The Prison Fellowship® Good Citizenship Model™: A New Framework for Corrections

Jesse Wiese,[a] Mike Denhof,[a] Rachel D. Crawley[a]

[a] Prison Fellowship

ABSTRACT AND ARTICLE INFORMATION

There is a current call to action among researchers and others emphasizing the need for continued evolution of the concept of "success" in corrections (e.g., *Returning Citizens*, 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2022). While there have been positive developments in corrections over the years, the predominant risk-need-responsivity model (RNR; Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Andrews et al., 1990; Blanchette & Brown, 2006; Ward et al., 2007) for correctional assessment and rehabilitation in the United States' prison system has proved insufficient. Key barriers to progress have included over-reliance upon a problematic definition and measure of success (i.e., recidivism), over-confidence in a reductionist and risk-focused model, and ignorance of the importance of the form and quality of prison culture upon prison outcomes. Amid the recommendations for innovation and alternatives to overcome identified weaknesses in the status quo approach, we posit a new, values-based, culture-focused framework for success in corrections. The Good Citizenship Model™ (GCM™), in its most recent iteration, emerged out of over 45 years of collaborative outreach and fieldwork activity by researchers, returned citizens, specialists, and volunteers serving incarcerated people, returned citizens, and their families. The GCM targets the development of positive values and prosocial character development rather than risk-related deficits; emphasizes human flourishing over non-recidivism; and construes prison culture as a conduit through which prosocial values and character attributes are attained, reinforced, and sustained.

Corresponding author: Rachel D. Crawley, Prison Fellowship, PO Box 138, Cleburne, TX, 76033, USA.
Email: rachel_crawley@pfm.org

Many departments of corrections in the United States have mission statements or department names that focus on rehabilitation of people in prison (e.g., North Dakota Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction). However, the gold standard outcome measure for corrections is not rehabilitation, and the overall approach to prison is not conducive to rehabilitation. This apparent disconnect is thought to be a contributing factor to some of the issues faced by corrections in recent years. Criticisms of US prison practices identify several key problems with, and suggest several potential improvements to, the correctional system that are likely more aligned with rehabilitation-focused missions. These identified issues include targeting a flawed outcome variable (e.g., defining rehabilitative success primarily as "not recidivating") and relying too heavily on limited prison programs to obtain the desired outcome while ignoring the universally attended "program" among people in prison – prison culture. The purpose of this paper is to propose a theoretical model based on the literature in corrections and adjacent fields that redefines success in corrections; suggests a values-based, culture-conscious approach to rehabilitation; and recommends focusing on prison culture as a primary vehicle of rehabilitation and improving human flourishing.

Barriers to Rehabilitation

Many departments of corrections and prison systems in the US have begun focusing more on rehabilitation as their goal. Unfortunately, there are barriers to reaching this goal. Critiques of mainstream prison assessment and rehabilitative practices have identified several noteworthy problems with the most prevalent and typical strategies for fulfilling the rehabilitative mission of corrections. Among them are over-reliance upon the measurement of successful rehabilitation through a flawed metric (i.e., recidivism rate); structuring rehabilitation efforts and plans around results from reductionist risk model-based assessment checklists, which have been criticized on their reliability (Mann et al., 2004; Polaschek, 2012; Ward & Brown, 2004; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003); and unrealistic expectations for prison programs that are often nested within a toxic prison culture and make contact with only a small fraction of the total incarcerated population at any given moment. It is important to describe such programs as "embedded" given how the form or quality of prison culture has been found to be of high relevance to the efficacy of (culture-embedded) prison

programs (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Bloom & Bradshaw, 2022; Dvoskin & Spiers, 2004; Gonzales et al., 2023; Ross et al., 2011; Stasch et al., 2018; van Ginneken & Nieuwbeerta, 2020). Dysfunctional prison cultures can undermine program impact by undermining participants' sense of safety, community support, motivation, and engagement while more functional and positive cultures tend to enhance program potential. The described points of critique will be further elaborated in the sections to follow, along with discussion of the Good Citizenship Model's (GCM) approach to overcoming them.

Non-Recidivism is an Insufficient Target Outcome for Corrections

The traditional and most widely employed indicator of corrections success has long been recidivism rate. However, this metric has been found to be problematic in many ways. For one, recidivism reduces a complex problem with various contributing factors to a simple "yes/no." Whether someone returns to incarceration is a much more complex problem than a dichotomous outcome can capture. Reasons for recidivism are not only based upon the presence of criminogenic factors, as defined by the authors and proponents of the risk-need-responsivity model (Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Andrews et al., 1990; Blanchette & Brown, 2006; Ward et al., 2007), but are arguably also a function of much less often studied multivariate combinations—which can be understood as the building blocks of more enduring and holistic drivers of behavior (e.g., personality attributes or identities, and value commitments). While correctional practitioners have been persuaded to keep an exclusive kind of focus on particular criminogenic factors (e.g., "the big 8"), it remains true that these are really just variables that have repeatedly demonstrated to have relatively small but reliable independent relationships to recidivism. Much less often discussed, considered, or studied has been the relationships between more complex, multivariate combinations, interactions, or synergies for their potentially unique relation to recidivism.

Second, recidivism itself is an error laden measure. The potential myriad of influences upon recidivism rates, such as social and economic (Pew Center on the States, 2011) as well as employment, education, and housing (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2022), all have the potential to contribute noise and error to recidivism rate calculations. This over-reliance upon a simplistic binary outcome leaves many questions unanswered and provides limited

explanations and understandings about the basis or reasons for a given recidivism rate. Such binary outcomes do not meaningfully illuminate questions of either public safety or the true effectiveness level of particular systems of correction (King & Elderbroom, 2014; NASEM, 2022; see also methodological issues discussed in Altman & Royston, 2006; Royston et al., 2005; Streiner, 2002).

Third, recidivism definitions themselves can vary substantially (e.g., across institutions, states, and programs) reflecting return to prison, re-arrest, or re-conviction. These are very different outcomes, but they are all labeled recidivism. This lack of standardization also leads to an inability to meaningfully compare rates across states.

Fourth, recidivism is not rehabilitation. It is not a measure of the outcome desired from corrections. It is, at best, a proximal indicator of rehabilitation. Recidivism, defined as not returning to prison, not being re-arrested, or not being re-convicted sets a very low bar for both correctional facilities and returning citizens (*Returning Citizens*, 2020). Rehabilitation is most often defined in more positive terms and is a more complex construct than what is captured by recidivism. To contribute to public safety, rehabilitation cannot be defined as simply no more interactions with the criminal justice system. Incarcerated people, preferably, should be guided to not just legal compliance in the community but toward human thriving; meaningful roles; and positive civic activity, involvement, and/or contributions, or in other words, human flourishing.

Fifth, any given recidivism rate fails to provide much actionable or specific information about why a given rate occurred. For instance, the finding of a poor rate does not pinpoint what aspect or aspects of a given correctional system or treatment program may have failed or requires modification. Given the status of recidivism as a widely employed indicator of, for instance, program effectiveness, it follows that decision or policy makers may mistakenly conclude that a given program is ineffective based solely upon the rate calculation.

Sixth, recidivism as a measure ignores systemic challenges faced by some groups of people. Using recidivism as the primary outcome promotes a deaf ear at the policy-maker level about the challenges and barriers that returning citizens face upon re-entry, especially those challenges faced by Black and Hispanic people (NASEM, 2022; Windsor et al., 2014). Some 44,000 legal barriers have been identified with potential to deter successful re-entry (National Inventory of Collateral Consequences of Conviction, 2022). Such barriers appear in the contexts of education, housing, employment, transportation, and health care—and undoubtedly impact recidivism rates. (LaCourse et al., 2019; Makarios et al., 2010).

Finally, recidivism is not an especially useful measure for people serving life prison terms. In situations where success is defined as not returning to prison, the measure completely ignores people in prison. In other situations, new convictions among people in prison do necessarily reflect rehabilitation. The success of a correctional facility should represent its entire population rather than 6/7^{ths} of it (The Sentencing Project, 2021).

Some researchers suggest that desistance (i.e., the reduction of criminal behavior) replace recidivism as the gold standard outcome for corrections given that desistance is a continuous variable and more sensitive than a binary variable (i.e., an improvement over recidivism in measurement sensitivity; Bucklen, 2021). For example, increased spans of time before re-arrest, reduced frequency of criminal behavior, or reduced severity of types of criminal behavior are all gains that would be reflected by desistance but not by recidivism. Desistance, however, may be more theoretically important to the need for a new rehabilitative model than it is practically important as a form of outcome measure. Desistance is theoretically important to understand because it helps clarify the oversimplification of the recidivism measure and it helps clarify that success must be seen as both relative and iterative. Two people who complete the same rehabilitative program may achieve an equal amount of change but then later experience varying degrees of success because one of the two started out with more extensive or deeply ingrained debilitating issues.

Nevertheless, desistance retains some of the same constraints that recidivism has as a success metric. Neither recidivism nor desistance provide sufficient attention to the mechanics of solutions that honor the complexity of human motivation, the importance of identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013), character, well-being, and various manifestations of human flourishing that expand beyond the boundaries of legal versus illegal behavior. Arguably, what drives desistance is rehabilitation. Given the field's push towards rehabilitation, it is more efficient to adjust outcome measures to the more practically useful among these options. For these reasons, a change in the standard outcome measure for corrections is recommended. Arguably, the bar must be set higher, such that correctional administrators and policy makers make it their goal to pursue a rehabilitation-focused definition of success, which, in turn, will gradually shift their corrections communities, cultures, and programs. In other words, in order to accomplish rehabilitation in US prisons, a rehabilitation-focused outcome will need to be the outcome measure that

prisons and policy makers target. Instead of asking, "Why do people commit crime?" and then focusing on reducing risk factors, we propose asking, "Why don't people commit crime?" and focusing on improving lives as suggested by the late prison reformer Charles Colson (1995).

Human Flourishing as a Long-Term Outcome for Corrections

A shift in reliance upon rudimentary measures of success leads the research community to consideration of potentially fruitful and measurable concepts that expand the definition of success in corrections. Human flourishing represents one such option (NASEM, 2022). Research has linked the same factors associated with desistance and recidivism to human flourishing, including family relationships, work, pay, education, and religious community (VanderWeele, 2017); however, flourishing is more reflective of rehabilitation, captures more information about rehabilitation than recidivism and desistance, and therefore, may be a more fruitful outcome as well as a predictor of associated desired outcomes such as community safety and health. Flourishing can be understood as and is defined here as doing well across multiple life areas: life satisfaction, mental and physical health, meaning and purpose, character and virtue, close social relationships (VanderWeele, 2017), a positive and socially functional identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013), and regard for human dignity and potential. Measures of flourishing with subscales such as Harvard's Flourishing Measure (VanderWheele, 2017) already exist.

An important consideration is that an expanded definition of success in corrections is in turn going to be dependent upon expanded or at least more diversified resources (e.g., income and access to services; VanderWeele, 2017). If human flourishing came to be emphasized as an expanded and more holistic success metric over recidivism, the bar of responsibility would be raised for prisons as reported by the NASEM (2022).

> The measurement of success for those returning from prison has implications for the responsibilities of correctional agencies toward the persons under their supervision, the design of effective reentry policy, community-based programs and services across multiple sectors, the well-being of marginalized communities, victim satisfaction with correctional interventions, and crime control policy. Improving metrics of post-release success is a vital first step in making informed policy decisions and ensuring that taxpayer investments are spent

wisely. It is also important for ensuring that the criminal legal system is accountable to those it affects directly, to their families and communities, to their victims and survivors, and to the broader public. (p. 12)

If human flourishing were emphasized as a new standard of success in corrections, it would communicate a different expectation for people incarcerated, such as described by Wiese (*Returning Citizens*, 2020).

> We want them [returning citizens] to be engaged in civic activities; we want them to be positive public actors, invested in their communities and advancing a pro-social worldview in the public square. We want people to work, pay taxes, take care of their families, volunteer, and be positive catalysts in our communities. We want people to be good citizens. (p. 2-3)

An additional benefit of human flourishing as an alternative goal and success metric for corrections is that it highlights the importance of mental and behavioral health resources, which are limited in correctional facilities (Franke et al., 2019). People with mental health challenges, a history of trauma, and/or those coming from marginalized communities—some of the many challenges contributing to measurement error in recidivism calculations—shift from being confounding variables to issues of priority. A system that emphasizes the achievement of human flourishing rather than recidivism reduction will need to invest more in mental and behavioral health services to reach its goal as mental health is literally part of the definition of success. It will need to provide people with an appropriate level of behavioral health care and acknowledge and address the lack of resources and support for those living with mental illness and a criminal record.

As mentioned earlier, people returning to the community from incarceration face many barriers to successful reintegration. In fact, there are over 44,000 identified collateral consequences of having a criminal record (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). A focus upon the requirements of human flourishing over recidivism as a guide for improvement efforts has much more potential to highlight the need for legal reforms and understanding within the community. Returning citizens, for example, often face callous or unfair treatment by potential employers upon becoming aware of the applicant's past convictions (Albright & Denq, 1996; Morzenti et al., 2021). Laws or organizational policies sometimes prevent returning

citizens from participating in particular occupations, such as those requiring licensure, and regardless of post-release restoration activities, potential civic contributions, or accomplishments (e.g., education, degrees; Arnold Ventures, 2022). Because human flourishing includes "doing well" across multiple life areas by definition, policies that actively prevent that would need to be reconsidered.

Furthermore, and unlike recidivism, the goal of human flourishing can also be applied to people serving life sentences—a population that tends to be forgotten or undervalued despite their well-known value and potential as stabilizing social forces within prison culture and as mentors for other people incarcerated (Herbert, 2018). While "lifers" have zero chances of recidivating, their ability to nevertheless develop positive character attributes and flourish within their in-prison community makes the outcome variable of flourishing relevant and applicable.

Critics of alternatives to recidivism and desistance measures have cited issues such as the time and difficulty of garnering research support for policy changes, lack of interest among corrections professionals, and ingrained habits and practices among staff and correctional information and reporting systems. Bucklen (2021) discusses the concern that policy makers will not support changes because the amount of time it would take to engage in further research would exceed their term limits. They additionally suggest that corrections leaders (e.g., directors, wardens, superintendents) have no interest in non-criminal justice-related outcomes and that changing the way correctional outcomes are reported would be a burden.

It can be argued, however, (1) that policy makers should consider a cost/benefit or return on investment analysis and available supporting data; (2) that correctional leaders should be concerned with outcomes for everyone within their care, including staff, as well as the consequences to the community that may follow when people are treated poorly during incarceration and/or after they are released in an unhealthy or unstable condition (Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, 2020); and (3) that links between aspects of human flourishing and traditional corrections outcomes, including but not limited to recidivism, have been increasingly reported by researchers. Examples include relationships between dysfunctional staff beliefs and behavior and staff well-being (Denhof et al., 2014; Dennard et al., 2021), relationships between prison culture quality and post-release outcomes for prisoners (Auty & Liebling, 2020; Bosma et al., 2020; Nagin et al., 2009), and relationships between embraced pro-social values and criminal thinking (Reeves et al., 2020). In addition, mental health and substance abuse status,

quality of relationships, and employment status/history are all related to improved outcomes for returning citizens (The Harvard University Institute of Politics Criminal Justice Policy Group, 2019; Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, 2020).

The Case for Good Citizenship as a Short-Term Outcome for Corrections

Given the described recommendations for a new measure of success in corrections, there must follow a comparable reframing of rehabilitative practices and process. If flourishing became the new gold standard indicator of rehabilitative success, then rehabilitation efforts would be focused on promoting human flourishing over the attempted suppression of criminal attitudes and behaviors. The current and predominant approach in the United States corrections system is to assess an incarcerated person based on particular, evidence-supported risk factors for recidivism, identify which problem areas or deficits seem most pronounced, and then recommend or place them within a level of programming that matches their assessed level of need (Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Andrews et al., 1990; Blanchette & Brown, 2006; Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Ward et al., 2007). While this approach has received mixed results about its effectiveness (see Duan et al., 2023, for RCT-based meta-analysis), it remains true that this approach has promoted some improved order and progress in a previously less organized field of correctional rehabilitation, which was less guided by standardized procedures. The authors and proponents of the RNR model encouraged greater reliance upon rigorous scientific methodology in correctional rehabilitation research, which has also been important. The foundation of the RNR model is based primarily upon a review of findings from a collection of studies, where variables showing reliable, though relatively small, relations to recidivism become criminogenic factor targets to be prioritized, above all else, for change in rehabilitative efforts. A semi-structured, interview-based approach to identifying which criminogenic factors applied, or that applied the most for particular criminal justice-involved people, was also offered and has long since been promoted and marketed to correctional agencies by the authors of the RNR model (i.e., the Level of Supervision Inventory; Andrews, 1982; Andrews & Bonta, 1995).

Despite the aforementioned positives associated with the RNR model and the positive intentions of its developers and proponents, the emphasis of this strategy is arguably too negative and tends to make for uninspiring treatment or rehabilitative programming plans. Given the difficult task of change that is required of people who struggle with ingrained antisocial tendencies, what is needed is

an approach that prioritizes efforts to not only deter but also replace dysfunctional behaviors and sources of motivation with functional substitutes. Efforts to illuminate, reinforce, and develop prosocial values and prosocial identity represent a compelling alternative. Many criminogenic factors, for example, can be understood as rooted in (or as an outgrowth of) one's core values and/or one's value-laden dimensions of character. Given this, we propose that, rather than focusing on a recidivism reduction goal, the field of corrections and correctional rehabilitation, focus instead upon cultivating and/or reinforcing functional, prosocial values, character, and identity—the building blocks of good citizenship. To the extent that is accomplished, well-being can be expected to follow, as well as flourishing as a broader conception of success. In other words, we suggest that corrections conceptualize rehabilitation for people incarcerated as an effort to develop and promote the defining qualities of good citizenship.

Given the proposed goal of pursuing good citizenship as a short-term outcome and precursor to human flourishing, further elaboration of the concept of good citizenship is warranted. The conceptual ideal of citizenship has been defined as civility, community awareness, service, concern for the welfare of others, social responsibility, tolerance, respectfulness, and empowerment (Korbey, 2019, p. 12). An ideal citizen would add value to a community and be actively engaged in it. Citizenship is often defined and understood as involving both (1) the responsibility of the individual to their community and (2) a concurrent responsibility of the community for the individual. Despite this understanding, some individuals experience barriers to community and citizenship, such that the community's responsibility to those individuals goes unmet or the individual is locked out of the ability to meet his/her responsibility to the community.

A primary example of a group that is likely to experience these barriers are people with criminal records, mental illness, or people experiencing homelessness. In such cases, citizenship can be understood as incomplete or inaccessible (Rowe & Pelletier, 2012). Research suggests that among those working towards reintegration with the larger community, membership in a "program community," such as a recovery community, along with citizenship education, may help facilitate their success (Rowe & Pelletier, 2012). A notable caveat in the described conception of citizenship is that it ascribes responsibility to both the individual and to the larger societal community concurrently. As a result, meeting the definition of full citizenship can be a challenge for some, as society tends to withhold social inclusion and rights/responsibilities from marginalized people

(Rowe & Pelletier, 2012). It is within this context and perspective that citizenship will be described within this paper—as a function of an individual's interaction with their communities and larger society.

The concept of citizenship is especially important for purposes of this discussion because citizenship is a necessary precursor to human flourishing—which, in turn, has been posited as an expanded definition of successful rehabilitative efforts (i.e., over success as non-recidivism). This alternative definition more fully honors human beings as complex wholes, driven by value systems, recognizable character traits, and identities. Citizenship involves a "deep sense of fellowship in humanity" (Adler, 1927/1957, p. 38) and is directly related to a person's social life and support, as well as their sense of belongingness, all of which are important prerequisites to human flourishing.

For criminal justice-involved people, however, their relationship with their larger pro-social community will often not be ideal. If thought of as a continuum where a person's relationship with society ranges from disenfranchised to invested and engaged (i.e., "good" citizenship), people incarcerated will likely fall lower on the citizenship continuum than those in the general population.

A theoretical underpinning of the GCM is that the better a person's relationship with their larger pro-social community, the more social support and belonging they will experience. Likewise, according to the precepts of the GCM, as the quality of one's relation to their community lowers, their sense of duty or engagement diminishes, as does their sense of belonging and level of concern for others. The interface between these assertions and rehabilitation is most obvious in a further GCM precept: To the extent that an individual feels accepted by the larger community, the more likely they are to embrace prosocial forms of thinking and behavior (e.g., employment, education, altruism) and experience flourishing.

Given the above, it is hypothesized that a more ideal long-term goal for corrections is human flourishing rather than recidivism reduction. People who are flourishing are expected to be concurrently less likely to commit crime and more likely to add value to their surrounding communities—they are good citizens. Good citizenship is estimated to be more likely linked to better social support, a sense of belonging and identity, positive engagement in the community, a greater likelihood to be able to navigate social institutions, and more investment in community well-being. If flourishing is the long-term outcome replacing recidivism, and good citizenship is the short-term outcome (or pre-requisite circumstance), the next

question is how do we reconceptualize rehabilitation to target good citizenship?

Reconceptualizing Rehabilitation: The Values of Good Citizenship

The current approach to correctional rehabilitation can be understood as narrowly focused on reducing criminogenic recidivism risk as a short-term goal and as a path to reducing actual recidivism as a long-term goal. It was discussed earlier how the focus of this pursuit is arguably impaired in various ways (e.g., employs a narrowly conceived set of "approved" risk factors to focus on, has a strong focus on the reduction of negative behaviors or circumstances, neglects more holistic factors in assessment and in treatment (e.g., concepts/variables such as values, character, and working identity). The pursuit of reaching more broadly conceived and potentially more inspiring rehabilitative goals—to include change in values, character, and identity—will require a commensurate shift in how rehabilitation is conceptualized.

Strengths-based approaches assume that everyone has positive capabilities or potentials that they can engage to address life's challenges (Rothman, 1994; Weick, 1983; Weick & Pope, 1988). Some strength-based approaches have begun to emerge in the field of corrections, offering promising outcomes. For example, The Good Lives Model (GLM) is a strengths-based approach that has gained some recognition in recent years (Ward et al., 2007; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward & Stewart, 2003), especially with clinically-oriented professionals. While initially developed in the context of sex offender treatment, the GLM has demonstrated some general applicability with other incarcerated populations. The GLM assumes that all human beings are in pursuit of a common set of needs but that some individuals pursue the fulfillment of said needs in maladaptive ways, potentially resulting in crime. The GLM, to date, has generated a relatively small quantity of empirically supported effectiveness studies compared to predominating risk-based models. The GLM nevertheless demonstrates a viable option that has been positively embraced by a substantial number of practitioners and institutions. Its introduction has also catalyzed growing critiques of risk-focused approaches including the issue of whether their superior status in the field is justified.

A review of research employing strengths-based rehabilitative approaches in corrections (Donnelly, 2021) has suggested that these approaches may be key to improving upon the status quo. Desistance-focused interventions, such as those focused on improving efficacy and autonomy, have also demonstrated promise (Bucklen, 2021). These observations and developments suggest that the time may be ripe for the testing of new correctional rehabilitation models, as there is evidence of growing receptiveness to mainstream alternatives. Reconceptualizing rehabilitation could help open the door to the development of a wider array of tools for correctional rehabilitation. Lessons learned from the history of correctional treatment, however, clarify that new models, frameworks, and theories must be well formulated, empirically testable, and supported by programs of research to support their availability and scaling.

It is important to note that strengths-based models, like deficit-focused models, can employ evidence-based and evidence-informed techniques such as cognitive-behavioral, social learning, and emerging narrative-cognitive techniques to facilitate change. Similar to the current conceptualization of rehabilitation, targeting the development of good citizenship in the short term, and flourishing in the longer term, would also be expected to generate prosocial changes in thinking and behaviors as well as reduction in antisocial thinking and behavior. The mechanism of change would, however, be different than described within the status quo approach. Under the GCM, criminogenic factors are understood to be secondary to, or an outgrowth of, a person's values, character, and identity. By changing or improving upon these more fundamental determinants of behavior, criminogenic factors are automatically addressed as a natural consequence. It is important to note that while cognitive-behavioral techniques have come to be recognized as the most supported and effective treatments for a variety of presenting problems in the corrections arena, there remains a sustainment problem that has been noted in the cognitive-behavioral intervention literature (Yoon et al., 2017). Recognizing the importance of thinking and cognition in rehabilitation, as well as the potential pitfalls, we hypothesize that the linchpin to improving good citizenship is addressing motivation at a deeper level—at the level of one's underlying values, character, and identity.

Values can be defined as abstract standards and/or preferences reflecting personal goals that determine our sense of what is important, remain consistent across different situations, and are guiding factors in life (Arieli et al., 2014; Feldman et al., 2015; Fritzsche & Oz, 2007; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). In other words, values are thought of as internal structures governing decision-making. Research findings indicate that (1) values impact decision-making and cognition (Sousa et al., 2012; see also, e.g., Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Feather, 1995; Maio, 2010; Roccas & Sagiv, 2010; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz et al., 2017; see Fritzsche & Oz, 2007, for a

historical discussion) and vice versa (Feldman-Stewart et al., 2012); (2) values are tied to personal, moral, and social identity (Arieli et al., 2014; Brewer & Roccas, 2001; Feldman et al., 2015; LeFavbre & Franke, 2013; Ruff & Fehr, 2014; Vecchione et al., 2016); (3) values can be changed by intervention (Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Feldman et al., 2015; Maio & Thomas, 2007) and certain facilitators (Feldman et al., 2015; Sousa et al., 2012; Vecchione et al., 2016); (4) values tend to be stable across situations and time (Arieli et al., 2014; Ring et al., 2020; Rokeach, 1973, 1979; Schwartz, 1992; Vecchione et al., 2016); (5) values tend to exhibit similar characteristics and links across cultures (Feldman et al., 2015; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001); and (6) values can be tied to the long-term goal of flourishing (Fritzsche & Oz, 2007; LeFavbre & Franke, 2013; Ring et al., 2020). In other words, values have a widespread impact on decision-making and behavior, can be changed to align with a prosocial lifestyle, and, as a target for intervention, may not only share the benefits of a cognitive-behavioral approach, but also add the benefits of generalizability and stability of decision-making and behavior across varying environments.

Values Impact Decision-Making and Identity

Values have not been thoroughly examined among criminal justice investigators, but research across various fields, conducted over the span of decades, has offered compelling evidence in support of the view that values drive decision-making (e.g., Arieli et al., 2014; Feldman et al., 2015; Fritzsche & Oz, 2007; Glover et al., 1997; Sousa et al., 2012) and behavior (Ring et al., 2020; Sousa et al., 2012). Values are also inextricably linked with identity (e.g., Roccas et al., 2002; Sagiv, 2002). Examples include evidence that cultural values tend to be reflected within the decision-making of people embedded within given cultures (LeFavbre & Franke, 2013); people benefit from a sense of pride and esteem through a sense of belonging or group membership (Tajfel, 1978); a sense of belonging to antisocial groups is associated with criminal thinking (Boduszek et al., 2013); and values play a role in peoples' sense of personal (Arieli et al., 2014; Roccas et al., 2002), moral (Kavussanu & Ring, 2017; Ring & Kavussanu, 2018; Ring et al., 2020), and social identity (Brewer & Roccas, 2001; LeFavbre & Franke, 2013).

Value and Cognition Malleability

Research not only suggests that values are tied to decision-making, cognition, and identity but also that values can be changed (Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Feldman et al., 2015; Maio & Thomas, 2007), in the same way that decision-making and identity are understood as changeable. In other words, values represent a potential entry point for intervention that could have cascading impacts on cognition, decision-making, and identity.

In the cognitive literature, it is theorized that the way we understand and interpret the world and make decisions is heavily impacted by cognitive schemas (i.e., the way bits of information relate to each other forming our conceptualization or understanding of concepts) and scripts (instructions for how to respond and behave; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Whitney, 2001). The experiences that a person has throughout their life contribute to how these schemas and scripts are structured. Once cognitive schemas and scripts firm up, incoming information from the environment can be processed quickly and efficiently through pattern recognition or "chunking" (Lindley, 1966; Tulving & Craik, 2005; Vechi et al., 1995), which eventually can build into expertise in certain areas (Eylon & Reif, 1984; Larkin, 1979; Reif, 1981).

In the identity literature, mental representations or maps provide us with a basis for expectation, for coming to decisions, and for deciding upon actions. Human beings are constantly modeling their perceived worlds through cognitive model making and respectively through the written or spoken word. The human mind also has the capacity to draw upon stored mental representations of previously experienced images, sounds, feelings, and tactile sensations. As a result, the mind is able to compose mental simulations at will. It can organize, reorganize, interpret, and reinterpret past or anticipated experiences. The mind also serves as a screen upon which the scenes of our lives can be projected, examined, critiqued, and woven together—into narratively organized cognitive structures that collectively constitute our identities (McAdams, 1988, 1993).

We theorize that embraced values serve as a grounding foundation or substrate from which cognitive structures and scripts extend. Therefore, the latter are dependent upon the former. The former also guides and shapes the operation of the latter. For example, people who place high value on achievement are more likely to have thoughts about getting ahead or about definitions of success. In turn, they are more likely to make decisions expected to lend to success or achievement. Further, they are more likely to act or engage in achievement-oriented behaviors or behaviors expected to make achievement more likely or occur sooner. They might visualize in the mind's eye (akin to a movie clip) a sequence of events demonstrating a course of events and effort culminating in an achievement or success of some kind. As another example, people who value equality are more likely to have thoughts about rules or principles of equality and fairness, to make decisions

that are in accord with rules of equality and fairness, and to engage in behaviors that are aligned with or have the potential to promote equality and fairness. They might also imagine and visualize a chronologically ordered sequence of events or a scenario where they are protesting an observed instance of inequality. The visualizations in the described examples were meant to illustrate how cognitive structures, most often construed as involving static contents (e.g., beliefs) are increasingly being recognized for their capacity to take a dynamic or narrative organization.

Changing cognitions and decision-making processes have long been the crux of cognitive-behavioral approaches. Cognitive theories suggest that by purposefully evaluating thoughts and decisions, and the logic and reasoning involved, schemas and scripts can be altered to support better or more functional decision-making and actions (Crick & Dodge, 1994; Dansereau et al., 2013).

Research also supports the view that values can be intentionally changed, such as an intentional embrace of prosocial or community values over more exclusively self-serving values. Exemplifying this ability, Arieli and colleagues (2014) demonstrated how individuals were able to assign greater weight to selfless (self-transcendent) values versus selfish (self-focused values). As another example, it has been observed that an explicit values examination activity impacted subsequent decision-making (Feldman-Stewart et al., 2012). According to a "disconnected values model," helping people analyze the disconnect between their personal values and their behavior can improve internal motivation to improve the alignment of the two (Anshel, 2008).

Value Endurance/Sustainability

Values can be seen as especially fruitful targets for intervention, in part because they have been found to be trans-situational (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992) and relatively stable over time (Arieli et al., 2014; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; Vecchione et al., 2016) when compared to cognition. While altering values may require more effort than changing cognition, we hypothesize that targeting values for change, as opposed to cognitions alone, will lead to more enduring changes in both cognition and behavior. We expect this because we assume, to a large extent, that cognitive structures are often rooted in or extended from underlying and more foundational values. It thus logically follows that cognitive changes may be easier to sustain when they are in alignment with underlying values.

To summarize, values are defined here as standards that serve as guiding factors for decision-making and behavior. Values can be understood as being changeable, superseding individual thoughts, naturally supporting value-consistent forms of cognitions and behavior, and having more endurance than cognitions, especially value-inconsistent cognitions. It follows then that values are arguably a more productive target for behavior change than cognitions, despite attempts to change cognition being more common. We theorize that addressing a person's values that relate to or constitute citizenship and flourishing represents an especially intriguing and potentially beneficial change of course in correctional rehabilitative attempts. In other words, good citizenship can be operationally defined as the extent to which an individual endorses and manifests values that are defining of good citizenship. With good citizenship as the short-term outcome, it is expected that continued good citizenship will lead to the longer-term outcome, human flourishing.

The Six Values of Good Citizenship

Before moving on to how values can be utilized to foster good citizenship, and eventually, human flourishing, it is important to clarify how key values are specifically defined here. The values we submit as clearly indicative and defining of good citizenship include community, affirmation, productivity, restoration, responsibility, and integrity. The Values of Good Citizenship (VGC), for the purposes of this theoretical framework, are presented and defined as follows.

Community

Valuing community is a self-transcendent value. People need social relationships and the "give and take" of community to thrive (Adler, 1927/1957; Rowe & Pelletier, 2012). Valuing community is manifested as holding the health of the community and its members as a priority and understanding the reciprocal connection whereby the community both provides and has needs. Decision-making through a community-value lens takes account of how behaviors and consequences impact the health of the community. It also considers the balance between contribution and consumption. The valuing of community has the potential to promote flourishing in several ways, such as by improving relationships; by promoting a positive, functional, and prosocial sense of identity and belonging; and by maintaining high regard for human dignity.

Integrity

Integrity can be understood as a universally appreciated value. It entails honesty, authenticity, and doing the right thing no matter the audience or despite the absence of an audience. Valuing integrity is manifested by being honest, reliable, and trustworthy.

Decision-making through an integrity-value lens considers not only how one is being treated by others but also how others are treated by oneself. Integrity also includes acting in congruence with one's broader value system, and it can help foster social relationships. This value is a component of identity and is universally recognized as a virtuous character dimension.

Affirmation

The value of affirmation is demonstrated by validating the importance of self and others. It is manifested by considering and acknowledging the contribution and importance of others and self. Decision-making through the affirmation-value lens considers the contribution of others and their roles as well as self-contributions. The manifestation of the valuing of affirmation can support building better social relationships; affirm meaning, purpose, and identity; and validate the dignity of others. Among the six values that define good citizenship under the GCM, the value of affirmation resonates most strongly with already widely research-supported principles of positive thinking and behavior change (e.g., Lindsay & Creswell, 2014). When positive thinking and behavior are demonstrated by another person—verbally or behaviorally—affirming what was witnessed results in reinforcement that makes the event more likely to be repeated (Miller & Rollnick, 2002).

Restoration

Valuing restoration entails acknowledging the inevitability of making mistakes, being open to forgiveness, actively seeking restoration for self and others depending on the situation, and being ready to acknowledge faults or seek reconciliation. Decision-making through the restoration-value lens considers the possibility for change, the need for restoration of self or others, and the role of self and others in reconciliation. This value can facilitate better mental and physical health, improve a sense of identity, and validate human dignity. Valuing restoration itself also conveys the basic human value or importance of all people. Nobody is beyond restoration in some way, shape, or form, and all people deserve to be afforded dignity in their pursuit of restoration. These convictions are critical not only in the context of correctional rehabilitation but also in the world at large.

Productivity

Productivity can be understood as a universally appreciated character dimension or attribute. Valuing productivity entails acknowledging the importance of active contributions of effort within a person's ability. This includes goal setting and achievement, inclusive of effort itself as a success regardless of the outcome. Decision-making through the productivity-value lens involves consideration of how behaviors impact contribution and goal achievement within personal and group efforts. This value can facilitate improved life satisfaction, well-being, meaning and purpose, and a positive sense of identity.

Responsibility

Responsibility, too, can be considered a universally appreciated character dimension or attribute. Valuing responsibility entails defining one's boundaries and locus of control. It involves taking ownership for actions. Decision-making through the responsibility-value lens takes into consideration personal differentiation, efficacy of self and others, personal investment and ownership, ability, available resources, and/or the connection between previous choices and outcomes or situations. This value can facilitate life satisfaction, well-being, identity, and the quality of relationships.

Good Citizenship in Practice: Prison is a Program

In practice, the task of developing the VGC is theorized to require (1) education about good citizenship and how it is defined by a collection of especially functional and prosocial core values; (2) opportunities for people to examine their past and current decision-making as well as relations between decisions and values; (3) exposure to others (e.g., role models) whose thinking and behaving are aligned with the VGC; and (4) the ability to implement and practice acting upon, or in accordance with, the values "in real time" and in day-to-day life. When these tasks and circumstances are fulfilled, good citizenship is made a more sustainable habit that can be developed in correctional settings and then continued following release. Living consistently with the VGC over a sustained period of time is hypothesized to promote human flourishing as a long-term outcome.

While this approach to rehabilitation should work in theory, there is a barrier preventing opportunities to observe and practice thinking and behaving aligned with the VGC, and that barrier is prison culture. Research examining the impact of culture suggests that the environment a person lives in impacts both decision-making and behaviors, and shapes the norms, rules, and habits of the culture's constituents. Indeed, prison culture research conducted in the United Kingdom (Auty & Liebling, 2020) has shown that program performance and recidivism rates are impacted by the moral, relational,

and organizational quality of prison life. Typically, the environment within U.S. prisons tends to be more harmful than supportive of prisoner rehabilitation (Bloom & Bradshaw, 2022; Ross et al., 2011; Stasch et al., 2018; Walters, 2003), and this is the "program" into which every single person imprisoned in a traditional U.S. prison is conscripted. Thus, most people in prison in the U.S. are effectively enrolled in a prisonization program and yet expected to rehabilitate. Prisonization can be understood as a process with the potential to exacerbate criminal identity, thinking, and behavior through exposure to negative prison cultural norms. This has been demonstrated for decades (e.g., Walters, 2003). Unhealthy or dysfunctional prison culture is known to work against the rehabilitation mission of most U.S. prisons. In harsh environments such as are typical of prisons, and where social rule-breaking could result in severe consequences, people are often forced to prioritize self-preservation over all else, including value-consistent decision-making. Under such conditions, they are strongly compelled to align their values to observed dysfunctions and antisocial behavior (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011; Vecchioni et al., 2016).

As previously described, values impact thoughts and behaviors, meaning that the values operating in correctional settings impact the behaviors of the people in those environments—including both the people who live there and work there, both the staff and the people incarcerated. In fact, research has suggested that without embedded programming (i.e., the most common prison experience), factors related to returning citizens' success have little relationship to their experiences during incarceration, at best (Yahner & Visher, 2008), and those factors might even deteriorate during incarceration, at worst (Walters, 2003). Therefore, even if a person were to enter prison with a general acceptance of prosocial values, the typical experience of prison culture is likely to either degrade their acceptance or cause moral injury, neither of which is desirable or conducive to rehabilitation or good citizenship.

The general prison culture is where people are most likely to spend the majority, if not all, of their incarceration. Only a small percentage of a given prison population receives a high quality, structured treatment or rehabilitation program of significant duration during their incarceration period (Mears et al., 2002). In many cases, prison placement is based on risk assessment, intended to optimally channel limited resources. An important point is that even those people who are fortunate enough to receive placement in an embedded rehabilitative treatment or program offering may not benefit because of the undermining influence of a dysfunctional surrounding prison culture. This kind of inability to benefit from programming is supported by mechanisms described in trauma literature. For example, when circumstances frequently activate a fight, flight, or freeze response, such individuals may lose or have diminished access to their brain's executive functioning (van der Kolk, 2014). Without the ability to intentionally think through decisions, there will be little to no progress cognitively. Without the ability to think through decisions or practice new skills, people in dysfunctional prison environments will have little opportunity to learn or develop prosocial values.

Finally, while research indicates that amount of time spent in active treatment is a predictor of its sustained impact, the typical corrections system expects people in prison to attend rehabilitation programming for only a small percentage of their total incarceration time and to nevertheless overcome not only their pre-incarceration challenges but also the experience of prisonization. Prisoners are also expected to improve their prosocial inclinations without full access to their executive functioning and without sufficient behavioral reinforcement and practice. Given the situation described, it becomes difficult to expect that any embedded program could move the needle much at all. While much of this is known to researchers and policymakers, the field of corrections in the U.S. continues to expect that intensive embedded programs for the most needy minority of prisoners is the solution, despite continuously poor national level recidivism rates and despite growing evidence of the importance of the quality of prison culture to program performance and prison outcomes more generally.

The ideal model for change in any prison, as defined in the GCM, is to promote a healthy, functional prison culture where learning, observing, and practicing good citizenship can take place, both within and outside of embedded prison programs. Such cultures are critical to the health, functioning, well-being, and flourishing of both staff and people incarcerated. Experiential learning has been shown to be an especially effective vehicle for learning—involving simulation, hands on learning, and/or immersion (Boud et al., 1993; Kong, 2021). An ideal model for value, character, and identity development in the direction of good citizenship would leverage experiential learning within a safe, controlled space where the VGC serve as governing principles for participant interactions and group activities. In this kind of setting, the culture's constituents can practice living out the VGC, hold each other accountable and provide social support, develop functional and prosocial dimensions of character and identity, and cultivate potential for good citizenship and qualities of

attitude and behavior that will transfer well upon community re-entry.

In a prison that employs such a model, even when lacking rehabilitative programs, a truly therapeutic effect may still be experienced, and not by just a small percentage of the prison population, but by everyone exposed to a positive, supportive culture. Immersion in a healthy prison culture, permeated by the VGC—where authenticity is perceived, where supportiveness is demonstrated, where positive and prosocial role modeling is repeatedly demonstrated, and where a standard of human dignity is maintained—can be expected to have beneficial impacts for all members of the culture.

In summary, if human flourishing is the long-term goal for corrections, and development of the VGC is the pathway, then a substantial overhaul of status quo practices would be in order. Functional prison culture with true therapeutic potential must be supportive, involving trust, authenticity, community, and encouragement—qualities of culture that are promoted by the VGC and exemplified within both staff-staff and staff-prisoner relations. The undermining influence of the typical prison culture—to the extent it is incompatible with embedded prison programs—can no longer go unaddressed.

A Solution: The Good Citizenship Model (GCM)

The GCM is a new theoretical model for prison and prisoner rehabilitation that departs from the predominantly risk-focused and status quo approach in various ways. It differs through its emphasis upon human flourishing over recidivism as the ultimate correctional goal. It differs in its focus on prison culture as a catalytic contributor to all prison outcomes. It differs in its scope of what constitutes rehabilitative success through a multi-dimensional outcome inclusive of wellbeing; meaningful or productive civic/community involvement, roles, or activity; healthy relationships; and satisfying work activity, among other potential features that collectively promote balance and define what it means to flourish. The bulleted lists below summarize the GCM's theoretical assumptions and change process and provides various suggested hypotheses through which the model can be empirically tested.

GCM Theoretical Assumptions

- Cognitions have a substantial foundation in values.
- Cognitions that are in alignment with values are more resilient/persistent compared to cognitions that are out of alignment with values.
- Good citizenship and human flourishing are natural consequences of the development of prosocial values, character, and identity.
- Dysfunctional thinking and behaviors are reduced as a natural consequence of prosocial values, character, and identity development.
- Functional prison culture results from organizational efforts to promote the embrace and manifestation of prosocial values, character attributes, and identities within the culture's constituents, especially including its staff.
- Dysfunctional prison culture undermines the development of functional, prosocial values, character dimensions, and identities in its constituents.
- Dysfunctional prison culture undermines the effectiveness of any embedded prison programs.

Change Process

- Approaches teaching people in prison about good citizenship and its benefits and promoting the adoption of the VGC will provide people in prison the information and opportunity they need to consider their personal goals and motivate them to adopt the VGC. *Focal areas: Community, Affirmation, Productivity, Responsibility, Restoration, Integrity*.
- Individual people in prison who adopt the VGC and consistently practice behaviors aligned with those values will naturally not only reduce antisocial cognitions and behaviors but adopt additional community-oriented prosocial beliefs and behaviors. At best, people adopting the VGC can contribute positively to the community in prison as well as outside of prison and positively influence the culture around them.
- Because practicing good citizenship both reduces challenges associated with antisocial thinking and behaving (e.g., less conflict with others, less irresponsibility) and sets individuals up for success within their ability to influence their outcomes (e.g., improved personal responsibility, improved ability to get along with others), these personal changes are expected to lead to improved human flourishing.
- Because people in prison are impacted by immersion in the culture of prison, when the prison culture itself provides consistent

opportunities to observe, practice, and role model the VGC, the most ideal environment for learning about, observing, and practicing the VGC will be created.

- In iterative fashion, when people in the prison community become better citizens, the culture within the community improves. A larger group of better citizens should positively impact prison culture on a grassroots level with people in prison influencing each other as well as improving the culture for people working in prison. With an improved culture, there are more opportunities for observing and practicing good citizenship, thus creating a better learning environment.
- Thus, programs or interventions can be at the individual-level (e.g., embedded prison programs) and/or the cultural level (e.g., systemic efforts led by leadership and staff to promote the pervasive-embrace/manifestation of the VGC prison wide), with the most impactful including both.

The visual depicted in Figure 1 illustrates, in the form of a theorized causal sequence, the GCM at the process and culture levels of implementation. The process represents an empirically testable theory of change.

As shown in Figure 1, processes begin with group-facilitated activities designed to inculcate, reinforce, or further develop a particular constellation of highly functional and prosocial values through learning activities, repetition, and behavioral practice. This is true for all culture constituents but would be performed in different ways for staff versus prisoners.

As a result of this activity, initial expected consequences include positive and prosocial character and identity development, an increase in prosocial beliefs and behaviors, and a respective decrease in dysfunctional beliefs and behaviors. Given the multifaceted nature of change depicted, hypotheses can be directed at testing the model in different spots or sections at a time, or they can be focused upon relationships between adjacent model elements.

The GCM's assumptions provide a natural starting point for formulating interesting and testable hypotheses in support of efforts to test and accumulate support for the model. Several examples are presented and discussed below.

Hypothesis 1: Good citizenship is positively related to human flourishing (i.e., sound quantitative measurements of the two are expected to correlate positively and significantly).

Because flourishing is closely connected with a person's relationship to their community (e.g., belonging, social support, successfully navigating social institutions such as work and school), the first short-term or prerequisite goal for people in prison is to help equip them to become good citizens. Citizenship has been described as involving a continuum from disenfranchised and hostile (poor) to engaged and invested (good). Good citizenship status can be potentially operationalized for measurement through existing assessment instruments that measure aspects of citizenship or through the development of a customized assessment tool.

Figure 1. The Good Citizenship Model (GCM) Process Visualization
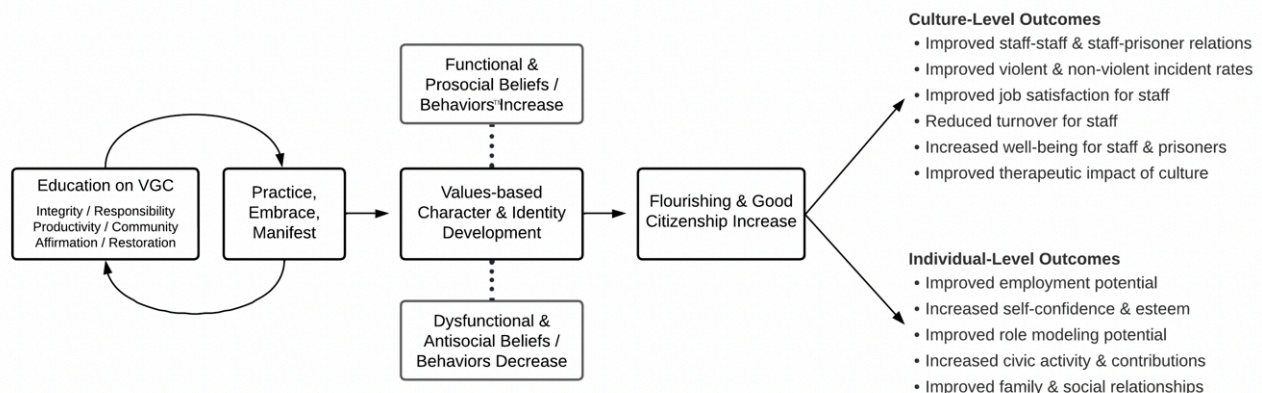
Hypothesis 2: **Good Citizenship status is negatively related to recidivism and criminogenic risk measures** (i.e., sound quantitative measures of good citizenship or closely related constructs will correlate negatively and significantly with measures of recidivism and criminogenic risk; therefore, as people increase in good citizenship, recidivism risk is expected to decrease concurrently).

Good citizenship is defined as an outgrowth of the development of various positive and prosocial values that, in turn, lend to the development of value-aligned cognitive structures and on to thinking, decision-making, and behavior. The GCM proposes a specific constellation of six values that have obvious and particular relevance in correctional environments.

The collection of value areas and characteristics can be considered substantially antithetical to criminal or antisocial thinking and behavior. For example, people who value and demonstrate character attributes of responsibility and integrity are naturally not going to be interested in violating rules or breaking laws. It stands to reason that people who embrace prosocial values such as community, affirmation, and restoration are unlikely to be inclined to violate social and cultural norms. As a result, significant relationships and correlations are expected between good citizenship scores and recidivism rate measurements. Hypotheses 1 and 2, if supported, would provide evidence that not only would a focus on citizenship and human flourishing reduce recidivism and criminogenic risks, as measured by the current gold standard, but it would also include additional positive outcomes. In other words, with these relationships established, there will be no need to measure recidivism.

Hypothesis 3: The Values of Good Citizenship are positively related to measures of both staff and prisoner well-being (i.e., measures of the valuing of community, affirmation, productivity, responsibility, restoration, and integrity—including especially constelled scores reflecting joint valuing across these areas—are expected to correlate positively with measures of wellbeing; therefore, as people's embrace and manifestation of the VGC increase, so too should wellbeing).

To develop one's good citizenship status, a highly relevant intervention target is the value system, which is hypothesized to have a cascading effect, where cognitive structures, decision-making, and

behavior exhibit a chain of dependency tracing hierarchically to a foundation of more deeply ingrained values. Research shows relationships between prison culture, including values-based prison culture, and the wellbeing of staff and incarcerated people (Denhof et al., 2023; Gibson, 2021; Hayden & Huth, 2020).

Hypothesis 4: Culture level efforts to promote and practice the Values of Good Citizenship will result in improvements across a spectrum of both traditional and expanded prison outcomes defined through the concept of flourishing (i.e., measured values will demonstrate significant correlations with both traditional and additional types of prison outcomes; in other words, as constituents of prison culture collectively increase their embrace and expression of highly functional and prosocial values, so too will a spectrum of traditional and expanded prison outcomes increase in rate or improve in status).

Culture level implementations of the GCM are expected to positively impact a broad spectrum of in-prison and post-release outcomes. Prison cultures are notorious for demonstrating poor or antagonistic staff-prisoner relations (Johnsen et al., 2011; Liebling, 2004; Ricciardelli & Power, 2020). Staff-staff relations may also be poor for a variety of reasons, including the high stress nature (Clements et al., 2020) of the job, safety concerns, and other factors (Finney et al., 2013). Dual roles contribute to the situation, such as the need for corrections officers to balance rehabilitation efforts with disciplinary actions. Mistakes also happen, in a manner akin to accidents that take place during military combat, when quick decision-making and action are required to ensure safety but must be balanced against potentially lethal mistakes. The circumstances described can result in moral injury. For all these reasons, prison settings have a tendency to become volatile, hostile, and/or chaotic at times, which promotes violent or non-violent incidents.

In this context, the consistent adoption and manifestation of a set of prosocial values, such as the VGC, has enormous potential to improve the prison culture and lead to a variety of benefits that follow from a healthier and more functional culture. Staff who embrace the VGC are more likely to support and validate each other, interact positively with prisoners, and make prisoners feel supported and psychologically safe. Within a culture characterized by the VGC, both staff and prisoners are more likely to take pride in prosocial identities; staff-staff and

staff-inmate exchanges are less likely to become hostile; and wellbeing is more likely to maintain positive status—and for more constituents of the culture. In turn, such conditions, plausibly, will translate to fewer incidents and altercations, more positive outlooks and expectations, increased job satisfaction, more engaged participation in prison programs, lower staff turnover, and many other positive consequences that are increasingly being found to naturally follow from healthy and functional forms of prison culture.

> **Hypothesis 5: Cultivating or changing prosocial values will have cascading positive effects upon cognition, decision-making, and action—promoting their alignment** (i.e., sound measures of embraced prosocial values will correlate positively with measures of prosocial cognition, decision-making, and behavior; in other words, as people's value systems become increasingly functional and indicative of positive and prosocial character, so too will their thinking, decision-making, and actions conform to a prosocial perspective [e.g., involving fairness, thoughtfulness, concern for others, integrity, responsibility, etc.]).

Embracing prosocial values is expected to correspond to thinking and behaving consistent with those values. Stronger endorsement of the VGC along with practice using them as guiding standards should be correlated with more prosocial thinking and behavior aligned with those values across various environmental contexts.

Apart from the hypotheses described above, other interesting hypotheses that could test the GCM model might include testing whether the use of multiple concurrent strategies for value inculcation increases absorption or testing whether prison-wide, cultural interventions designed to promote prosocial values, character, identity, and good citizenship have the effect of increasing rehabilitative prison program performance.

Challenges and Caveats

Because the GCM presents a sizeable departure from the status quo in United States correctional practices, it is not expected that it would be tested or implemented immediately in its entirety. Reasonable steps towards testing the model are recommended, such as the relationships between prison culture and the outcomes for staff and prison culture and the outcomes for people in prison, followed by the impact of prison culture on program

outcomes and implementation and de-implementation strategies associated with improving prison culture. Implementing the GCM would only be recommended once the body of evidence supporting or adjusting it sufficiently warrants a change. Likewise, it is unreasonable to expect that a system that has been driven to crisis and neglected in research, as corrections has, could be persuaded to make immediate and drastic changes. The intent of this paper is not to request these changes of corrections. It is to suggest an alternative path forward where modern outcomes (rehabilitation) and the approach to accomplish those outcomes are gradually better aligned in a manner that is guided by evidence.

In addition, it is suggested that there are a number of difficulties associated with making changes in corrections. While this is true, there is a body of literature dedicated to organizational health, change, and innovation implementation that suggests that change is possible even in deeply entrenched systems and recommends interventions for common obstacles. The GCM suggests that more research is needed to determine the most effective approach to innovation implementation specifically in corrections so these challenges can be overcome effectively.

Future Directions

Given the identified problems with recidivism as the gold standard outcome measure and its influence upon mainstream approaches to rehabilitation, the proposal of an alternative success measure seems warranted (NASEM, 2022). Based on a review of existing literature and efforts to re-think the status quo approach, we propose a more holistic and less reductionist alternative to correctional rehabilitation. We posit that expanding the definition of success will raise the bar in terms of what we expect from prisons, prison staff, and prison program participants. The GCM offers a new conceptualization of success, new primary targets for change, and a testable theoretical model and framework.

We propose human flourishing as a more ideal and more broadly defined long-term outcome for corrections. We also concur with the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine's 2022 recommendations to include the wisdom of those who have experienced prison and those who have worked directly with people in prison, as well as returned citizens, in the development of policy recommendations and decisions. The GCM itself gradually came into being through decades of joint effort and input from these groups, including returned citizens, front-line prison program staff, colleagues, and (more recently) dedicated corrections researchers employed at Prison Fellowship—a non-profit

organization that has been dedicated to rehabilitation and prison reform for over 45 years to date.

The GCM's theoretical model and proposed change process represents an opportunity to evaluate an alternative to status quo, risk-focused models of rehabilitation, while expanding the boundaries of correctional success from the embedded prison program level to a prison-wide cultural level. The proposed expansion offers an approach capable of benefitting both staff and prisoners concurrently and with potential to impact a respectively wider gamut of prison outcomes. While the GCM is presented as new, many of its facets are already supported in existing research publications on prison culture, rehabilitation, and psychological and behavioral research findings. The GCM, however, provides an integrated theoretical and conceptual framework and model that can assist correctional researchers, clinical practitioners, and decision-makers interested in pursuing improved results. It may also have an appeal for those who have grown fatigued with a lack of discernable progress during recent decades according to routinely published government and national-level data. Future research efforts might usefully invest more resources and efforts into developing additional tools for the psychometrically sound assessment of prison culture, and dimensions of prison culture, to permit more effective and efficient prison culture improvement and optimization efforts.

Conclusion

People in prison, who may or may not return to their communities, have the opportunity to live out their potential and become contributing members of their community—whether inside or outside of prison. Unfortunately, corrections in the U.S. currently sets too low of a bar for prisons and for people in prison by focusing on failure (recidivism rate) and, consequently, misses opportunities to actively promote success, such as through a focus upon the VGC, prosocial character, and identity development. There is value in measures like recidivism and desistence; however, they are detrimental when over-emphasized and viewed as a gold-standard or bottom-line outcome. Re-evaluation of our approaches to success in corrections is recommended (e.g., NASEM, 2022), such as through consideration of accumulating evidence of prison culture's influence upon a spectrum of prison outcomes or through increased attention to a similarly neglected but promising values-based framework for developing functional and prosocial character and identity, and at multiple levels (e.g., individual, program, and cultural). We propose the GCM as a promising new approach and framework for achieving success in corrections, including in relation to an expanded definition of success. We encourage the field—of researchers and practitioners alike—to continue pushing for improvements in line with the described framework or through other innovative proposals.

References

Adler, A. (1957). *Understanding human nature* (W. Beran Wolfe, Trans.). Fawcett Premier Books. (Original work published 1927)

Albright, S., & Deng, F. (1996). Employer attitudes toward hiring ex-offenders. *The Prison Journal, 76*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/003285559607600200 2

Altman, D. G., & Royston, P. (2006). The cost of dichotomising continuous variables, *The British Medical Journal, 332*(7549), 1080. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.332.7549.1080

Andrews, D. A. (1982). *The Level of Supervisory Inventory (LSI): The first follow-up*. National Institute of Justice. https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/8 9859NCJRS.pdf

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (1995). *LSI: R: The Level of Service Inventory-Revised*. Multi-Health System.

Andrews, D.A., & Bonta, J. (2006). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (4th ed.)*. LexisNexis.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 17*(1), 19–52. https://doi.org/10.1177/00938548900170010 04

Anshel, M. H. (2008). The disconnected values model: Intervention strategies for exercise behavior change. *Journal of Clinical Sports Psychology, 2*(4), 357–380.

Arieli, S., Grant, A. M., & Sagiv, L. (2013). Convincing yourself to care about others: An intervention for enhancing benevolence values. *Journal of Personality, 82*(1), 15–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12029

Arnold Ventures. (2022). *Reforming occupational licensing can provide second chances*. https://www.arnoldventures.org/stories/refor ming-occupational-licensing-can-provide-second-chances

Auty, K. M., & Liebling, A. (2020). Exploring the relationship between prison social climate and reoffending. *Justice Quarterly*, 37(2), 358–381. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1538 421

Bardi, A., & Goodwin, R. (2011). The dual route to value change: Individual processes and cultural moderators. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 42*(2), 271–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022110396916

Bardi, A., & Schwartz, S. H. (2003). Values and behavior: Strength and structure of relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*(10), 1207–1220. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203254602

Blanchette, K., & Brown, S. L. (2006). *The assessment and treatment of women offenders: An integrative perspective.* John Wiley & Sons.

Bloom, T., & Bradshaw, G. A. (2022). Inside of a prison: How a culture of punishment prevents rehabilitation. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 28*(1), 140–143. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000572

Boduszek, D., Adamson, G., Shevlin, M., Hyland, P., & Bourke, A. (2013). The role of criminal social identity in the relationship between criminal friends and criminal thinking style within a sample of recidivistic prisoners. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 23*(1)*,* 14–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2013.737289

Bonta, J., & Andrews, D. A. (2007). *Risk-need-responsivity model for offender assessment and rehabilitation.* Public Safety Canada. https://www.securitepublique.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/rsk-nd-rspnsvty/rsk-nd-rspnsvty-eng.pdf

Bosma, A. Q., van Ginneken, E. F. J. C., Sentse, M., & Palmen, H. (2019). Examining prisoner misconduct: A multilevel test using personal characteristics, prison climate, and prison environment. *Crime & Delinquency, 66*(4), 451–484. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128719877347

Boud, D., Cohen, R., & Walker, D. (Eds.). (1993). *Using experience for learning.* Open University Press.

Brewer, M. B., & Roccas, S. (2001). Individual values, social identity, and optimal distinctiveness. In C. Sedikides & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Individual self, relational self, collective self* (pp. 219–237). Psychology Press.

Bucklen, K. B. (2021). *Desistance-focused criminal justice practice.* National Institute of Justice. https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/desistance-focused- criminal-justice-practice

Clements A. J., Kinman, G., & Hart, J. (2020). Stress and wellbeing in prison officers. In R. Burke & S. Pignata (Eds.), *Handbook of research on stress and well-being in the public sector* (pp. 137–151). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788970358.00018

Colson, C. (1995, January 9). Why not commit a crime? *Christianity Today, 39*(1). https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1995/january9/5t1080.html

Crick, N. R., & Dodge, K. A. (1994). A review and reformulation of social information-processing mechanisms in children's social adjustment. *Psychological Bulletin, 115*(1), 74–101.

Dansereau, D. F., Knight, D. K., & Flynn, P. M. (2013). Improving adolescent judgement and decision making. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 44*(4), 274–282. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032495

Denhof, M.D., Wiese, J.B., Crawley, R.D., Puckett, L., & Corn, A. (2023). *The development and psychometric properties of the Prison Culture Assessment (PF-PCA).* [Manuscript submitted for Publication].

Denhof, M. D., Spinaris, C. G., & Morton, G. R. (2014). *Occupational stressors in corrections organizations: Types, effects, and solutions.* U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections. https://info.nicic.gov/nicrp/system/files/028299.pdf

Dennard, S., Tracy, D. K., Beeney, A., Craster, L., Bailey, F., Baureek, A., Barton, M., Turrell, J., Poynton, S., Navkarov, V., & Kothari, R. (2021). Working in a prison: Challenges, rewards, and the impact on mental health and well-being. *The Journal of Forensic Practice, 23*(2). https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JFP-12-2020-0055/full/html

Donnelly, J. (2021). *Rethinking reentry: A look at how risk-based approaches limit reentry success, and a case for why strengths-based approaches may better reduce recidivism* [Master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh]. https://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/41044/

Duan, W., Wang, Z., & Ke, S. (2023). Are risk-need-responsivity principles golden? A meta-analysis of randomized controlled trials in community corrections programs. *Journal of Experimental Criminology.* https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-022-09550-w

Dvoskin, J. A., & Spiers, E. M. (2004). On the role of correctional officers in prison mental health. *Psychiatric Quarterly, 75*(1), 41–59.

https://doi.org/10.1023/B:PSAQ.000000756
0.09475.a0

Eylon, B., & Reif, F. (1984). Effects of knowledge organization on task performance. *Cognition and Instruction, 1*(1), 5–44. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532690xci0101_2

Feather, N. T. (1995). Values, valences, and choice: The influences of values on the perceived attractiveness and choice of alternatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*(6), 1135–1151. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.68.6.1135

Feldman, G., Chao, M. M., Farh, J., & Bardi, A. (2015). The motivation and inhibition of breaking the rules: Personal values structures predict unethicality. *Journal of Research in Personality, 59*, 69–80. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2015.09.003

Feldman-Stewart, D., Tong, C., Siemens, R., Alibhai, S., Pickles, T., Robinson, J., & Brundage, M. D. (2012). The impact of explicit values clarification exercises in a patient decision aid emerges after the decision is actually made: Evidence from a randomized controlled trial. *Medical Decision Making, 32*(4), 616–626. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272989X11434601

Finney, C., Stergiopoulos, E., Hensel, J., Bonato, S., & Dewa, C. S. (2013). Organizational stressors associated with job stress and burnout in correctional officers: A systematic review. *BMC Public Health, 13*, 82. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-13-82

Franke, I., Vogel, T., Eher, R., & Dudeck, M. (2019). Prison mental healthcare recent developments and future challenges. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry, 32*(4), 342–347. https://doi.org/10.1097/YCO.0000000000000504

Fritzsche, D. J., & Oz, E. (2007). Personal values' influence on the ethical dimension of decision making. *Journal of Business Ethics, 75*, 335–343. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-006-9256-5

Gibson, S. (2021). Social climate and hope amongst staff and prisoners in a high security male prison. *The Journal of Forensic Practice, 23*(1), 26–38. https://doi.org/10.1108/JFP-06-2020-0027

Glover, S. H., Bumpus, M. A., Logan, J. E., & Ciesla, J. R. (1997). Re-examining the influence of individual values on ethical decision making. *Journal of Business Ethics, 16,* 1319–1329. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-1475-9_10

Gonzales, C. M., Dewey, S., Anasti, T., Lockwood-Roberts, S., Codallos, K., Gilmer, B., & Dolliver, M. (2023). Good neighbors or good prisoners? Non-uniformed staff beliefs about incarcerated people influence prison social climate. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 23*(2), 200–217. https://doi.org/10.1177/17488958211043686

Returning citizens: Challenges and opportunities for reentry, U.S. House Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security, 116th Cong. (2020) (testimony of Jesse Wiese). https://www.congress.gov/116/meeting/house/110564/witnesses/HHRG-116-JU08-Wstate-WieseJ-20200227.pdf

The Harvard University Institute of Politics Criminal Justice Policy Group. (2019). *Successful reentry: A community-level analysis.* https://iop.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/2023-02/IOP_Policy_Program_2019_Reentry_Policy.pdf

Hayden, J., & Huth, C. (2020). The transformation to health for all in correctional care: Shifting mindset to end collusion. *Military Medicine, 185*(3), 25–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/milmed/usaa125

Herbert, S. (2018). Inside or outside? Expanding the narratives about life-sentenced prisoners. *Punishment & Society, 20*(5), 628–645. https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474517737048

Johnsen, B., Granheim, P. K., & Helgesen, J. (2011). Exceptional prison conditions and the quality of prison life: Prison size and prison culture in Norwegian closed prisons. *European Journal of Criminology, 8*(6), 515–529. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370811413819

Kavussanu, M. & Ring, C. (2017). Moral identity predicts doping likelihood via moral disengagement and anticipated guilt. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 39*(4), 293–301. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.2016-0333

King, R., & Elderbroom, B. (2014). *Improving recidivism as a performance measure.* Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/research/publication/improving-recidivism-performance-measure

Kong, Y. (2021). The rôle of experiential learning on students' motivation and classroom engagement. *Frontiers in Psychology, 12.* https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.771272

Korbey, H. (2019). *Building better citizens: A new civics education for all.* Rowan & Littlefield.

LaCourse, A., Listwan, S. J., Reid, S., & Hartman, J. L. (2019). Recidivism and reentry: The role

of individual coping styles. *Crime & Delinquency, 65*(1), 46–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128718790497

Larkin, J. H. (1979). Processing information for effective problem solving. *Engineering Education, 70*(3), 285–288.

Liebling, A. (2004). *Prisons and their moral performance: A study of values, quality, and prison life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

LeFebvre, R., & Franke, V. (2013). Culture matters: Individualism vs. collectivism in conflict decision-making. *Societies, 3*, 128–146. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc3010128

Lindley, R. H. (1966). Recoding as a function of chunking and meaningfulness. *Psychonomic Science, 6*(8), 393–394. https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03330953.

Lindsay, E. K., & Creswell, J. D. (2014). Helping the self help others: Self-affirmation increases self-compassion and pro-social behaviors. *Frontiers in Psychology, 5*, 421. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00421

Maio, G. R. (2010). Mental representations of social values. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 42, pp. 1–43). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(10)42001-8

Maio, G. R., & Thomas, G. (2007). The epistemic-teleologic model of deliberate self-persuasion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 11*(1), 46–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868306294589

Makarios, M., Steiner, B., & Travis, L. F. (2010). Examining the predictors of recidivism among men and women released from prison in Ohio. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 37*(12), 1377–1391. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854810382876

Mann, R. E., Webster, S. D., Schofield, C., & Marshall, W. L. (2004). Approach versus avoidance goals in relapse prevention with sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse, 16*(1), 65–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/107906320401600105

McAdams, D. P. (1988). Biography, narrative, and lives: An introduction. *Journal of Personality, 56*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00460.x

McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. William Morrow & Co.

McAdams, D. P., & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 22*(3), 233–238. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721413475622

Mears, D. P., Lawrence, S. Solomon, A. L., & Waul, M. (2002). Prison-based programming: What can it do and why is it needed. *Corrections Today, 64*(2), 66–71.

Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. (2002). *Motivational interviewing* (2nd ed.). The Guilford Press.

Morzenti, H., Baffour, T., Koelling, E., & Gringeri, C. (2021). *Exploring employer perceptions of hiring ex-offenders*. CrimRxiv. https://www.crimrxiv.com/pub/huj1223n/release/1

Nagin, D., Cullen, F. T., & Jonson, C. L. (2009). Imprisonment and reoffending. *Crime and Justice, 38*, 115–200. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/epdf/10.1086/599202

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2022). *The limits of recidivism: Measuring success after prison*. The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/26459

National Inventory of Collateral Consequences of Conviction. (2022). *Collateral Consequences Inventory*. https://niccc.nationalreentryresourcecenter.org/consequences

Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion (2020). *Incarceration*. https://health.gov/healthypeople/priority-areas/social-determinants-health/literature-summaries/incarceration

Pew Center on the States. (2011). *State of recidivism: The revolving door of America's prisons*. The Pew Charitable Trusts. https://www.pewtrusts.org/~/media/legacy/uploadedfiles/pcs_assets/2011/pewstateofrecidivismpdf.pdf

Polaschek, D. L. L. (2012). An appraisal of the risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model of offender rehabilitation and its application in correctional treatment. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 17*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8333.2011.02038.x

Reeves, T. C., Shannon, S., & Moore, L. (2020). *Evaluation report: Prison Fellowship Tier-2 Academy at the Lexington Assessment and Reception Center (LARC): Class 2, 2018–2019*. Unpublished manuscript, Prison Fellowship, Lansdowne, VA.

Reif, F. (1981). Teaching problem solving – A scientific approach. *The Physics Teacher, 19*(5), 310–316. https://doi.org/10.1119/1.2340790

Ricciardelli, R., & Power, N. G. (2020). How "conditions of confinement" impact "conditions of employment": The work-related well-being of provincial correctional officers in Atlantic Canada. *Violence and Victims, 35*(1), 88–107. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.VV-D-18-00081

Ring, C., & Kavussanu, M. (2018). The impact of achievement goals on cheating in sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 35*, 98–103. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2017.11.016

Ring, C., Kavussanu, M., & Gürpinar, B. (2020). Basic values predict doping likelihood. *Journal of Sports Sciences, 38*(4), 357–365. https://doi.org/10.1080/02640414.2019.1700669

Roccas, S., & Sagiv, L. (2010). Personal values and behavior: Taking the cultural context into account. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 4*(1), 30–41. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2009.00234.x

Roccas, S., Sagiv, L., Schwartz, S. H., & Knafo, A. (2002). The big five personality factors and personal values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(6). https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202289008

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. Free Press.

Rokeach, M. M. (1979). From individual to institutional values: With special reference to the values of science. In M. M. Rokeach (Ed.), *Understanding human values: Individual and societal* (pp. 47-70). The Free Press, New York, NY.

Ross, M. W., Liebling, A., Tait, S. (2011). Environments: Inmate health care measurement, satisfaction and access in prisons. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 50*(3), 262–274. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2011.00658.x

Rothman, J. (1994). *Practice with highly vulnerable clients*. Englewood Cliff.

Rowe, M., & Pelletier, J. (2012). Citizenship: A response to the marginalization of people with mental illnesses. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice, 12*(4), 366–381. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15228932.2012.697423

Royston, P., Altman, D. G., & Sauerbrei, W. (2005). Dichotomizing continuous predictors in multiple regression: A bad idea. *Statistics in Medicine, 25*(1), 127–141. https://doi.org/10.1002/sim.2331

Ruff, C. C., & Fehr, E. (2014). The neurobiology of rewards and values in social decision making. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience, 15*, 549–562. https://doi.org/10.1038/nrn3776

Sagiv, L. (2002). Vocational interests and basic values. *Journal of Career Assessment, 10,* 2033-257. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072702010000207

Schank, R. C., & Abelson, R. P. (1977). *Scripts, plans, goals and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (*Vol. 25*, pp. 1–65). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60281-6

Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology, 32*(3), 268–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032003002

Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Torres, C., Dirilen-Gumus, O., & Butenko, T. (2017). Value tradeoffs propel and inhibit behavior: Validating the 19 refined values in four countries. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 47*(3), 241–258. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2228

The Sentencing Project. (2021). *No end in sight: America's enduring reliance on life imprisonment*. https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/no-end-in-sight-americas-enduring-reliance-on-life-imprisonment/

Sousa, C. M. P., Coelhoo, F., & Guillamon-Saorin, E. (2012). Personal values, autonomy, and self-efficacy: Evidence from frontline service employees. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 20*(2), 159–170. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2389.2012.00589.x

Stasch, J., Yoon, D., Sauter, J., Hausam, J., & Dahle, K. (2018). Prison climate and Its role in reducing dynamic risk factors during offender treatment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 62*(14), 4609–4621. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X18778449

Streiner, D. L. (2002). Breaking up is hard to do: The heartbreak of dichotomizing continuous data. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 47*(3), 262–266. https://doi.org/10.1177/070674370204700307

Tajfel, H. (1978). The achievement of inter-group differentiation. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups* (pp. 77–100). Academic Press.

Tulving, E., & Craik, F. I. M. (Eds.). (2005). *The Oxford handbook of memory*. Oxford University Press.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (2019). *Collateral consequences: The crossroads of punishment, redemption, and the effects on communities*. https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/2019/06-13-Collateral-Consequences.pdf

van der Kolk, B. (2014). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. Penguin Books.

van Ginneken, E. F., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2020). Climate consensus: A multilevel study testing assumptions about prison climate. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 69*, 101693. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2020.101693

VanderWeele, T. J. (2017). On the promotion of human flourishing. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 114*(31), 8148–8156. www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1702996114

Vecchi, T., Monticellai, M. L., & Cornoldi, C. (1995). Visuo-spatial working memory: Structures and variables affecting a capacity measure. *Neuropsychologia, 33*(11), 1549–1564. https://doi.org/10.1016/0028-3932(95)00080-m

Vecchione, M., Schwartz, S., Alessandri, G., Döring, A. K., Castellani, V., & Caprara, M. G. (2016). Stability and change of basic personal values in early adulthood: An 8-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Research in Personality, 63*, 111–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2016.06.002

Walters, G. D. (2003). Changes in criminal thinking and identity in novice and experienced inmates. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 30*(4), 399–421. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854803253137

Ward, T., & Brown, M. (2004). The Good Lives Model and conceptual issues in offender rehabilitation. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 10*(3), 243–257.

https://doi.org/10.1080/10683160410001662744

Ward, T., & Gannon, T. A. (2006). Rehabilitation, etiology, and self-regulation: The comprehensive good lives model of treatment for sexual offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 11*, 77–94. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2005.06.001

Ward, T., & Maruna, S. (2007). *Rehabilitation: Beyond the risk paradigm*. Routledge.

Ward, T., Melser, J., & Yates, P. M. (2007). Reconstructing the risk-need-responsivity model: A theoretical elaboration and evaluation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 12*(2), 208–228. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2006.07.001

Ward, T., & Stewart, C. A. (2003). The treatment of sex offenders: Risk management and good lives. *Professional Psychology*: *Research and Practice, 34*(4), 353–360. https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.34.4.353

Weick, A. (1983). Issues in overturning a medical model of social work practice. *Social Work, 28*(6), 467–471. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/28.6.467

Weick, A., & Pope, L. (1988). Knowing what's best: A new look at self-determination. *Social Casework, 69*(1), 10–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/104438948806900102

Whitney, P. (2001). Schemas, frames, and scripts in cognitive psychology. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (pp. 13522–13526). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/01491-1

Windsor, L. C., Jemal, A., & Benoit, E. (2014). Community wise: Paving the way for empowerment in community reentry. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 5,* 501–511. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlp.2014.02.023

Yahner, J. & Visher, C. (2008, August). *Illinois prisoners' reentry success three years after release: Research Brief.* Urban Institute Justice Policy Center. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/31981/411748-Illinois-Prisoners-Reentry-Success-Three-Years-after-Release.PDF

Yoon, I. A., Slade, K., & Fazel, S. (2017). Outcomes of psychological therapies for prisoners with mental health problems: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Consulting and*

Clinical Psychology, 85(8), 783–802. https://doi.org/10.1037/ccp0000214

About the Authors

Jesse Wiese, Esq., serves as the Vice President of Program Design and Evaluation at Prison Fellowship. He has worked in various aspects of criminal justice including prison programming, reentry, and advocacy. Currently, Wiese manages Prison Fellowship's program design and evaluation and the expansion of Prison Fellowship's Good Citizenship Model™, an innovative approach to defining and measuring success in the prison system. Wiese served seven-and-a- half years incarcerated for robbery and is a powerful advocate for criminal justice solutions that promote human flourishing. Wiese shares his unique insights with a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including state legislatures, universities, and businesses. He has testified before Congress and several state legislatures. Wiese is currently a licensed attorney and lives in Virginia with his wife and children.

Mike Denhof, Ph.D., serves as the Director of Research and Psychometrics at Prison Fellowship. He holds a master's degree in Experimental Psychology and Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology. Mike has performed clinical assessment and research roles in multiple criminal justice and behavioral healthcare settings and has consulted on research methodology. Mike has authored numerous multi-scaled assessment instruments, including assessments of corrections staff well-being and culture, and several that have been employed as part of National Institute of Corrections' (NIC) technical assistance offerings to correctional organizations. Mike has published seminal and widely cited research studies on the prevalence of PTSD, depression, and comorbidity among corrections staff. Current interest areas include innovative correctional research and data analysis methodology, psychometrics, and new paradigm correctional assessment and rehabilitation modeling.

Rachel D. Crawley, Ph.D., MA, LPC, is an Experimental Psychologist and Licensed Professional Counselor. She holds a master's degree in professional counseling and a master's and Ph.D. in experimental psychology. Prior to her research career, she was a Licensed Chemical Dependency Counselor and Licensed Professional Counselor working with adults in the criminal justice system experiencing substance use and mental health challenges. She has conducted research and evaluation in the areas of suicide and behavioral health in the military, adolescent substance use and behavioral health service provision, criminal thinking, adult substance use and service provision, trauma intervention and training, evidence-based practice dissemination and implementation, and leadership development. Her research interests currently include prison culture, leadership and implementation of innovation in corrections, and holistic programming for people impacted by crime and incarceration. She is currently the Senior Director of Program Research and Evaluation with Prison Fellowship.