STIGMA & EARLY INTERVENTION FOR PSYCHOSIS: CAN WE SHRINK THE ELEPHANT?

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...a deep, shameful mark or flaw relative to being a member of a group

that is devalued by the societal mainstream (Hinshaw, 2007).

...a debased, flawed or spoiled identity as the result of a physical,

characterological or social attribute that is widely perceived to be

discrediting (Goffman, 1963).

The Distinction Between Public Stigma and Self-Stigma

Public Stigma

- Stereotype: Negative belief about a group e.g., dangerous incompetence character weakness
- Prejudice: Agreement with belief and/or negative emotional reaction e.g., anger fear
- Discrimination: Behavior response to prejudice e.g., avoidance of work and housing opportunities withhold help

Self-Stigma

- Stereotype: Negative belief about the self e.g., character weakness incompetence
- Prejudice: Agreement with belief Negative emotional reaction e.g., anger fear
- Discrimination: Behavior response to prejudice e.g., fails to pursue work and housing opportunities

Some Implications for Early Intervention for Psychosis

Relationship of stigma to:

- Treatment delay
- "Insight"
- > Adherence
- Symptoms
- > Recovery

TYPICAL MODEL OF STIGMA REDUCTION

Counter-Stereotype Information

> Changes of Beliefs & Attitudes

> > **Changes in Behaviours**

Pinfold et al., (2003)

BELIEFS & ATTITUDES

OMI – Cohen & Struening (1962)

Authoritarianism – people with mental illness are an inferior class "One of the main causes of mental illness is a lack of moral strength or will power"

Benevolence – paternalistic view based on humanism and religion rather than science.

"Patients in mental hospitals are in many ways like children"

Mental Hygiene Ideology – need for rational scientific, professional approach "Mental illness is an illness like any other"

Social Restrictiveness – restriction of activities "Anyone in a hospital for mental illness should not be allowed to vote"

Interpersonal Etiology

"Mental patients come from homes where parents took little interest in their children"

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES

Someone with mental illness is:



Dangerous







Social Distance Scale Bogardus (1925); Link et al (1987)

Rate likelihood that you would:

- Speak to on street...
- ➢ Have lunch with...
- Work with...
- Move next door to...
- Recommend for job...
- Invite to your home...
- Support marriage into family...

etc.

Common Approaches/Emphases of Anti-Stigma Campaigns

Mental illness is not a result of weak character -it is a biological process.

Mental illness is very distressing.

There is widespread discrimination against those with mental illness.

Stigma and discrimination are harmful

There is little danger associated with mental illness.

Anyone can develop mental illness.

LARGE SCALE CAMPAIGNS

(see also Estroff et al (2004) Schizophrenia Bulletin 493-509)

- Changing Minds Campaign and Defeat Depression Campaign
 - British Royal College of Psychiatrists
- Open the Doors Campaign
 World Psychiatric Association
- National Community Awareness Campaign
 - Australia
- Mind Out for Mental Health
 - England
- See Me Campaign
 - Scotland
- Opening Minds
 - Mental Health Commission of Canada

Effects?

- Awareness
- Beliefs
- Behavioural intention and behaviour?

Repeated population surveys yield little consistentevidence of improved responses to those with mentalillness.Silton, et al (2011) Journal of Nervous & Mental Disease 199:361-366

TABLE 2. Participants' Ra Dangerousness	atings of Mental Illn	less and

	Mental Illness			Dangerousness				
Presenting	1996		2006		1996		2006	
Problems	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Minor problems	1.07	1.14	1.37	1.15	1.04	1.11	1.15	1.04
Depression	2.50	1.20	2.67	1.16	1.60	1.26	1.59	1.15
Schizophrenia	3.24	1.03	3.24	0.92	2.23	1.20	2.38	1.22
Alcoholism	1.93	1.28	2.08	1.30	2.51	1.12	2.51	1.17

TABLE 4. Participant	s' Desire for	Social Dist	tance	
	199	96	2006	
Presenting Problems	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Minor problems	1.15	0.84	1.20	0.87
Depression	1.72	0.97	1.60	0.94
Schizophrenia	2.12	1.02	2.24	1.00
Alcoholism	2.38	0.92	2.27	0.93

See also:

Angermeyer & Matschinger (1996) *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica* 94:326-336 Phelan, *et al* (2000) *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour* 41:188-207 Pescosolido, *et al* (2010) *American Journal of Psychiatry* 167:1321-1330

TIME TO CHANGE (UK)

£ 20.5 Million

Distribution of social marketing campaign materials

- Web site
- Guide for media productions
- Posters and leaflets
- Personal action packs
- Language guide
- Myth/fact sheets

Collaboration in stage public relations events

• Event boxes

Holding events to promote social contact between people with and without experience of mental health problems.

Responses to Reported and Intended Behaviour Scale Items (strongly or slight agree, weighted percentages).

Evans-Lacko, et al., (2013) Br J Psychiatry 202:s51-s57

	Response, %						
	2009	2010	2011	2012			
Reported behaviour							
Live with	20.3	16.5	18.5	19.8			
Work with	27.3	25.2	26.3	27.4			
Work nearby	19.2	20.1	17.7	20.0			
Continue a relationship	35.2	33.8	32.5	34.2			
Intended behaviour							
Live with	56.5	58.0	55.9	56.6			
Work with	68.8	70.7	68.3	70.7			
Work nearby	71.8	73.6	71.7	74.1			
Continue a relationship	82.5	84.6	81.9	83.3			

Conclusions From Anti-Stigma Campaigns

- Little credible evaluation of large scale campaigns.
- When evaluations are available, generally impact on awareness and beliefs, but little if any on behavioural intentions or behaviour.

"...the results of destigmatization campaigns are far from satisfactory and greater research and sophistication are still necessary."

Davidson (2002) World Psychiatry 1:23

"...the choice of the actions taken [in attempting to reduce stigma] has not infrequently been guided by personal preferences rather than being based on empirical evidence."

Angermeyer (2002) World Psychiatry 1:22

Mean Effect Sizes (d) from 79 Studies

Corrigan, et al. (2012) Psychiatric Services 63:963-973



The Strength of a Stigma is Influenced by the Extent to Which the "Flaw"...

- can be concealed;
- will persist over time;
- disrupts normal social interactions;
- involves a displeasing physical appearance;
- is associated with danger;
- is seen as the responsibility or under the control of the stigmatized individual.

"An Illness Like Any Other"



Emphasis on biological basis of mental illness.

Targeted to reduce attributions of blame.

"Identification of the pathophysiology underlying chronic brain and mind disorders has also helped to reduce the stigma associated with these disorders."

Jones, EG & Mendell, LM (1999) Assessing the decade of the brain. *Science* 284:739.

Unadjusted survey year differences in attributions of cause, perceptions of danger and social distance

Pescosolido, et al., (2010) Am J Psychiatry 167:1321-1330.

	Schizophrenia⁵				
o	1000 (01)	0000 (01)	Differ-	56	
Outcome Measure	1996 (%)	2006 (%)	encee	F ^f	р
Neurobiological attributions					
Mental illness	85	91	6	4.42	0.04
Chemical imbalance	78	87	9	6.77	0.01
Genetic problem	61	71	11	6.12	0.01
Neurobiological conception ^g	76	86	10	8.00	0.01
Sociomoral attributions					
Ups and downs	40	37	-3	0.48	0.49
Bad character	31	31	0	0.01	0.91
Way raised	40	33	-7	2.75	0.10
Stigma					
Social distance: unwilling to					
Work closely with	56	62	6	1.97	0.16
Have as a neighbor	34	45	11	6.31	0.01
Socialize with	46	52	6	1.74	0.19
Make friends with	30	35	5	1.27	0.26
Have marry into family	65	69	4	0.88	0.35
Dangerousness					
Violent toward self	81	84	4	1.14	0.29
Violent toward others	54	60	6	1.74	0.19

See also:

Angermeyer & Matschinger (2005); Bag, et al. (2006); Dietrich, et al. (2004); Mehta, et al. (2009)

"An Illness Like Any Other"

- Emphasis on biological basis of mental illness.
- Targeted to reduce attributions of blame.
- Sometimes reduces attributions of responsibility/blame.
- Often increases perception of seriousness, unpredictability, danger, poor prognosis, etc.
- Often increases preference for social distance.

Phelan J (2005) Journal of Health & Social Behaviour 46(4):307-322 Walker & Read (2002) Psychiatry 65(4):313-325 Read, et al. (2006) Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica 114:303-318 **Brown SA (2010) Implementing a brief hallucination simulation as a mental illness stigma reduction strategy.** *Community Mental Health Journal* 46:500-504



EFFECTS OF SYMPTOM DESCRIPTION

Gaebel, et al. (2003) Canadian Journal of Psychiatry 48:657-662

- increased empathy
- increased preference for social distance

Penn, et al. (1994) Schizophrenia Bulletin 20:567-578

- increased nervousness
- decreased perceived skills
- no effect on social distance

Penn, et al. (2003) Schizophrenia Bulletin 29:383-391

- decreased attribution of blame
- no effect on behavioural intention

"...contact appears to be among the best strategies for changing mental illness stigma" (Watson & Corrigan, 2005)

BASED ON:

- studies of effect of contact on racial prejudice
- correlational evidence with respect to mental disorders
- a very few direct assessments of effect of contact in reducing mental illness stigma (Corrigan, *et al.*, 2001, 2002: Pinfold, *et al.*, 2003).

REASON FOR CAUTION RE EFFECTS OF CONTACT

intuitive counterarguments

- availability of facilitating circumstances:
 - equal status
 - co-operation/collaboration/meaning and interaction
 - institutional support
 - moderate disconfirmation of stereotypes
- effects of clinical training

clinicians generally are no less discriminating

Mean Effect Sizes (d) from 19 Studies with Adolescents

Corrigan, et al. (2012) Psychiatric Services 63:963-973



"...do we increase the dose (more time, more advertising, more contact) or change the treatment? If the latter, what might such a change look like?"

Smith (2013) British Journal of Psychiatry 202:S49-50

PROPOSITION #1

The most important beliefs predicting behavioural intentions to individuals with mental illness are those relating to costs and benefits of interaction.

The Strength of a Stigma is Influenced by the Extent to Which the "Flaw"...

- can be concealed;
- will persist over time;
- disrupts normal social interactions;
- involves a displeasing physical appearance;
- is associated with danger;
- is seen as the responsibility or under the control of the stigmatized individual.

Norman, et al. (2008) *Social Psychiatry & Psychiatric Epidemiology* 43:851-859

Table 3 Correlates of preferred greater social distance					
Predictor	Schizophrenia	Depression			
Belief in danger Belief in social inappropriateness Belief in discontinuity Belief in personal responsibility for illness Belief in less talent/intelligence Belief in poor treatment outcome	0.38** 0.41** 0.14 0.31** 0.01 0.05	0.20* 0.38** 0.09 0.12 0.02 0.01			

P* < 0.05; *P* < 0.01



Norman et al. (2012) Int J Soc Psychiatry 58:69-78

PROPOSITION #2

The facts concerning costs and benefits of interaction are not unambiguously supportive of "stigma" reduction.

FUNCTIONS OF STIGMA

Kurzban & Leary, 2001

Avoiding individuals with whom social interaction is likely to have more costs than benefits.

Avoiding contact with others who may present a physical danger.

Justifying the exploitation of others.

A. In the US about 1600 homicides a year are committed by individuals with serious mental illness.

- **B.** Lifetime prevalence of violence among people with mental illness is about 16%.
- C. The risk of violence by someone with a psychosis is at least 200 to 300% greater than that of the general population.
- D. The risk of violence attributable to serious mental illness, such as psychosis, is much lower than that attributable to substance abuse.
- E. About 5% of homicides are attributable to individuals with psychotic disorders.

SCHIZOPHRENIA IN THE NEWS

Woman accused of killing two Canadians suffers from schizophrenia: Family

ASSOCIATED PRESS MAY 23, 2012

for Norway killer

Posted on 15 June 2012 - 09:53am

Experts defend schizophrenia diagnosis OSLO (June 14, 2012): Two experts who examined Anders Behring Breivik defended Thursday their diagnosis that the Norwegian self-confessed mass killer is psychotic and therefore not criminally responsible for his actions.

SCHIZOPHRENIC MAN BELIEVED HE WAS BEHEADING AN ALIEN AFP Recommend 7
 STweet 1
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 Print OTTAWA (AFP) - A Chinese immigrant who beheaded and cannibalized a Canadian bus passenger in front of horrified travelers four years ago spoke out for the first time, saying he believed his victim was an alien.

100 The Canadian Press - ONLINE EDITION

Saskatchewan man says schizophrenia led to his attacks on two women

By: The Canadian Press Posted: 05/31/2012 10:42 PM | Comments: 0 (including replies)

Tweet 2 f Share 1 Platered 0 SHARE 3 APRINT CE-MAIL & REPORT ERROR

SASKATOON - A Battlefords-area man struggling with schizophrenia has pleaded guilty to two attacks in Saskatoon this month.

"...they glance at the poster proclaiming that mentally ill people make good neighbours. Then they see the news about the latest violent act by an untreated person with mental illness. The public knows which one to believe."

"At a practical level what this means is that we can continue to educate the public about mental illness, but it will have no effect on stigma."

Torrey (2012) Schizophrenia Bulletin:37(5):892-896
PROPOSITION #3

Beliefs about mental illness are not the only (or necessarily the primary) determinants of relevant behavioural intentions and behaviours.

OTHER DETERMINANTS OF BEHAVIOUR

> Norms

Automatic/non-propositional reactions



Correlates of Preferred Greater Social Distance

Predictor	Schizophrenia	Depression
Belief in danger	.38**	.20*
Belief in social inappropriateness	.41**	.38**
Belief in discontinuity	.14	.09
Belief in personal responsibility for illness	.31**	.12
Belief in less talent/intelligence	.01	.02
Belief in poor treatment outcome	.05	.01
Perceived norm for greater social distance	.65**	.58**

* p < .05 ** p < .01

THE ASSOCIATIVE-PROPOSITIONAL EVALUATION MODEL

Propositional Reasoning

- Controlled
- Involves truth value assignment
- Underlies explicit evaluation



Association Activation

- Automatic
- Independent of subjective validity
- Underlies implicit evaluation

Correlations of explicit valuations, seating distance and cortisol in anticipation of meeting someone with schizophrenia.

Seating Distance	.24*	* p<.05 **p<.01
Cortisol	.09	.32**
	Explicit Evaluation	Seating Distance

Norman, *et al.* (2010) Physical proximity in anticipation of meeting someone with schizophrenia: The role of explicit evaluations, implicit evaluations and cortisol levels. *Schizophr Res* 124:74-80

Effect of Affirmation and Negation Training on Implicit Attitudes



NATURE OF VALUES

Values are beliefs about desirable goals

Values are motivational

Values are hierarchical

Values transcend specific actions and situations, but guide the selection and evaluation of specific actions, objects or situations.



Norman, et al (2008) Are personal values of importance in the stigmatization of people with mental illness? *Can J Psychiatry* 53:858-856.

Table 2: Bivariate Correlations with Social Distance

	Correlation with social distance to ill person	
Belief regarding danger	.34***	Note:
Belief regarding social inappropriateness	.44***	All scales were scored so
Belief regarding personal responsibility for illness	.10	that higher scores indicate more negative beliefs, greater social distance or
Belief regarding discontinuity with normal	.19**	high priority to the relevant value orientations.
Belief regarding no unusual talent/intelligence	05	*p<.05 **p<.01
Belief regarding treatment effectiveness	.03	***p<.001
Self-transcendence value orientation	42***	

Social Distance to Person with Schizophrenia



Relation between attitude to person with schizophrenia and seating distance as a function of priority given to self-transcendent values.

Norman, et al. (2010) Social Psychiatry & Psychiatric Epidemiology 45(7):751-758



Attitude to Person

Rokeach, M. (1971) Long-range experimental modification of values, attitudes, and behavior. *American Psychologist* 26(5):453-459.

Number of Persons Responding to NAACP

	Positive Response	No Response	Total
Intervention Value	39	158	197
Control	14	155	169

Number of Students Selecting Ethnic/Intergroup Relations Course

	Ethnic/Intergroup Course	Other Core Courses	Total
Intervention Value	28	39	67
Control	14	50	64

Compelling narratives and engaging values may be our most important tools for reducing "public stigma" Narrative persuasion may invoke both propositional and associative processes.

Emphasis on overcoming, recovery, and importance of social support

Reducing "us vs. them"

Engaging values

IMPORTANCE OF PERCEIVED RELATIONAL VALUE

- drive to be valued by others to increase likelihood of survival and reproduction
- self-esteem is a "sociometer" or monitor of perception of relational value to others

Allen & Badcock (2003) Baumeister & Leary (1995) Leary (2004)

Can being valued by one's social contacts mitigate the effects of stigma?

Perceived Relational Evaluation Scale

make me feel worthless*

enjoy spending time with me

rely on me

value my opinions

generally ignore me*

Norman, et al. (2012) Perceived Relational Evaluation as a Predictor of Self-Esteem and Mood in People with a Psychotic Disorder. *Can J Psychiatry* 57(5):509-316.

Predictor	β	t	P
Self-esteem, r ² = 0.47			
PRE	0.618	6.16ª	<0.001
ISEL-BS	0.036	0.314ª	0.75
ISEL-AS	0.112	1.075ª	0.29
ISEL-TS	-0.041	0.359ª	0.72
SAPS	0.026	0.304ª	0.76
SANS	-0.046	0.534°	0.60
POMS depression, $r^2 = 0.28$			
PRE	-0.395	3.353 ^b	0.001
ISEL-BS	-0.086	0.632*	0.52
ISEL-AS	-0.177	1.487	0.14
ISEL-TS	0.137	1.027 ^b	0.31
SAPS ·	0.058	0.580 ^b	0.56
. SANS	0.065	0.639 ^b	0.52
POMS anxiety, r ² = 0.19			
PRE	_0.323	2.95°	0.004
ISEL-BS	0.011	0.080°	0.94
ISEL-AS	-0.161	1.380⁰	0.17
ISEL-TS	-0.044	0.332°	0.74
POMS anger and (or) hostility, r ² = 0.23			
PRE	-0.317	2.782	0.007
ISEL-BS	-0.039	0.289 ^d	0.77
ISEL-AS	-0.287	2.379*	0.02
ISEL-TS	0.147	1.105 ^d	0.27
SAPS	0.069	0.702	0.48

CORRELATES OF SELF-ESTEEM

	SELF-ESTEEM
PRV	.58
Self-stigma	.51

PREDICTION OF SELF-ESTEEM			
Predictor	Beta	t	р
PRV	.430	4.73	<.001
Self-stigma	298	3.28	.001

Interaction Plot of the Effects of Stigma Experiences and PRV on Self-Esteem

(from Kim, 2013)



Note: Self-esteem is presented as a centered score (with higher scores indicating more positive self-esteem).

The provision of respect and value may be one of our most important tools for reducing "self-stigma"

"When we love and respect people, revealing to them their value, they can begin to come out from behind the walls that protect them."

Jean Vanier, <u>Finding Peace</u>

Every child, every person, needs to know that they are a source of joy; every child, every person, needs to be celebrated. Only when all of our weaknesses are accepted as part of our humanity can our negative, broken self-images be transformed." Jean Vanier, <u>Becoming Human</u>