Differentiating Genuine from Feigned Suicidality in Corrections

A Necessary but Perilous Task

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Agenda

1 Necessity and Peril
2 Suicidality
3 Feigned Suicidality
4 Understanding
5 Assessing
6 Documenting
During a medication pass, a nurse observes that a patient has covered the window of his cell door. The patient is not visible and does not respond to verbal overtures. Within minutes, an extraction team assembles. Through the food port, staff see the patient lying on his bunk and covered with a blanket. Rise and fall of the patient’s chest is noted, but the patient remains “unresponsive.” The team enters the cell, and upon removing the blanket, they observe that the patient has wrapped a white t-shirt tightly around his neck. Using a specialized cutting tool, the staff remove the ligature. The responding nurse describes the patient as pale but breathing. No cardiopulmonary resuscitation is indicated. Minutes later, oxygen saturation is 100%. Upon his return from the emergency room, the patient is seen joking with officers and inquiring about the status of his in-transit property. He reports to a psychiatrist that he intended to die.

What to Call it?

- manipulation
- secondary gain
- suicide/al gestures
- suicide threats
- contingency-based suicidality
- contingent suicidal intent
- contingent suicide threats
- conditional threats of suicide
- blackmail
- manipulative suicide attempt
- allegedly suicidal
- feigned attempt/ideation
- “suicide attempt”
- iatrogenic malingering
- contraintentioned
### Necessity and Peril

#### Necessities
- Finite clinical resources (staff, beds)
- Disruption of unit programming
- Overutilization of medical services
- Impedes treatment of other conditions
- Diagnostically driven clinical decisions

#### Perils
- Stigma
- Bias future treaters
- Denials of care
- Injury or death
- Liability fears

Obegi (under review)
Challenges in Differential Diagnosis

- Not possible nor useful?
- No psychological tests
- No comparison condition
- Paucity of literature

Research Findings

- About 10 percent of inpatient samples report feigning suicidality
- No association between motive (categorized as manipulative, escape, or psychological relief) and either suicidal intent or medical seriousness of self-injury
- Patients making “conditional threats” not more likely to die by suicide at 6 months or 7 years post-discharge.
- “Allegedly suicidal” patients less likely to present with depression
- Correctional clinicians frequently suspect feigned suicidality

Dear et al. (2000); Lambert (2002); Lambert & Bonner, (1996); McDermott et al. (2013); McDermott & Sokolov (2009); Pinsker (1981); Rissmiller et al. (1998); Rissmiller et al. (1999)
Suicidality as a Condition

- Collection of signs and symptoms: affective, cognitive, behavioral (not just suicidal ideation and behavior)
- Cause significant distress and disability
- Not an expectable reaction to stressors
- Psychobiological dysfunction
- An episodic condition with state-like symptoms, a progressive course, and an onset that can be gradual or rapid
Recurring:
Wishes to be dead
Thoughts of suicide
Internal debates

Suicidal Ideation

Affective

Unbearable pain
Hopelessness

Cognitive

Rigid belief in suicide as solution
Readiness to die

Suicidal Intent

Behavioral

Self-reported intent
Communications
Time spent planning
Selecting a method
Worked out plan
Preparations for death
Preparations for SA
Suicide attempt

Over-arousal
(agitation, nightmares, Insomnia)

Obegi (2019a)

Feigned Suicidality
feigned suicidality

Deliberately exaggerating or fabricating symptoms but leaves the question of motive open

The phenomenology of individuals who consider suicide, inclusive of all cognitive, emotional, and behavioral aspects not just suicidal ideation and behavior

Rogers (2008a); Obegi (under review)

Vague Repetitive Stilted Unclear precipitants Improbable

Absence of distress Bx inconsistent with reported mood No overarousal

Conditional statements Contingent statements No evidence of intent

Lack of engagement Demands treatment Evasive, controlling Gross discrepancies in hx Suspect self-injury

Full conviction Vigorous pursuit of goals

Obegi (2019a)
Other Suggestive Behaviors I

- Makes indirect threats and dares
  - “Fine. Send me back to my cell and see what happens.”
- Blames staff for their future death
  - “If I kill myself, it’s going to be on you.”
- Makes ominous and vague statements
  - “I don’t feel safe with clothes/without a sitter.”
- Reports “voices” commanding suicide
  - In the absence of a mood or psychotic disorder; reports being unable to resist the commands despite evidence to the contrary

Other Suggestive Behaviors II

- Sudden remission of SI
  - SI quickly remits after admission; abruptly drops suicidal statements upon learning that the treatment team will not comply with demands
- Regresses as discharge approaches
  - Upon learning of discharge, and after a period of denying SI, the patient reports new SI, engages in minor self-injurious behavior, or, citing fears or suicidal behavior, voluntarily gives up clothing or requests constant observation
- Collateral reports suggesting the inmate planned to “go suicidal”
- Disconfirming evidence
Distortions in Treatment

- Long stints of 1:1 without a rationale
- Suspect petitions for involuntary medications
- Documentation gaps
- Feeling “held hostage”
- Stagnating treatment
- Prevent defense, waiting out the patient

“Nobby Harris says he’ll kill himself if I don’t lend him three dollars.”
Behaviors should always be considered in the larger clinical context. Any one behavior, by itself, is never sufficient to confirm feigning and in some cases may indicate high suicide risk.

Suicidal ideation and behavior should never be dismissed and always require careful evaluation and explanation.

- Employ safeguards
- Brave vs. reckless
- Cumulative evidence
- Time is your ally
- Beware of the “inconsistency trap”
“…no one lies about SI because things are going wonderfully.”

Kontos et al. (2018)
Adaptational Model of Malingering I

- Acute Stressor
- Risk Analysis
  - Viable alternatives to need
  - Personal Stakes
  - Perception of Evaluation

- Yes
  - Personal Stakes
  - Collaborative

Low Probability of Malingering
Risk > Reward

Adaptational Model of Malingering II

- Acute Stressor
- Risk Analysis
  - Viable alternatives to need
  - Personal Stakes
  - Perception of Evaluation

- No
  - Personal Stakes
  - Adversarial

High Probability of Malingering
Reward > Risk
Motives in CDCR: Crisis Patients

- QM emails to supervisors re: “secondary gain”
- Sample of 117 emails (1-2017 to 7-2018)

Percent Involving DTS

85%

Motives in CDCR: Crisis Patients

- QM emails to supervisors re: “secondary gain”
- Sample of 117 emails (1-2017 to 7-2018)

Males (N=84)

- 42% Housing/transfer
- 19% MH Level
- 7% Staff conflict
- 6% Other
- 26% Safety

Suspected Motivation of DTS cases
Motive

- There may be multiple motives
- Not suicidal intent OR manipulation
- Due to deception, motives can rarely be established with high confidence
- The presence of motive, by itself, does not confirm feigning or malingering

Groups of Self-Injuring Inmates

Feigned Suicidal Behavior (NSSI)  
Adaptational  
Not mutually exclusive  
Suicidal Intent  
Suicidal Behavior  
NSSI  
Reduce or Convey Distress

Inspired by Bonner (2001)
Assessing Suspected Feigned Suicidality
Assessment Steps

**DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS**
- Are there signs of feigning?
- Are there signs of suicidality?
- Is there consensus?

**MOTIVES**
- What are the circumstances?
- What is the motive, if any?
- Is there consensus?

**TREATMENT**
- If feigning and motive are established and suicidal intent is ruled out, what is the appropriate level of care?
- What is the treatment plan?

**SUICIDE RISK ASSESSMENT**
- What is the acute risk level?
- Is there suicidal intent?
- Is there consensus?

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**Differential Diagnosis**

- Compare the current presentation to the conventional presentation
- Complete a chart review
- Interview collaterals
- Look for discrepancies
- Use a thorough and lengthy clinical interview
- Rule out alternative hypotheses
Motive

- No assessment is complete until there is a consensus on a motive
- Motives are highly varied, but in CDCR escape motives are the most common
- There may be multiple motives or unclear motives
- The presence of motive, by itself, does not confirm feigned suicidality

Suicide Risk Assessment

- A suicide risk assessment is always necessary
- Do not overrely on self-report; gather clinical evidence of suicidal intent
- Ask yourself: Why is the patient presenting with suicidality now?
- Clearly document your rationale for the acute risk level
“That through suicidal behavior someone may seek, among other things, attention or some benefit does not help much in predicting how great a danger they represent.”

Haycock, (1992)

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**Treatment**

- Should the level of care change? Why or why not?
- Take a problem-solving approach
  - Address motive
  - Develop safer, adaptive alternatives
  - Use gentle confrontation
- Not all patients feigning suicidality will be receptive
- Consider “therapeutic discharge”
Part 1

1100 You learn via phone that an inmate has boarded up in ASU. There is no visual contact and custody is engaged in de-escalation.

1110 The LPT calls you, reports that the inmate threatened self-harm, and requests your immediate assistance. Custody opened the food port and found that the inmate barricaded the door with a mattress.

1115 Update from the LPT: The window paper partially peeled away. Officers briefly saw the inmate. Around the inmate’s neck was a tied piece of white fabric. The inmate immediately re-affixed the paper. Custody initiated an emergency extraction. Upon entering, the inmate was standing in the back of the cell in a bladed stance. The white fabric was on the floor.

1120 The extraction is completed. The inmate has minor injuries as a result of the extraction. You are on-call.
Part 2

Your chart review reveals: 25 y.o. Hispanic inmate, adjustment disorder, prescribed Celexa and med compliant. Patient placement history shows no other LOCs. No SREs. Last clinical contact at CSP Anywhere was unremarkable.

Your criminal file review reveals: First termer, down 2 years of a 3-year term. SNY from CSP Anywhere. Arrived yesterday on an out-to-court-basis. Court order to appear shows a charge of drug possession.

LPT and ASU officers say the inmate looked “fine” last night and this AM.

You interview the patient in a non-confidential setting with an officer present. The patient insists, “I can’t be at this prison”, but refuses to elaborate. “If you send me back to AdSeg, I’ll kill myself.” There is no acute distress. The patient is minimally cooperative. The C-SSRS Ideation section is positive to all 5 questions regarding the past month.

A confidential space becomes available and you continue your interview. You probe for safety concerns. The patient discloses being at your prison 6 months ago where the charge for drug possession occurred. After lockup, the patient dropped out and was transferred to CSP Anywhere.

Part 3

Your supervisor calls and asks for an update. You communicate that the patient is contingently suicidal but is experiencing some distress. You indicate that MHCB admission is not warranted, but to decrease the risk of further acting out you suggest a Warden-to-Warden transfer of the patient to a sister institution. The supervisor agrees and begins making the necessary phone calls.

You return to interviewing the patient. Upon arriving yesterday, the patient describes becoming overwhelmed by a fear of being assaulted by gang members. The patient’s voice trembles and tears appear.

You ask the patient to recount the events in ASU that morning. The patient describes a sense of hopelessness and desperation that lead to boarding up. When you inquire about the patient’s state of mind and plan for the torn fabric before the window covering peeled away, the patient states, “I wanted to die. But then the paper came off and the officers saw me.” The patient described being stunned in the moment then removed the fabric and prepared for the impending extraction.
Part 4

Pausing the interview, you call your supervisor who informs you that the Warden-to-Warden transfer has been approved and the transportation team is ready.

You relay your updated findings, namely, that there was an interrupted suicide attempt, and request consultation.

After a review of the clinical findings, the two of you agree that feigned suicidality is unlikely and acute risk for suicide is high. Moreover, given the seriousness of the attempt, the Warden-to-Warden transfer should be cancelled and the patient referred to an MHCB.
Mental Status

Appearance  Seated calmly in no apparent distress
Behavior  Compromised cooperation as indicated by inconsistencies in history, and non-participation (“You’re the doctor”)
Motor  No psychomotor agitation, retardation, or abnormal movements
Speech  Initially within normal limits, but becomes loud and angry-toned when frustrated
Mood  Self-reported “depressed and anxious”

Adapted from Kontos et al. (2018)
**Mental Status**

**Affect**  Initially casual, calm while talking about life goals/activities; later abruptly angry/irritable in context of clinical assessment attempts and of stated needs not being immediately met

**Thought Content**  Initial spontaneous/consistent/specific future orientation gives way to spontaneous and vivid descriptions of suicidal ideation that are amplified later during discussion of treatment goals

**Thought Process**  Linear and goal-directed

**Cognition**  Alert, not distracted by extraneous stimuli, demonstrating consistently accurate conversational recent recall but reports poor memory during more direct inquiry

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**Discrepancies, Nonparticipation**

"Complains of “depression” and being “suicidal,” without objective signs reflected in the corresponding mental status exams."

"The patient reports several suicide attempts but gives vague answers or changes the subject when pressed for details."

"When invited to discuss treatment goals, the patient focuses on the length of this stay and his next level of care."

"The patient insists he is “suicidal” then explains his intention to transfer to a new prison, an indication that suicide is not imminent."

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Adapted from Kontos et al. (2018)
Discrepancies, Nonparticipation

Because the patient’s self-report occurred just after being served a 115 for drug distribution, there is reason to suspect feigning. The plan is to admit the patient and conduct a differential diagnosis.

After several days of observation, the patient appears to be feigning suicidal ideation: As documented in previous notes, the timing of his self-report coincided with placement in ASU for drug distribution, self-reported ideation reappeared after being served his 115, and he has steadfastly demanded mental health staff give him “a higher level of care” rather meaningfully engage in treatment.

Adapted from Kontos et al. (2018)

Discrepancies, Nonparticipation

Suicide attempts: “History of multiple suicide attempts” is listed in recent notes. Two specific attempts are cited. However, when cross-referenced with corresponding MHCB stays, one admission was prompted by self-report of SI rather than a suicide attempt. The other was due to an “overdose” of Tylenol but toxicology revealed no elevation in acetaminophen.

During today’s IDTT, the team reviewed the patient’s recent psychiatric history, the circumstances of her admission, and her behavior in the unit. The developing consensus is that there is no major mental illness. Rather, there is accumulating evidence that she is feigning suicidality to avoid the consequences of her 115.

Adapted from Kontos et al. (2018)
## Summary

### Necessities
- Finite clinical resources (staff, beds)
- Disruption of unit programming
- Overutilization of medical services
- Impedes treatment of other conditions
- Diagnostically driven clinical decisions

### Perils
- Stigma
- Bias future treaters
- Denials of care
- Injury or death
- Liability fears

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### Summary

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<tr>
<th>Affective</th>
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<th>Behavioral</th>
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<td>Recurring: Wishes to be dead思的痛苦</td>
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<td>Over-arousal (agitation, nightmares, insomnia)过度应激 (烦躁, 夜游症, 失眠)</td>
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<td>Self-reported intent 自我报告的意图</td>
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Summary

Affective
- Vague
- Repetitive
- Stilted
- Unclear precipitants
- Improbable

Cognitive
- Conditional statements
- Contingent statements
- No evidence of intent

Behavioral
- Absence of distress
- Bx inconsistent with reported mood

Suicidal Ideation
- Lack of engagement
- Demands treatment
- Evasive, controlling
- Gross discrepancies in hx
- Suspect self-injury

Suicidal Intent
- Full conviction
- Vigorous pursuit of goals

Summary

Acute Stressor

Risk Analysis
- Viable alternatives to need
- Yes

- Personal Stakes
- Low

- Perception of Evaluation

- Collaborative

Low Probability of Malingering
- Risk > Reward
Summary

Feigned Suicidal Behavior (NSSI)  
Reduce or Convey Distress  
Adaptational  
Not mutually exclusive  
NSSI  
Suicidal Intent  
Suicidal Behavior

DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS
Are there signs of feigning?
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MOTIVES
What are the circumstances?
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Is there suicidal intent?
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Summary

**MENTAL STATUS**
- How contrasted conventional presentation

**NONPARTICIPATION**
- Non-disclosing, refusing, homework, planning

**DISCREPANCIES**
- Between in and out of session behavior and other inconsistencies

**PAST HISTORY**
- Document thorough review of past history

**DIFFERENTIAL DX**
- Include as a goal and chart progress

**MOTIVE**
- Suspect circumstances, timing of statements, custody factors

**CONSENSUS**
- Document consultation and consensus

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Visit me on ResearchGate

http://www.joeobegi.com/FS.html


Cummings, D. L., & Thompson, M. N. (2009). Suicidal or manipulative? The role of mental health counselors in overcoming a false dichotomy in identifying and treating self-harming inmates. Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 31(3), 201-212. doi:10.17744/mehc.31.3.f3332r77x526477k


