggression against another person and/or a weapon. Homicide, manslaughter, sexual assault/rape, forcible sodomy/sodomy, armed robbery, robbery, and any type of weapons charge were classified into the violent group. The nonviolent group included any type of charge that does not involve aggression towards another person and/or a weapon. Included in the nonviolent category were forgery, breaking and entering, writing bad checks, burglary, vandalism, possession of a controlled substance, and distribution of a controlled substance.

As each subject belonged exclusively to one of the two groups, a *discriminant* function analysis was completed in order to test the first hypothesis. According to Klecka (1980), "discriminant analysis is a statistical technique which allows the researcher to study the differences between two or more groups of objects with respect to several variables simultaneously." In order to use discriminant function analysis, the subjects must belong exclusively to one group, and there must be a minimum of two groups present. In this research, discriminant function analysis was used as an interpretation tool that to determine how the two groups diverged on self-esteem. Discriminant function analysis should allow prediction of membership of the participants into either of the two groups: violent or nonviolent (Klecka, 1980).

The second hypothesis of the current research was individuals incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent offenses would have a higher sense of entitlement than individuals who have not been incarcerated. In order to test this hypothesis, the means and standard deviations obtained on the EAS, the SRSA, and the NESP of a recently completed study by Nadkarni, Steil, and Malone (in press) were utilized. These scores were directly removed from a copy of the study that was provided by the authors and

consisted of 138 male participants. Using theses scores and the scores obtained on the current research, independent samples t-tests were conducted comparing the means and standard deviations of both samples. Independent samples t-tests are used when the requisite is to determine whether the difference found between two means is larger than the expected difference based on error variance alone. Running independent samples t-tests allows the researcher the ability to determine whether or not the independent variable actually had an effect on the sample (Leary, 1995). In this research, the results of the independent samples t-tests indicated whether sense of entitlement is higher in individuals who have been incarcerated for violent and nonviolent offenses than in those individuals who have not.

## CHAPTER 3

#### Results

# Demographics

A sample of 158 incarcerated male offenders was collected in order to test the two predictions. Of the sample, 77 participants classified themselves as European American/White (48.7%); 67 as African American/Black (42.4%); 7 as American Indian (4.4%); 2 as Hispanic/ Latino (1.3%); 1 as Asian or Pacific Islander (0.6%); and 2 as Other (1.3%). One participant did not classify his ethnicity. The minimum age reported was 18 and the maximum was 73, producing a mean age of 32.57 years, with a standard deviation (*SD*) of 12.48. The longest a participant had been incarcerated was 43 years. The overall mean of incarceration calculated in years was 4.25, with a *SD* of 7.78. The mean number of prior incarcerations was just under one at .88 (*SD* 1.70), with the maximum number being 12 times.

For relationship status, 69 of the participants reported being Single/Never Been Married (43.7%); 40 Separated/Divorced (25.3%); 21 Married/ Partnered (13.3%); 17 Engaged (10.8%); 3 Widowed (1.9%); and 2 Other (3.8%). The other six participants did not respond to this question. All but three of the participants answered the question concerning their income when not incarcerated. The results of the question can be found in Table 2.

Table 2: Income

Income Level	Number	Percentage
\$ 0 – 10,000	41	25.9
\$10,000 - 20,000	37	23.4
20,000 - 30,000	5	3.2
\$30,000 - 40,000	30	19.0
\$40,000 - 50,000	14	8.9
\$50,000 - 60,000	9	5.7
\$60,000 - 70,000	5	3.2
\$70,000 - 80,000	1	0.6
\$80,000 - 90,000	3	1.9
\$90,000 and above	2	1.3

When questioned whether the individual had been using either alcohol or drugs at the time of the offense, 99 participants (62.7%) indicated yes. Forty-two (27.8%) of the participants indicated that the offense was committed in order to obtain alcohol or drugs, while 51 (33.1%) reported that the offense was committed to obtain money for alcohol or drugs.

In order to test the first hypothesis of this study, all participants were classified into the two groups based upon offenses committed. In order to place the participants into these two groups, the offenses for which they were incarcerated were examined. Offenses considered to be violent included any type of crime involving a victim or one for which a victim must be reasonably assumed to be involved, such as with robbery. Any type of weapons charge was also considered to be violent, as well as damage to property or vandalism since it was discovered that a number of the participants who had marked this category had been retaliating against another person. All other offenses, such as forgery, breaking and entering, and possession of a controlled substance, were considered to be nonviolent. A number of the participants indicated that they were incarcerated for more than one crime. When this was the case, then any violent crime took precedence over a

nonviolent crime. The last category on the list of possible offenses was "All Other Crimes," which was followed by a space for the participant to write in his crime. With this category, placement into the violent or nonviolent crime group was dependent upon the original criteria.

Of the 158 participants, 53 or 33.5% were placed in the violent crime group. The crimes in this group included 11 weapon charges, nine homicides, nine rape/sexual assaults, seven robberies, six assaults and batteries, six armed robberies, six damages to property/ vandalisms, four manslaughters and one kidnapping. There were at least three participants that indicated the "All Other Crimes" category. Within the space provided, there was a vehicular homicide and two cruelties to juveniles. The other 105 participants (66.5%) were placed in the nonviolent group. The crimes in this group included 43 possessions of a controlled substance, 36 burglaries, 30 distributions of a controlled substance, at least 27 all other crimes, 10 forgeries, 8 conspiracies to distribute a controlled substance, 4 breaking and enterings, 4 contributing to the delinquency of a minor, 3 utterings (writing bad checks), and 2 frauds. The crimes provided in the "All Other Crimes" category included driving while intoxicated (DWI), pornography including minors, simple theft, auto theft and conspiracy to manufacture methamphetamine.

The scores of each scale were examined individually and for any possible correlations. All of the participants were included in the determination of the frequencies and distribution of the demographics and the Self-Esteem Rating Scale (SERS); however, one participant was eliminated from the statistics for failure to complete all of the survey resulting in 157 subjects for the second hypothesis.

# Self-Esteem Rating Scale

The raw scores of the SERS have a possible range from -120 to 120. The lowest score obtained on the SERS was -81.00, while the highest was 120. For the total sample, the mean obtained was 66.91, with a SD of 33.96. For the violent group, the mean was 60.75, with a SD of 40.02. The lowest score obtained on the SERS within the violent group was -81.00 and the highest was 113. The mean for the nonviolent group was 70.02, with a SD of 30.18. The sample's lowest obtained score was -20.00 and the highest was 120. In order to determine if the means obtained between the two groups were different, an independent samples t-test was completed. Using an alpha level ( $\alpha$ ) of 0.05 for a two-tailed test, with 0.05 degrees of freedom (0.05), the observed 0.05 more freedom (0.05). The 0.05 more freedom (0.05), which did not fall below the required 0.050, thereby the observed 0.050 was not statistically significant. This observed 0.050 indicated that the means between the violent and nonviolent groups were not significantly different. The results of the examination of the SERS can be found in Table 0.050 below.

Table 3: SERS Obtained Means, SDs and Independent Samples t-Tests

	Means	SDs	Observed t	Sig.
Violent	66.91	33.96		
Nonviolent	60.75	40.02		
Total	70.02	30.18	-1.628	.106

## Entitlement Attitude Scale

Scoring of the Entitlement Attitude Scale (EAS) produced three scores: the total score of the scale; the score for the Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance Factor (SRSA); and the

score for the Narcissistic Expectations/Self-Promotion Factor (NESP). As with the SERS scale, the higher the score obtained by an individual, the stronger the sense of entitlement on all three indices. Within this sample, the lowest total score obtained on the EAS was seven, and the highest was 92. The raw total scores for the EAS fell between 7 and 112, with 7 being the lowest possible score and 112 being the highest. Examining the EAS total score observed in this sample produced a mean of 68.85, with a SD of 11.67. Breaking down the EAS total scores into the two groups resulted in a violent group mean of 66.69, with a SD of 11.24 and a nonviolent group mean of 69.91, with a SD of 11.79. An independent samples t-test completed on these means generated a t = -1.637 with a p of .104. This t observed was not statistically significant, indicating that the two means cannot be said to have been drawn from two distinct populations. The means and standard deviations, as well as the independent samples t-test results obtained on the EAS can be found in Table 4.

Table 4: EAS Obtained Means, SDs and Independent Samples t-Tests

	Means	SDs	Observed t	Sig.
Violent	66.69	11.24		
Nonviolent	69.91	11.79		
Total	68.85	11.67	-1.637	.104

On the SRSA, the highest score possible is 63. In this study, the highest observed was 58, the mean was 28.83, with a *SD* of 9.85. Within this factor the violent group had a mean of 30.11, with a *SD* of 12.12. The nonviolent group had a mean of 28.18, with a *SD* of 8.47. These scores produced a *t* observed of 1.17, with *p* of .246, indicting no statistically significant difference between the means. On the NESP, the highest possible score is 56. The highest score obtained in this sample was 49; the overall mean was

26.15, with a *SD* of 8.68. For the violent group, the mean was 24.91, with a *SD* of 9.14. For the nonviolent group, the mean was 26.78, with a *SD* of 8.41. An independent samples *t*-test produced a *t* observed of -1.29, with a *p* of .201. Again, this *t* observed cannot be considered to mark a significant difference, indicating no statistical difference between the means of the two groups. These results obtained on both the SRSA and NESP can be found below in Table 5.

Table 5: Obtained means, SDs and Independents Samples t-Tests for both the SRSA and NESP

	Means	SDs	Observed t	Sig.
SRSA				
Violent	30.11	12.12		
Nonviolent	28.18	8.47		
Total	28.83	9.85	1.17	.246
<b>NESP Total</b>				
Violent	24.91	9.14		
Nonviolent	26.78	8.41		
Total	26.15	8.68	-1.29	.201

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

The MC produces raw score ranges between 0 and 33, with higher scores more indicative of answering in a socially desirable fashion. The number of completed MC instruments was 146. Based on this sample size, the lowest score obtained was 3 and the highest was 30. The mean on the MC was 18.13, with a SD of 6.15. When breaking down the scores of the MC into the two groups, violent and nonviolent, 46 participants were assigned to the violent group, and 96 were assigned to the nonviolent group. The mean for the violent group was 18.07, with a SD = 6.41. The mean for the nonviolent group was 18.16, with a SD = 6.05. An independent samples t-test completed on the MC

produced a *t* observed of .082, with a *p* of .935. As with the two other scales, this *t* observed is not considered to be statistically significant. Therefore, there was no statistically significant difference between the means of the nonviolent and violent groups. Table 6, below, illustrates the obtained means, *SD*s, and results of the independent samples *t*-test for the MC.

Table 6: MC Obtained means, SDs, and Independent Samples t-Test

	Means	SDs	Observed t	Sig.	
Violent	18.07	6.41			
Nonviolent	18.16	6.05			
Total	18.13	6.41	0.082	.935	

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed among all three of the tests, including the two factors on the MC. The purpose of these analyses was to ensure that each test was measuring a different construct and that these constructs were not redundant (Leary, 1995). An  $\alpha$  of .05 was determined before the correlation tests were completed. Table 7 provides a summary of the results found within the Pearson's Correlation.

Table 7: Results of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient

	SERS	EAS	SRSA	NESP	MC
SERS	1.000	.252**	.548**	278**	.497**
EAS	.252**	1.000	.703**	.570**	
MC	.497**	111**	.274**	426**	1.000

*Note:* \*\*Correlations significant at level p < 0.01, two-tailed tests

SERS and the total scores obtained SRSA. This correlation was not altogether unexpected since the items within the SRSA reflect a self-effacing attitude and a failure to stand up for one's self, as well as feelings of self-doubt and low self-confidence (Nadkarni et al., in press). These attributes closely resemble a number of the attributes reflected in the SERS. Included in the SERS measurement are the attributes of overall self-worth, worth relative to others, and self-competence (Nugent & Thomas, 1993). This overlay of attributes, as well as the strong correlation between the two scales, was discussed in the section concerning self-esteem and entitlement in Chapter One.

Another significant correlation was *r* .497, which occurred between the SERS and the MC, again indicating a strong positive relationship between these two scales. The MC was designed to test whether or not an individual answered in a socially desirable fashion (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). In other words, this scale is used to estimate the tendency of the individual to claim positive behaviors or traits and to deny negative ones (Crino et al., 1983). Prior research on the MC has found individuals within a forensic setting have a tendency to obtain higher scores on the MC than non-incarcerated individuals. The strong positive correlation between the SERS and the MC within this research indicates that as a participant's scores on the MC became higher, so would his scores on the SERS. This correlation was an unexpected finding and is discussed in further detail within the limitations section of Chapter Four.

Another significant correlation was observed between the SERS and NESP. An r of -.28 signified a negative relationship between the scales, indicating that as the scores go up on one scale, they tend to go down on the other. Again, this finding was not necessarily unexpected since the NESP is also negatively correlated with SRSA (r = -

.184). At the same time, it was interesting, especially in light of what is known concerning narcissistic individuals. The remaining significant correlations found were between the EAS total score and the scores on each of its factors, SRSA and NESP, and were completely expected.

### Hypothesis 1

In order to test the first hypothesis that participants high in self-esteem would have been incarcerated more for violent offenses, a discriminant function analysis was completed. This type of analysis was chosen based on its ability to predict group membership based on a number of different variables (Klecka, 1980). In this study, the groups were violent and nonviolent, and the independent variable for this hypothesis was the total score obtained on the SERS. To accept this hypothesis, then the discriminant function analysis would be able to predict membership into violent/nonviolent groups based on higher obtained scores on the SERS. Predicted membership into the nonviolent group would be based on lower obtained scores on the SERS. Table 8 shows the actual classification results of the discriminant function analysis for the first hypothesis.

Table 8: Results of the SERS Discriminant Function Analysis

		Predicted Group	o Membership	
		Nonviolent	Violent	Total
	Nonviolent	68	37	105
	Violent	29	24	53
%	Nonviolent	64.8	35.2	100.0
	Violent	54.7	45.3	100.0

According to the completed discriminant function analysis, only 58.2% of the original grouped cases were correctly classified. In this sample, the discriminant function analysis predicted 97 of the 158 participants would be placed in the nonviolent group and

61 participants would be placed in the violent group. The original nonviolent group consisted of 105 participants. The Wilk's lambda was .98 and the Chi-square was 2.62, with 1 df and a p of .106. Of these 105 participants, 37 false positives were produced. A false positive occurs when an individual that was convicted of a nonviolent offense is classified into the violent group. Therefore, 68 participants were classified in the nonviolent group, and 37 participants were classified in the violent group regardless of the fact that the individual was incarcerated on a nonviolent offense. These results indicated that 65% of the nonviolent group was correctly classified and 35 % were incorrectly classified based on their obtained SERS score.

The violent group consisted of 53 participants. Of these 53 participants, 24 participants (45%) were correctly classified into the violent group. The other 29 participants were false negatives, indicating that although these individuals had been incarcerated for a violent crime, the discriminant function analysis predicted membership into the nonviolent group. These false negatives indicate that 55% of the violent group was classified in the nonviolent group based on the obtained SERS scores. When combining the two groups and exploring the discriminant function analysis, there were 37 false positives and 29 false negatives. Sixty-one participants or 39% were classified into the violent group and 97 (61%) were classified into the nonviolent group. These results do not support the hypothesis that individuals with high self-esteem would have been incarcerated for more violent offenses. The lack of significant difference between SERS means of violent and nonviolent groups noted earlier also corroborated these results.

## Hypothesis 2

An independent samples *t*-test was run in order to test the second prediction that participants with high sense of entitlement would have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent acts. One of the total 158 participants did not complete the EAS forcing this participant to be removed from the sample; therefore, the sample size for the second hypothesis was 157. In order to run the independent sample *t*-test, the means and *SD*s of the male participants of a study conducted by Nadkarni, Steil, and Malone (in press) were used, which will be referred to as the Nadkarni Study. The means from the Nadkarni Study's sample were compared to the means of this study's sample. Table 9 presents the means and *SD*s from both studies for the EAS and its two factors, SRSA and NESP.

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics for Nadkarni Study and This Study

	Nadkarni Study		This Study			
	EAS	SRSA	NESP	EAS	SRSA	NESP
Mean	4.22	4.51	3.88	4.05	4.73	3.27
SD	0.65	0.85	0.83	0.69	1.08	1.09

An  $\alpha$  of .05 for a two-tailed test was determined before the independent samples t-tests were completed. In order for any of the tests to be considered significant, the t observed must be equal to or exceed 1.960 or be equal to or fall below -1.960 (Hays, 1994). Comparing the means of the total obtained scores of the EAS for both studies produced a t observed of -1.887, with 293 df and a p of .10. The t observed of -1.887 did not fall below the required t of -1.960, the results were not considered to be statistically significant. This lack of statistical significance indicated that there is no statistically significant difference between the means of the Nadkarni Study and current sample. Therefore, the second hypothesis that participants with high sense of entitlement would

have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent crimes was not supported. This lack of support was based on the fact that the participants of this study did not appear to have scored higher on the EAS total score than a non-incarcerated sample.

Comparing the means of the obtained SRSA factor of the EAS for both studies produced a *t* observed of 1.925, with 293 *df* and a *p* of .100. Again, the *t* observed needed to equal to or exceed 1.960 or be equal to or fall below –1.960 in order for the test to be considered to be statistically significant. Since the *t* observed did not match the required criteria, the *t* observed was not statistically significant. Moreover, the *t* observed indicated there were no statistically significant differences between the obtained means of the current sample and the Nadkarni Study sample. This result indicated that neither of the two studies' samples scored statistically higher on the SRSA than the other.

For the NESP factor, a t observed of -5.36, with 294 df and a p of .002 was produced. The t observed did fall below the required t of -1.960, which indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between the means. This statistically significant finding indicated that there was a difference between the means obtained by the current sample and the Nadkarni Study sample; consequently, pointing to a statistical difference between the obtained scores on this factor. Although there was a statistically significant difference between the obtained means, these results did not support the hypothesis that participants high in sense of entitlement will have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent crimes. These results did not support the hypothesis because the t observed is negative, which indicated that the participants Nadkarni Study sample tended to score higher on this factor than the participants of the current sample. The indication that the participants of the Nadkarni Study tended to score higher on the NESP

tended to score higher on this factor than the participants of the current sample. The indication that the participants of the Nadkarni Study tended to score higher on the NESP factor than the participants of this study was an unexpected finding and is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

# Additional Analysis

Based on the unexpected finding pertaining to the independent samples *t*-test conducted on the NESP factor, two additional independent samples *t*-tests were calculated. The first was to compare the means and *SD*s of the violent group with that of the Nadkarni Study and the second was to compare the means and *SD*s of nonviolent group with that of the Nadkarni Study. The results of these independent samples *t*-tests can be found in Table 10 below.

Table 10: The Results of the Independent Samples T-Tests with the Violent/Nonviolent Groups and Nadkarni Study

	Mean	SD	T score	p
Nadkarni Study	3.88	.85		
Violent	3.11	1.14	-5.08	.002
Nonviolent	3.35	1.05	-4.34	.002

The results of these independent samples t-tests produced the expected results of a statistically significant difference between the group means and the Nadkarni Study sample means. These analyses were computed in order to determine which of the two groups, violent or nonviolent, produced a stronger observed t score. It appears as though the violent group's observed t of -5.08 was stronger than the nonviolent group's observed t of -4.34, indicating that there was a stronger statistical significant difference between the violent group and the Nadkarni Study. Therefore, individuals who had been

than individuals who had been incarcerated for nonviolent offenses when compared to non-incarcerated individuals.

An additional discriminant function analysis was conducted in order to determine if both the SERS and the EAS scores combined would be more capable of classifying participants into either the violent or nonviolent groups than just the SERS alone. The decision to conduct this discriminant function analysis was based on the abovementioned significant correlations found between the SERS and the EAS. The results of the additional discriminant function analysis allowed only 60.5% of the original group cases to be correctly classified. The Wilk's lambda for this discriminant function analysis was .973 and Chi-square was 4.246, with 2 *df* and a *p* of .120. There were 37 false positives and 27 false negatives. Table 11 below illustrates the actual classification results of the additional discriminant function analysis.

Table 11: The Results of the SERS & EAS Discriminant Function Analysis

		Predicted Group	Membership	
	•	Nonviolent	Violent	Total
	Nonviolent	68	37	105
	Violent	25	29	52
%	Nonviolent	64.8	35.2	100.0
	Violent	48.1	51.9	100.0

Although both scales combined resulted in slightly more of the cases being correctly classified, 58.2% compared to 60.5%, these results were still not considered to be statistically significant. Consequently, the results indicated that even a combination of self-esteem and sense of entitlement could not be used to predict membership into either the violent or nonviolent groups.

### Summary

The overall sample size consisted of 158 participants. The mean age of the participants was 32.57, with an average length of incarceration being 4.25 years. For the first hypothesis, the participants were classified into two distinct groups: violent or nonviolent. Classification into these two groups was determined by the offense for which the individual had reported being incarcerated. Violent offenses included any crime in which a victim was involved or assumed to be involved, any type of weapons offense, and damage to property/vandalism. Nonviolent offenses included any other type of crime. Of the 158 participants, 53 (33.5%) had been incarcerated for violent offenses and 105 (66.5%) for nonviolent offenses.

Independent samples *t*-tests were computed for each of the scales individually in order to determine if there was any differences between the means of the scores obtained by the two groups. None of the means obtained by the two different groups on any of the scales were found to be significantly different. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed between all three scales, as well as the two factors of the EAS. With the exception of the MC and EAS, statistically significant correlations were found on all the other scales. The correlations between the EAS, SRSA and NESP were expected, as well as the strong positive relationship between the SERS and SRSA (Nadkarni et al., in press; Nugent & Thomas, 1993). The correlations between the SERS, NESP and MC were not expected and are discussed in Chapter Four.

In order to test the first hypothesis, that participants high in self-esteem would been have incarcerated for more violent offenses, a discriminant function analysis was completed. The results of this analysis did not support the hypothesis. To test the second hypothesis, participants with higher sense of entitlement would have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent offenses independent samples, *t*-tests, were computed using the means from this sample and the means from the sample on which the factors of the EAS were confirmed. On both the EAS total and the SRSA factor, the means were found not to be significantly different, hence, did not support the second hypothesis. The results for the NESP produced a negative statistically significant different. This negative statistically significant difference indicated that the sample of individuals that were not incarcerated tended to score higher on this factor than those individuals that were incarcerated.

Two additional analyses were completed based on the findings of the original analyses. The first were two independent samples *t*-tests, designed to compare the two group means, violent and nonviolent, to the Nadkarni Study sample's means obtained on the NESP factor. The results of these analyses indicated that the violent group's had a slightly stronger difference from the Nadkarni Study than then nonviolent group. The second was a discriminant function analysis using both the obtained scores of the SERS and the EAS. This analysis was computed in order to determine if using both scales would produce a better predictive value of placement into either the violent or nonviolent group. Although the results of this discriminant function analysis (60.5% of the original cases being correctly classified) were slightly better than the SERS group alone (58.2%), they were only slightly better than chance. Therefore, using both the SERS and EAS did not allow for prediction of individuals into either the violent or nonviolent group.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### Discussion

### First Hypothesis

The results of this study did not support the first prediction that participants high in self-esteem would have been incarcerated for more violent offenses. The discriminant function analysis was only able to correctly classify 58.2% of the original grouped cases, which was only slightly better than chance. Of the 158 subjects, 37 of the subjects were false positives, indicating that participants were classified into the violent group despite having been incarcerated on a nonviolent offense. An additional 24 participants were false negatives, wherein the participants had been incarcerated for a violent offense yet they were classified in the nonviolent group. Based on these results, high self-esteem was not a good predictor of violent offenses.

Consistent with this result was also the finding revealed in the independent samples *t*-test comparing the obtained means on the SERS between the two groups, violent and nonviolent. The results of this analysis were not statistically significant indicating that there were no differences between the two groups' means obtained on the SERS. This finding would indicate that there was no difference between levels of self-esteem in individuals that participate in violent and nonviolent behavior. Again, these results do not support the original hypothesis that participants high in self-esteem would have been incarcerated for more violent offenses.

Given the original hypothesis, one would logically expect the participants incarcerated for nonviolent offenses to generally have lower scores on the SERS. This assumption was based on the scoring of the SERS, where the higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem. By examining the total scores obtained by the participants on the SERS, the level of self-esteem can be assessed. The violent group's lowest score was considerably smaller than the nonviolent group's lowest score, although the nonviolent group had the highest obtained score. The confidence interval surrounding the nonviolent group's means was smaller, as well as containing larger numbers than the violent group. Confidence intervals surrounding the means allow for a better reference of where the true population means will likely fall (Hays, 1994). Although the group means were determined not to be statistically different, the confidence intervals, as well as the individual scores, showed a face value indicative of violent offenders not having higher self-esteems then nonviolent offenders. Taken at face value, it appeared as though the nonviolent offenders in this sample tended to score slightly higher on the SERS then violent offenders, which would indicate that the nonviolent offenders tended to have higher levels of self-esteem than violent offenders.

In regard to the current research available concerning level of self-esteem and criminal behavior, there are two theories. The first theory contends that low self-esteem is more influential in violent and nonviolent behavior. This theory postulates criminal behavior as being either a compensatory measure against low self-esteem or a way to enhance the individual's self-image (Toch, 1992). Although the current results do not suggest that high self-esteem is related to more violent behavior, the results do not necessarily support the theory that low self-esteem is more influential. In order for the

current results to support this theory, the scores of the SERS would have to be indicative of low self-esteem in general, which did not appear to be the case. Again, based on higher obtained scores on the SERS being indicative of higher levels of self-esteem, the obtained overall mean of this sample appeared to establish the likelihood of the subjects having higher levels of self-esteem as oppose to low levels. This tendency would not support the theory that low self-esteem is more influential in criminal behavior than high self-esteem.

The second theory concerning self-esteem and criminal behavior postulates high self-esteem as being more influential. This theory contends that individuals with high unstable self-esteem will participate in more violent acts than individuals with low self-esteem, especially when this self-esteem is threatened in some fashion (Baumeister, 1997). Since the results of this study did not allow for the prediction of membership into the violent group based on the obtained scores of the SERS, it would appear as though the results did not support the second theory. Combined with this lack of predictive ability is that no statistical difference between the means of the two groups, violent and nonviolent, was found. At the same time, however, this theory also infers that high unstable self-esteem is more influential in nonviolent behavior. Given that the overall mean of the sample appears to indicate higher levels of self-esteem, these results would seem to support the theory that high self-esteem is more influential in criminal behavior in general.

Although the results of the analysis of the first hypothesis appear to support the second theory concerning self-esteem and violent behavior, an issue is raised by the strong positive correlation between the obtained means of the sample on the SERS and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC). Research has indicated that

individuals within a forensic setting, such as prison, tend to score higher on the MC than individuals outside of a forensic setting (Andrews & Meyer, 2003; Fisher, 1967; Fisher & Parson, 1962). The tendency of individuals incarcerated to score higher on the MC indicates that these individuals are more likely to endorse responses that will portray them in a more positive fashion than what is representative of their actual level of functioning. In other words, these individuals are more likely to claim positive items and to deny negative items. Based on this positive correlation between the SERS and the MC, the ability of the obtained SERS scores to be truly representative of the participants' actual level of self-esteem is questionable. The higher levels of self-esteem measured by the SERS for this sample may actually only be the participants attempting to portray themselves in a positive fashion by denying any negative traits. If this were the case, and the participants' true levels of self-esteem were unknown, then the results of this study would not support the theory that proposes that higher self-esteem is more influential in violent and nonviolent criminal behavior.

## Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis predicted that participants with an excessive sense of entitlement would have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent offenses. In order to assess the sense of entitlement construct, the Entitlement Attitudes Scale (EAS) was administered. The EAS consists of two factors, Self-Reliance/Self-Assurance (SRSA) and Narcissistic Expectation/Self-Promotion (NESP). Independent samples *t*-tests were completed comparing the means and standard deviations of the current sample to the means and standard deviations of the sample from the study on which the two factors of the EAS were confirmed (Nadkarni Study). The total EAS means obtained, as

well as the means obtained on each of the two factors, were individually compared to the Nadkarni Study's means. The results of these analyses did not support the hypothesis that individuals with an excessive sense of entitlement will have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent offenses.

Not only did the data not support the hypothesis, an unexpected result was found. The means and standard deviations of both the EAS total and the SRSA factor were not shown to be significantly different from the means of the Nadkarni Study, suggesting that the participants of this study do not differ in a sense of entitlement from the participants of the Nadkarni Study. However, the comparison of the NESP factor between the two studies produced a strong, negative, statistically significant difference. This difference denotes that the Nadkarni Study sample is actually scoring higher on the NESP factor than the current sample. Since higher scores on the EAS and its two factors are representative of higher levels of sense of entitlement, the Nadkarni Study appears to be have considerably higher levels of the type of self-esteem measured by the NESP factor than individuals who are incarcerated. This result was completely unexpected given what the NESP purports to measure and the current available research concerning sense of entitlement and criminal behavior.

According to Nadkarni (1994), the NESP scale is proposed to measure an unhealthy sense of entitlement, while the SRSA factor is proposed to measure a healthy sense of entitlement. The NESP is not only proposed to measure unhealthy sense of entitlement, it is also considered to be the factor that is generally associated with narcissism (Nadkarni, 1994; Nadkarni et al., in press). There is very limited research available concerning sense of entitlement in criminal behavior; however, the available

research indicates that people who commit criminal acts tend to have an excessive, unhealthy sense of entitlement (Baumeister et al., 2000; Baumeister et al., 2002; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Hill & Fischer, 2001; Yochelson & Samenow, 1985). Yochelson and Samenow (1985) talk about the construct of excessive sense of entitlement in both violent and nonviolent criminal behavior although no assumptions are made concerning this relationship outside of saying it exists. Other research postulates that an excessive sense of entitlement is influential in violent behavior, especially rape or sexual coercion (Baumeister et al., 2002; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Hill & Fischer, 2001). Generally, this excessive sense of entitlement is considered to be the kind that is normally associated with narcissism. Narcissism has also been shown to influence a person's decision to participate in violent behavior (Baumeister et al., 2002).

Given what the available research says about sense of entitlement and criminal behavior and this study's sample consisting of violent and nonviolent incarcerated offenders, one would expect these individuals to portray a more unhealthy sense of entitlement, especially when compared with a sample of individuals who have not been incarcerated. However, the results of this study did not support this expectation, nor do they support current available research. In fact, the results pointed to the exact opposite, indicating that individuals who have not been incarcerated tended to score higher on measures of unhealthy sense of entitlement than individuals who have been incarcerated. To a layperson, it would be expected that being in prison would actually minimize an individual's sense of entitlement, yet if that were the case, then the rest of the obtained means associated with the EAS would also be statistically different from the Nadkarni

Study sample; however, they are not. Therefore, the results do not support the available research concerning sense of entitlement and criminal behavior.

There are a number of possible explanations concerning this unexpected result of the Nadkarni Study demonstrating a higher unhealthy sense of entitlement than this study of incarcerated individuals. The first may be the possibility that the NESP factor is not necessarily measuring unhealthy entitlement, especially the type found in narcissism. This possibility is based on the prior research concerning narcissism and self-esteem. Prior research on the EAS scale has indicated a strong positive correlation between selfesteem and the EAS and SRSA; however, it did not provide any correlation between selfesteem and NESP (Nadkarni et al., in press). The current research indicated that there was a negative correlation between the SERS scale and the NESP factor. Narcissism, however, has been repeatedly shown to have a positive correlation with high self-esteem (Raskin, Novacek, & Hogan, 1991). If the NESP factor were actually measuring the type of entitlement generally found in narcissism, then the expected correlation between the SERS and NESP would be a positive one. Since this expectation was not the case with the current research, the question becomes whether or not the NESP factor is truly measuring an unhealthy sense of entitlement or whether the prior research concerning the relationship between narcissism and self-esteem is correct.

An excessive sense of entitlement is defined as an individual's belief that he or she should be afforded special rights or privileges based on who he or she is or what he or she has suffered from in the past (Bishop & Lane, 2002). This type of entitlement indicates that these individuals will not only have unreasonable expectations of what they are due, they will also be demanding of these expectations. The items on the NESP factor

include such things as "I insist upon getting my due," "I expect other people to do special favors for me" and "I expect to be catered to" (Nadkarni, 1994; Nadkarni et al., in press). Based on the definition of an excessive sense of entitlement and the items of the NESP factors, it seems unlikely that the NESP factor is not measuring this construct. If the NESP factor were actually measuring an excessive sense of entitlement, it would indicate the possibility that the prior research on self-esteem and narcissism is incorrect. Although the research generally shows a positive correlation between self-esteem and narcissism, narcissistic individuals will also occasionally score low on measures of self-esteem (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). Therefore, the negative correlation between the SERS and the NESP factor found in this study may be representative of such an occasion or there are not any narcissistic individuals within the current sample. Since no measure of narcissism was administered to the current sample, determining whether or not the research concerning self-esteem and narcissism, is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, there is one more possible reason why the individuals within this study scored high on the SERS and low on the NESP.

Other than the previously mentioned reasons of the unexpected results that were found concerning the NESP, there is on other possible explanation, which directly involves the positive correlation between the SERS and the MC. As stated earlier, there is a negative correlation between the SERS and NESP, indicating the higher the SERS scores; the lower the NESP scores will tend to be or the reverse. Within this study, the SERS was also found to have a strong positive correlation with the MC indicating the possibility that the participants of this study were declaring positive traits and denying negative ones. If the individuals were professing positive traits and denying negative

ones, then it is highly unlikely that they would have endorsed the items on the NESP factor due to the negativity of these items. Therefore, the lack of support found for the second hypothesis may actually be due to the lack of honesty provided by the participants rather than being representative of actual results.

## *Implications*

The current research was designed to help clarify the relationship between selfesteem and criminal behavior; however, this does not appear to have happened. Since the scores obtained on the SERS were unable to predict membership into either of the two groups, violent or nonviolent, the results of the first hypothesis do not support prior research indicting high, unstable is more influential in violent behavior. At the same time, the face value and the lack of the statistically significant difference between of the means obtained for the two groups also did not support the prior research indicating that low self-esteem is more influential in violent behavior. The obtained scores on the SERS within this sample appeared to indicate that the participants tended to have higher levels of self-esteem, thereby indicating the likelihood that low self-esteem is not more influential in criminal behavior. However, the research was unable to determine whether the higher scores obtained on the self-esteem measure were actually indicative of higher level of self-esteem since no comparison was capable of being made between the scores of the current sample and the scores of a sample of non-incarcerated individuals (R. W. Nugent, personal communication, May 12, 2004). Therefore, the results did not also clearly support the postulation of high self-esteem being more influential in criminal behavior based on the lack of statistical knowledge of higher levels of self-esteem. The

question still remains concerning which type of self-esteem, low or high, is more influential in criminal behavior.

Both of the theories concerning self-esteem and violent behavior referred to an excessive sense of entitlement as having a role in the individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. Based on these suggestions and the limited available research concerning sense of entitlement and criminal behavior, it was hypothesized that participants with high sense of entitlement would have been incarcerated for both violent and nonviolent offenses. The results of this study did not support this hypothesis.

Moreover, the results indicated that individuals who have not been incarcerated have a higher unhealthy sense of entitlement than do individuals that have been incarcerated. These results raised the question whether or not the EAS, especially the NESP factor, truly measures an unhealthy sense of entitlement, as well as the question of whether entitlement actually has a role in an individual's decision to participate in criminal behavior. At the same time, the correlations between the NESP and the SERS, and the correlations between the SERS and the MC, indicate the possibility that getting individuals who have already been incarcerated to truthfully avow negative traits is difficult and will play a role in any study involving such individuals.

#### Limitations

There are a number of limitations associated with the current research. The first limitation was the sample size collected, especially concerning violent offenders. When attempting to collect the data, there was difficulty obtaining violent offenders who were willing to complete the surveys. Although there could be a number of reasons for this difficulty, a predominant issue appeared to be trust. One subject reported that he had

overheard an inmate talking about how the study was designed to obtain personal information concerning the offenders in order for it to be used against them. The rationale behind the study and how the information would be handled was repeatedly explained to the offenders; regardless, most violent offenders refused to participate. This lack of ability to encourage violent offenders to participate in the study produced uneven group sizes. Both the sample size and the unequal groups could possibly have interfered with the findings, causing the results not to be as strongly representative of the population as desired. Although discriminant function analysis has the ability to correct for such problems, it is still likely that the sample size and unequal groups played a role in the lack of statistically significant findings.

Another limitation of this study involved the participants' reading and comprehensive abilities. Prior research has shown that criminal offenders tend to have lower verbal IQ than the general public (Donnellan, Ge, & Wenk, 2000; Gibson et al., 2001). The overall verbal IQ and reading level of the current sample is unknown, though the assumption was made that for some of the participants these issues would play a role in their answering pattern. Support was found for this assumption after one subject reported that a number of the offenders who had refused to complete the study did not understand what was being asked. The same individual went further to state that a number of participants that had completed the surveys also reported having difficulty understanding some of the items. While answering the surveys, a number of the participants requested the definitions of certain words and some requested explanations of the whole item. The demonstrated lack of understanding raises questions concerning the truthfulness of the answering patterns of some of the participants. It is possible that

based on this lack of understanding, some of the participants answered the surveys in a haphazard fashion, which would indicate that the scores obtained are not truly representative of the participants actual level of functioning in either of the two constructs studied.

In addition to the above limitations, are the correlations found between all of the scales, especially in regard to the MC. As stated before, the MC was used to determine whether or not an individual was endorsing more positive traits and denying more negative traits (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Katkin, 1964). Using the MC within a forensic population has already been shown to produce higher scores than would be found in the general population (Andrews & Meyer, 2003; Fisher & Parson, 1962). The MC was found to have a strong positive correlation to the SERS, which in turn was found to have a strong positive correlation to the SRSA and EAS, as well as a negative correlation to the NESP. Given these correlations and what the MC measures, it is likely that the results found in this study are not truly representative of what would be found in incarcerated individuals if socially desirable answering was removed. In other words, the participants within this study were likely attempting to portray themselves in a positive fashion by denying any negative traits. Consequently, it is plausible that the results are not representative of an incarcerated individual's actual levels of self-esteem and sense of entitlement.

A final limitation of the current research was the inability to compare the means obtained on the SERS to an outside sample. There were no guidelines available, which indicated at what level the score had to be before the individual could be classified as having high self-esteem. In order to determine the level of self-esteem in this study, the

individual scores were compared to the mean score of the sample. Comparing the individual scores to the sample mean allowed the ability to determine whether the individual had high levels of self-esteem within the sample; however, it did not allow the ability to determine if the individual has high levels of self-esteem outside of the sample. To determine the individual's level of self-esteem outside of the sample or determine the sample's overall level of self-esteem; these scores would have to be compared to another sample's scores. Unfortunately, the original SERS study's means and scores are no longer available (R. W. Nugent, personal communication, May 12, 2004). Therefore, whether or not this particular sample's scores are indicative of high levels of self-esteem outside of the current population is incapable of being determined. The importance of this limitation is the ability to accurately determine the level of self-esteem that is being presented.

#### Future Directions

The relationship between self-esteem and criminal behavior needs to be more clearly defined. The fact that high unstable self-esteem when threatened is more likely to result in violent behavior should ideally be examined with individuals that have already participated in violent behavior, such as in a prison setting. The role of self-esteem and nonviolent criminal behavior also needs to be explored. The actual self-esteem of individuals already incarcerated should be compared to the self-esteem of individuals in the general public. The results of this study indicated the possibility that some of the attributes being measured by the SERS were also being measured by the EAS; therefore, the relationship between self-esteem and sense of entitlement should be examined as well.

Beyond looking at sense of entitlement's relationship with self-esteem, the construct of sense of entitlement needs to be further examined in the research. There is very little empirical research on sense of entitlement's role in criminal behavior, beyond its role in narcissism and rape and sexual coercion. Inferences, however, are made repeatedly concerning its role in all types of criminal behavior. These inferences should be empirically supported or empirically disproved. Sense of entitlement should be measured and compared in both violent and nonviolent behavior, in addition to comparing current incarcerated offender's level of sense of entitlement to the general population. Furthermore, since it has been argued that all individuals possess some type of a sense of entitlement, then it should be determined what effect a sense of entitlement has on an individual's normal, everyday functioning.

# Summary

Overall, the results of this study did not indicate that level of self-esteem has good predictive value for classifying incarcerated individuals into violent or nonviolent groups. This lack of adequate prognostic value did not support the current research available concerning high self-esteem and violent behavior, nor did this study support the current research concerning low self-esteem and criminal behavior since it appears as though the participants tended to score high on self-esteem. The results of this study also did not support the prediction that incarcerated individuals would have a higher sense of entitlement than individuals who were not incarcerated. Individuals who were not incarcerated tended to score higher on unhealthy sense of entitlement than individuals who were incarcerated. This tendency did not support the current research concerning sense of entitlement and criminal behavior.

The lack of support found by this study for either of the two hypotheses proposed could be caused by a number of limitations. These limitations included the sample size of the study; the lack of trust the participants had in the administrator of the study; the reading and comprehension abilities of the participants; and the lack of truthfulness by the participants when answering the survey. Based on the lack of support and limitations of the research, future directions would be to reexamine the relationships between self-esteem and criminal behavior as well as the relationship between sense of entitlement and criminal behavior.

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APPENDIX A

#### Consent Form

The following is a brief summary of the project in which you are asked to participate. Please read this information before signing the statement below.

TITLE: Self-Esteem and Sense of Entitlement in Criminal Behavior

**PURPOSE OF STUDY/PROJECT:** To determine the relationship of both self-esteem and sense of entitlement in criminal behavior.

**PROCEDURE:** A survey including a brief questionnaire, a self-esteem rating scale, a sense of entitlement scale and a social desirability will be completed and the data then will be analyzed.

INSTRUMENTS: The Self-Esteem Rating Scale (SERS) developed by W. R. Nugent and J. W. Thomas in 1993 will be used to assess the subjects' level of self-esteem. The Entitlement Attitudes Scale development by L. Nadkarni and J. Malone in 1994 will be used to assess the inmates' level of entitlement and the Malone-Crowne Social Desirability Scale will be used to assess the truthfulness of the inmates' answering pattern. A 15 question survey developed by the researcher will be use to gather background information such as race, economic background, age, number of years incarcerated, reason for incarceration, and substance use as related to the current offense.

**RISK/ALTERNATIVE TREATMENTS:** There are no risks associated with participation in this study. There are no alternative treatments. Participation is voluntary.

# BENEFITS/COMPENSATION: None

understood the above dest Violent and Nonviolent of that my participation in to to participate in this stud of Corrections or my rele time or refuse to answer understand that the result the results of my sur-	Criminal Behavior," and this research is strictly vory will not affect my relates as an any way. Further, any questions without pots will be freely available vey will be confidenti	telf-Esteem and S its purposes and pluntary and my p tionship with the I understand that enalty. Upon con to me upon requal, accessible	Sense of Entitlement methods. I understar participation or refus Louisiana Departme I may withdraw at an appletion of the study, quest. I understand the only to the princip	ir nc ny ny ny ny ny ny
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Signature of Participant of	r Guardian	Date		

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Signature of Participa	ant or Guardian	Date
Digital of i amorbi	ant of Gamman	Date

**CONTACT INFORMATION:** Please forward any questions concerning this research including questions concerning the outcome of the research and the subjects' rights to Dr. S. Tucker at Forcht Wade Correctional Center, 7990 Caddo Drive, Keithville, LA 71047. Dr. Tucker will then forward the questions to the researcher, Susan Frank, Ph.D. Candidate.

Members of the Human Use Committee of Louisiana Tech University may also be contacted if a problem cannot be discussed with the experimenters: Louisiana Tech University, attention: Human Use Committee, PO Box 7923, Ruston, LA 71272.

APPENDIX B

# Front Questionnaire

# **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Instructions: For each item please check the response or fill in the response that best fits you. Please answer each item. The information you provide is strictly confidential and will not be used in any way that will identify you.

What is your current age? Estimated date you went to prison
What was your age when you incarcerated for your current offense?
Number of years incarcerated on current offense
Number of prior incarcerations in a major institution
Which of the following ethnic group best describes you?
African American/Black American Indian Asian or Pacific Islander European American/White  Hispanic/Latino Middle East American Other
What is your relationship status?
Single/Never been married Separated/Divorced Engaged Married/Partnered Widowed Other
In which of the following best fits your income while not incarcerated?
0 - 10,000       10,000 - 20,000       30,000 - 40,000         40,000 - 50,000       50,000 - 60,000       60,000 - 70,000         70,000 - 80,000       80,000 - 90,000       90,000 and above
Out of the following list, please check all that represent your current convictions:
Homicide 1st or 2nd deg Manslaughter Rape/Sexual Assault Forcible Sodomy/Sodomy Assault Armed Robbery Robbery Fraud Writing bad checks Forgery Burglary Breaking & Entry Damage to property/Vandalism Possession of a controlled substance (CS) Distribution of a CS Conspiracy to distribute a CS Any type of weapons offense Contributing to the delinquency of a minor Other
One
Were you using any type of drugs or alcohol when you committed the current offense(s)?
YesNo
If yes, what substance(s) were you on?

Was the crime committed in order to obtain any type of drugs/alcohol?	_Yes	No
Was the crime committed in order to obtain money to buy drugs/alcohol?	Yes _	No
Do you believe that you have a problem with drugs or alcohol? Yes	N	Vo

APPENDIX C

# Self-Esteem Rating Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure how you feel about yourself. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by placing a number by each one as follows:

1 = Never

2 = Rarely

3 = A little of the time

4 =Some of the time

5 = A good part of the time

6 = Most of the time

7 = Always

# Please Begin

1.	I feel that people would <i>NOT</i> like if me if they really knew me well.	
2.	I feel that others do things much better than I do.	
3.	I feel that I am an attractive person.	
4.	I feel confident in my ability to deal with other people.	***
5.	I feel that I am likely to fail at things I do.	
6.	I feel that people really like to talk with me.	***************************************
7.	I feel that I am a very competent person.	
8.	When I am with other people I feel that they are glad I am with them.	*****
9.	I feel that I make a good impression on others.	
10.	I feel confident that I can begin new relationships if I want to.	
11.	I feel that I am ugly.	
12.	I feel that I am a boring person.	
13.	I feel very nervous when I am with strangers.	
14.	I feel confident in my ability to learn new things.	
15.	I feel good about my self.	
16.	I feel ashamed about myself.	
17.	I feel inferior to other people.	
18.	I feel that my friends find me interesting.	
19.	I feel that I have a good sense of humor.	
20.	I get angry at myself over the way I am.	
21.	I feel relaxed meeting new people.	
22.	I feel that other people are smarter than I am.	
23.	I do <i>NOT</i> like myself.	
24.	I feel confident in my ability to cope with difficult situations.	
25.	I feel that I am <i>NOT</i> very likeable.	
26.	My friends value me a lot.	
27.	I am afraid I will appear stupid to others.	
28.	I feel that I am an OK person.	
29.	I feel that I can count on myself to mange things well.	

30.	I wish I could just disappear when I am around other people.
31.	I feel embarrassed to let others hear my ideas.
32.	I feel that I am a nice person.
33.	I feel that I could be more like other people then I would feel better about
	myself.
34.	I feel that I get pushed around more than others.
35.	I feel that people like me.
36.	I feel that people have a good time when they are with me.
37.	I feel confident that I can do well in whatever I do.
38.	I trust the competence of others more than I trust my own abilities.
39.	I feel that I mess things up.
40.	I wish that I were someone else.

- (p/+) 3,4,6,7,8,9,10,14,15,18,19,21,24,26,28,29,32,35,36,37 (n/-) 1,2,5,11,12,13,16,17,20,22,23,25,27,30,31,33,34,38,39,40

APPENDIX D

# Entitlement Rating Scale

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements according to the seven—point scale:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Strongly	Disagree		Neutral			Strongly Agree		
1.	I am more	optimistic	about other	er people's succ	ess than I	am about my			
2.	It is easy for people to take advantage of me without me realizing it.								
3.	When I don't get what I feel is rightfully mine, it makes me angry.								
4.	When I as	k people to	do things	for me I feel lil	ke I'm im <sub>l</sub>	posing.			
	please indicated in please		nuch the fo	llowing statem	ents are tr	ue for you acc	ording to the		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Strongly	Disagree		Neutral		Strongly	/ Agree		
5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.	I feel obliged to fulfill any demand made of me.  I am easily intimidated by opinionated people.  I don't have the courage to stand up for myself when someone infringes on my rights.  I hesitate to assert my preferences or opinions over someone else's.  I insist upon getting my due.  I expect other people to do special favors for me.  Looking out for my own welfare is my main responsibility.  I expect to have my way.  I hesitate to ask friends for support because I don't want to be a burden.								
15.	I continue an argument until I win.								
16.	I can't seem to say "no" even when I really don't want to do something.								
17	I like to be		er						

APPENDIX E

# Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* as it pertains to you personally.

1.	Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.					
2.	I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.					
3.	It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.					
4.	I have never intensely disliked anyone.					
5.	On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.					
6.	I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.					
7.	I am always careful about my manner of dress.					
8.	My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.					
9.	If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.					
10.	On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too					
	little of my ability.					
11.	I like to gossip at times.					
12.	There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.					
13.	No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.					
14.	I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.					
15.	There have been occasion when I took advantage of someone.					
16.	I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.					
17.	I always try to practice what I preach.					
18.	I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.					
19.	I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.					
20.	When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.					
21.	I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.					
22.	At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.					
23.	There have been occasion when I felt like smashing things.					
24.	I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.					
25.	I never resent being asked to return a favor.					
26.	I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my					
	own.					
27.	I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.					
28.	There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.					
29.	I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.					

30.	I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.	
31.	I have never felt that I was punished without cause.	***
32.	I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they	
	deserved.	
33.	I have never deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings.	