Motivational Interviewing

Implementation and Practice Manual

A JJSES Resource

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Introduction and Overview of Implementing Motivational Interviewing in a Juvenile Probation Department

Introduction

Pennsylvania has long been a leader in juvenile justice reform. The current Juvenile Justice System Enhancement Strategy (JJSES) is evidence of Pennsylvania's focus on system reflection and improvement, with an emphasis on capacity building, while maintaining the ongoing commitment to the principles of Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ). Critical to these efforts are the use of evidence-based practices, data analysis, and an ongoing focus on improving the quality of decisions, services, and programs. Introduced over 30 years ago, Motivational Interviewing (MI) has a growing body of supporting research. (Apodaca & Longabaugh, 2009; Austin, Kilgour, & Williams, 2011; Burke, Arkowitz, & Menchola, 2003; Feldstein & Ginsburg, 2006; Hettema, Steele & Miller, 2005; Lundahl, Kunz, Brownell, Tollefson, & Burke, 2010). Initially developed as a communication style to address addictions issues (Miller, 1999), MI has since been evaluated within the context of various maladaptive and risky behaviors with great success (Lundahl et al., 2010; Miller & Rose, 2009; Payne, 2009).

Overview of MI

MI plays a key role in the JJSES, and is a valuable tool for probation officers. In the simplest terms, MI was developed to help people deal with behavior changes. "A basic tenet of this [MI] approach is that people are much more likely to do the things that they say they will do versus things that they are told to do" (Herman et al., 2011, p. 106). MI operates from a positive assumption regarding human nature, and that ultimately people do want to change. The key is to demonstrate to the individual the discrepancy between their current (negative) behavior, and the positive goals they wish to achieve. By revealing this discrepancy, the individual can resolve their ambivalence toward change, and tap into their motivation for change. "Verbalized intention results in an increased probability of behavior change, particularly when it is combined with a specific plan for implementation" (Hettema, Steele, & Miller, 2005).

While MI originated in the field of addictions, over time, it has successfully been utilized in other disciplines including the criminal justice field. MI is not a counseling approach, but a means of communication designed to mobilize an individual's internal desire for change and to resolve ambivalence for continued change. The ability to work effectively with the non-voluntary, resistant, and often difficult to reach youth and families is critical to probation officers. MI provides an opportunity to better engage youth and families as well as to encourage and support change.

Compliance to supervision requirements had long been a focus of the juvenile justice system. While completion of conditions is certainly vital, compliance does not necessarily translate to long-term change. Having a juvenile successfully fulfill the terms of supervision, while also recognizing the importance of changing their behavior, thinking, and attitudes, helps reduce the probability of future

delinquent and criminal behavior.   Juvenile justice system involvement may initially be sufficient external motivation for youth, but working with youth to develop an internal desire to change fosters long-term progress.

As mentioned in the opening paragraph, the overarching philosophy of Pennsylvania Juvenile Justice is Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ). In looking through the BARJ lens, MI can promote a level of self-awareness in which the youth better understands the consequences of his or her actions, the impact their crime had on the victim and community, and ultimately that they have a responsibility for the harm they have inflicted. Additionally, encouraging self-motivation and long-term change can reduce recidivism, thus protecting the community and resulting in less victimization.   Further, as probation officers work with youth and help guide them down this path, moral reasoning and pro-social skills are being developed and resulting in competency development.

Promoting Staff Buy-In for Change

Implementing MI in a probation department represents a shift from traditional practice and requires a change from the status quo. Successful organizational change requires strategic planning and preparation.

> **As outlined in "The Change Book, " (ATTC Publications, 2000) essential principles for effective change include:**
>
> - The technology and/or strategy must be relevant and have obvious practical application
> - Timeliness - workers must acknowledge the need for this strategy/framework now or in the future
> - Clarity - the language and process of skill development and strategy must be easily understood
> - Credibility - staff confidence in underlying assumptions, techniques and evidence
> - Multifaceted - inclusion of a variety of interventions and formats suited to the variety of clients
> - Continuous - new practice should be continually reinforced at all levels of the organization until it becomes the standard, maintained practice
> - Bi-directional - staff must be able to communicate directly with experts throughout the process

All of these principles speak to a key piece of the change process – staff buy-in. When these essential principles are present in the change process, staff buy-in and support of the change is more likely to occur.

Staff buy-in is a crucial component to the introduction, skill development, and ultimate acceptance and integration of MI as standard practice. While there are aspects of MI that are being utilized in probation departments, the commonly heard phrase of "we're already doing this" does not ring true in most cases. While many officers utilize parts of MI in their interactions (i.e. open ended questions), most do not incorporate all aspects of MI and have not received training in these skills.

Encouraging staff input and opening the lines of communication throughout this process is equally critical. Strong bi-directional communication in change initiatives decreases resistance and increases buy-in to the change process. The use of MI strategies is a great tool in promoting communication. Specifically, the use of open-ended questions (what are your thoughts on MI?), affirmations (You're really working on MI), reflections (So you have concerns that MI is too soft for this client; tell me more about what you see happening), and summaries can be helpful.

In addition to incorporating the principles outlined above, having a knowledgeable and supportive supervisory staff helps lay the foundation for success. It is also extremely important as the process moves forward; ultimately supervisors must mentor/coach staff, and model MI for the probation officers. Having supervisory staff commitment is critical to not only assist in the implementation of MI within the department and training of officers, but also when presenting MI information to those outside of the department (e.g. judges, families, involved agencies and related professionals).

MI Training Overview

Initial Training

Motivational Interviewing training is a process that requires commitment of resources, including staff time as well as financial resources. Skill development, and ultimately competence, in MI requires ongoing focus and commitment to implementation. As most probation departments do not have an MI expert on staff as they launch this process, partnering with an experienced MI trainer is essential for at least the first one to two years of implementation.

While initially utilizing an outside expert for training and coaching staff is recommended, long term sustainability and integration of MI skills is perhaps best encouraged by working toward self sufficiency. Recruiting and training in-house staff to become your MI coaches/mentors will enable on-going skill development and coaching of existing, as well as, new personnel. In addition, management should be trained to code tapes/sessions and provide coaching to staff.

Counties, especially those with smaller staff numbers, may want to pool resources and work together to either provide a multiple-county training program or share resources with other in-county agencies (i.e., CYS, APO, etc.). In addition, on-line training may be helpful for a basic overview or refresher; however, this should be used with the understanding that this format presents limitations with the practice portion of the sessions.

Finally, providing ongoing attention to MI training and skill development is extremely beneficial during the implementation phase. If too much time lapses between training sessions, staff may lose focus and need to participate in additional booster sessions to refresh skills which could add to the costs associated with this training.

On-going Training

While training will begin with a general overview/introduction of MI, booster sessions should follow as well as the opportunity for practicing skills. Small group work can be helpful when practicing MI skills and is most effective if membership is consistent. Ongoing coaching, feedback, and supervision will assist in skill development and competency. Providing a continuous, on-going training format without lapses of time between sessions is recommended.

The use of audio or video taping enables for direct feedback and discussion of MI efforts and significantly contributes to the mastery of MI skills. This can be a challenge due in part to the discomfort and lack of familiarity of staff with this process and learning style. Client attendance can also complicate this stage of the training process. Departments must develop policy and releases for taping that should include sections on: the purpose and scope of taping; specific procedures for consent and taping; and storage, destruction, and release of tapes. The policy and release may require solicitor and/or judicial approval. Sample policies and releases are provided in the appendix section of the manual.

Direct observation can be utilized as well, although taping of some sort is recommended as it provides a better opportunity for review and discussion of the particulars of the session. Whether through tapes or direct observation, sessions should be coded by the trainer as part of the feedback/coaching of the session. Management should "lead by example" and fully participate in all portions of this training process including the initial and booster sessions, skill practice, small group work, and submission of tapes and/or direct observation of their sessions.

While each jurisdiction will be somewhat unique in their MI implementation, the protocol outlined in this document is recommended and should serve as a guide to help navigate departments through the MI implementation and training process.

Protocol for Motivational Interviewing Training

It is recommended that counties follow this protocol when implementing MI into their department. Some variations will be required based on department needs and available resources. This recommended protocol is intended to increase the likelihood of sustainability. It is estimated that this training process will take one to two years.

Preparing the Staff for MI Training

Staff preparation is critical for successful implementation of MI. During the initial planning stages, the Chief Juvenile Probation Officer should work with the management team to provide a clear understanding of the principles of MI and how MI will help enhance probation services. Management comprehension and support is critical to successful implementation, staff understanding, and buy-in.

Managers should have a clear understanding of the following:

- Origins of MI
- Basic MI concepts
- How MI aligns with the JJSES and evidence-based practices
- Benefits to using MI to help motivate clients and foster change
- Implementation plan/training protocol
- Sustainability issues and planning

Educating the probation staff about the initiative is equally important to the implementation process. Up-front, transparent communication about the commitment to MI, the necessary investment of time and resources, and the large organization culture shift MI represents will help promote staff buy-in and acceptance of the change.

Probation officers should have a clear understanding of the following:

- MI in general, as well as the training and implementation process.
- The time commitment the MI initiative needs
- How MI aligns with the evidence-based practice process.
- How MI will enhance their professional performance, along with a client's ability to embrace change and take responsibility for the areas of their lives that need to undergo a positive change.

Two short articles by Michael Clark, MSW can be distributed to staff & help prepare them for training:

"Motivational Interviewing for Probation Staff: Increasing the Readiness to Change"
and
"Motivational Interviewing for Probation Officers: Tipping the Balance towards Change"

Messaging is a critical piece of the implementation phase; MI is a long-term commitment and the foundation needs to be strong. While it is important to be transparent about the time commitment and dedication of resources involved in implementing MI, it is important that management routinely remind staff about the benefits.

Policy Development

Once you have begun the MI training process and determine how the protocol will work best in your department, you will need to develop policy related to on-going training and evaluation of staff skills. Policy development ensures consistency and continuity of a department's practices or programs.

It is recommended that your policy statement include the following:

- Purpose and goal of using MI in the department
- Expectations of when MI will be used (for example, during field visits, during facility visits, when developing a case plan with the juvenile, his/her family and the probation officer, etc.)
- Training protocol
    - For initial implementation of MI
    - Ongoing training of MI after the initial one to two-year training period
- Assessment of staff use of MI skills
- Statement related to accountability of staff failing to comply with training

Example policies are provided in the appendix section of the manual.

Large Group / Introductory Training

Once the staff is ready for MI training, a 1 ½ - 2 day training on the fundamentals of MI should be conducted by a trainer with MI expertise. This trainer will likely be the person with whom you have contracted to provide on-going training to your staff throughout the implementation period. All staff should be required to attend the training. Management, including the Chief, Deputy Chief(s), and/or Assistant Chief(s), should also attend to demonstrate the importance the department is placing on learning and utilizing MI with clients and families.

At this training, basic MI concepts should be reviewed in detail and the format should include not only lecture, but also role play (participants play the role of PO and client), and/or real play (participants play the role of PO and client but with actual issues that relate to the participant playing the client such as quitting smoking, losing weight, etc.).

The large group / introductory training should include a review of the
Stages of Change as well as the 8 Tasks in Learning MI from Miller and Moyers (2006):

1) The Spirit of Motivational Interviewing

2) OARS (Open Ended Questions, Affirmations, Reflections, and Summarizations)

3) Recognizing and Reinforcing Change Talk

4) Eliciting and Strengthening Change Talk

5) Rolling with Resistance

6) Developing a Change Plan

7) Consolidating Client Commitment

8) Switching Between MI and Other Methods

When conducting the initial training, it is best to do this in smaller groups; however, this may not be feasible based upon the size of the department and the cost of providing multiple trainings. It is recommended that no more than 25 officers participate in the training at a time. This will allow the opportunity to do more role play/real play, thereby putting the skills learned into practice.

It is possible that staff may demonstrate some resistance to MI at the training. Some of this resistance may be related to MI in general, but some may be related to having to role play in front of their colleagues. The only way to learn MI is to practice, and the best way to do that is through role play. This will occur throughout the entire training process, as well as ongoing training for maintenance of the skills learned. It is imperative that your trainer be able to use MI with the staff and "roll with their resistance." While it is not necessary, having a trainer with some type of probation experience may be helpful for the staff to better relate to the trainer; stressing that MI is just another tool in a probation officer's "tool belt" that can be used with clients in the pre-contemplative stage of change.

It is important to note, the initial training is not sufficient for officers to effectively use MI with clients and families. It takes practice, practice, and more practice. This training on MI is just the beginning for staff. Ongoing booster trainings, small group trainings, and reinforcement of MI skills are necessary for staff to become proficient in the use of this skill.

A document that should be distributed to staff in conjunction with the introductory training (either before or after), *"A Guide for Probation and Parole: Motivating Offenders to Change"* by the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections, is an excellent primer and reference guide for probation officers no matter what level of expertise they possess in MI.

Booster Training

The department should receive bi-annual half-day booster trainings. Initially, this training should be done on a quarterly basis, as increased repetition of MI will only increase skill competence. However, once the two year period of MI implementation training is done, bi-annual booster trainings should suffice. The booster training can be provided by MI Coaches or by the trainer with whom you contract for MI implementation.

Booster training topics should include EARS, FRAMES, OARS, and DARN-C, in addition to any other MI topics relevant to your department. In order to determine the topics for the boosters, you should assess the needs or deficits that your staff is exhibiting. As your department moves forward with individual and small group work, you will see that staff will need refreshers on certain facets of MI. The booster trainings should be designed to only review small aspects of MI, not an overall review of MI in general. For example, if you note that staff members are not using enough affirmations in their interactions with clients, your booster may solely be on affirmations.

Breaking MI down into small portions not only reinforces what the staff previously learned in the large group training, but it also strengthens their skills in the smaller aspects of MI; thus creating an overall improvement in their skill effectiveness.   A portion of the booster training will be lecture to reinforce understanding of the concept, but as previously noted, role playing this skill will be necessary for the officer to demonstrate understanding and competence.

Small Group Work/Training

Probation Officers should also receive small group training facilitated by the MI expert hired by the department. Groups should last 1 ½ to 2 hours and should be held on a monthly to bi-monthly basis. It is helpful to assign officers to a specific group rather than changing membership in the small groups. It may also be helpful to assign officers to groups by job assignment, grouping like assignments together.

During small group trainings officers should practice MI skills, troubleshoot issues that arise, and share their experiences with other officers in the session. Recorded MI sessions (refer to the section on Individual Training/Coding of Sessions) made by members in the group may also be reviewed by the small group for feedback and training. For those departments or officers who opt for direct observation rather than recordings, the small group sessions should include role-playing sessions for skill practice.

Another option for small group work is to have officers bring cases (seven or eight descriptors of cases that they are currently supervising) to the session for discussion and processing. The MI Coach and group participants would review the cases with the probation officer and problem-solve how to effectively address the client's ambivalence toward change. The probation officer could role-play how he/she would handle the meeting with the client. This not only assists the officer with how to use MI with that client, but also promotes skill reinforcement for the rest of the group participants.

Combining Booster Training and Small Group Work

Until departments have completed at least one year of MI training, booster sessions and small group work should be kept separate. However, following the one-year initial implementation phase departments can consider combining the two in order to save staff time and department resources. If departments choose to combine the trainings, the format for each session should begin with the booster training on a small aspect of MI, and then small group work would focus on practicing that skill.

Individual Training/Coding of Sessions

The individual training consists of probation officers submitting audio or video recorded sessions, or being directly observed by the trainer, coach, or supervisor, on their use of MI with a client currently under their supervision. Sessions are coded by the designated trainer, coach, or supervisor and reviewed with the probation officer to enhance skill development.

Departments must decide whether to give officers the option of choosing recording or direct observation, or if the department policy will mandate a certain option for staff. With both recording and direct observation it is recommended that probation officers be coded on sessions on a monthly to quarterly basis. Once an officer demonstrates proficiency in their use of MI with clients, the requirement to submit a recording or be observed can be reduced, but should not be reduced beyond quarterly during the first two years of training.

Until supervisors have been trained on how to properly evaluate probation officers using MI, all recordings/observations should be coded/evaluated by the MI expert hired by the department. Once supervisors and/or in-house coaches/mentors have been trained they can assume this responsibility, thereby reducing costs and enhancing sustainability.

The recording option will require the purchase of audio or video recording equipment such as a digital voice recorders (DVR) or video cameras for probation officers to use. The anticipated cost of the audio recording equipment is $50-$70 per unit. The benefit of recording sessions is that the coder can listen/watch the session multiple times to enhance coding accuracy, and the probation officer is able to watch himself/herself.

If the recording option is chosen, the recorded session would be submitted to the trainer/coach/supervisor for coding. After the coding is complete, the coder will meet with the probation officer to review the session. The direct observation option involves probation officers being observed while interacting with a client. The coding occurs while the session is taking place and is reviewed with the probation officer following the session. In order to track progress of probation officers' MI skills, the management team should review coding sheets. It is not recommended that this feedback be included in an officer's personnel evaluations during the training period. Probation officers need to feel that they can learn and make mistakes during the training period.

Coaching/Coding Training

On-going staff coaching is an integral step in developing a probation officer's MI skills. Coaches can either be a member of the probation staff, an outside trainer, or a combination of the two. Coaching involves the coding of a session, followed by a feedback review with the probation officer on their use of MI skills.

Typically, at the beginning of the training process, the outside trainer will code sessions and provide feedback to probation officers. As the MI competencies of staff develop, supervisory staff in the probation department can be trained to take over this responsibility. In order for this transition to occur, supervisors must participate in not only the initial MI training and subsequent booster sessions, but they must also be trained in coding of sessions. In order for this to be successful, supervisors not only need to have knowledge of MI, but have to believe in the effectiveness of MI in producing change. Supervisors also need to be able to demonstrate their use of MI. This can be done at caseload evaluation/review and during other interactions with probation officers and clients.

Supervisors will also need to be evaluated on their use of MI with staff, as well as their ability to evaluate staff use of MI. As supervisors begin to take on the responsibility of coding, they will complete a coding form and then forward it to the MI expert. The MI expert will review and provide feedback on both the officer's use of MI, as well as the supervisor's evaluation of that officer.

Sustainability of MI Training

Just as ensuring that the foundation and initial implementation of MI is well planned and effective, it is equally important to plan for the long-term sustainability of MI within the department. The protocol suggested here was developed to promote sustainability of MI training after the JJSES grant funding expires and/or the implementation period ends. As previously indicated, on-going training and skill development are essential components of MI; to address these components it is necessary for counties to plan for sustainability. Failure to strategically plan and sufficiently address sustainability may result in staff feeling as though the department is not fully committed to the initiative, and the initial implementation efforts and resources may be wasted.

Selecting In-House MI Coaches

Once the probation staff members have received approximately 6 to 12 months of MI training (including the initial overview and booster sessions), thought should be given to choosing in-house staff to become MI coaches. This can occur sooner if there is someone already on staff with advanced MI education and skills. Departments may opt to have supervisors take on this role, or utilize other staff whose MI skills and training are more advanced.

Although the majority of the coach's responsibilities would be related to teaching, some oversight of employees may be necessary. With this in mind, a supervisor would be the ideal choice, as probation

officers may be apprehensive or resistant to a peer evaluating them on their ability to work with clients. In addition, it may be difficult to recruit a probation officer to perform this task. However, dependent upon the staff member and hierarchy of the individual department, it is possible to have a line officer do MI coaching and coding of officers.

In-House MI Coach Responsibilities:

- Attend additional MI Training (Coaches Training and Coding Sessions)
- Conduct individual and booster session trainings for department staff
- Conducting individual probation officer coding/feedback sessions
- Train newly hired probation officers (the Juvenile Justice Academy does provide an overview of MI, but a more detailed training is required)

Identifying in-house MI coaches does require departments to invest employee time and resources, however there are several benefits to having in-house coaches.

Benefits to Having In-House MI Coaches:

- Ability to phase out the need and expense of an outside trainer
- A key component of the training is the individual probation officer evaluation/coding, which could be costly for a department if an outside trainer is used for a long period of time. Transitioning to an in-house staff member to provide this portion of the training would be more cost effective. In most counties, supervisors are already evaluating officers on court performance, meetings with clients, completion of paperwork as well as other quality assurance type activities. Evaluating for MI would be an extension of that evaluation process. During the training period, supervisors will be trained on MI concepts as well as proper coding/evaluation of officers using MI with clients. Therefore, cost for this portion of MI will be zero.
- All staff will receive the same MI information, delivered in the same manner from a staff person that has mastered this skill

What if Your County Cannot Support In-House MI Coaches?

Training Newly Hired Staff: This training may be available through CJJT&R/JCJC as they plan to continue to offer a basic MI training in both the spring and fall staff development training sessions for the foreseeable future. Counties can also offer this training in-house through an outside trainer.

Counties may also work with surrounding jurisdictions or other agencies to provide MI training and share the costs. As MI skills can be used in many settings, local drug and alcohol providers, counseling agencies, etc., may offer MI training that officers could attend. Training monies received from JCJC may be used to cover MI training costs

On-Going Training/Coding: If an in-house MI coach is not selected, then the management team will contract with an outside agency to provide ongoing booster training and coding for the staff.

Key Things to Consider in MI Sustainability:

1. **A supervisor's MI skill level will significantly impact the quality of the training for the officers that he or she supervises**. If the supervisor did not excel, or demonstrated only mediocre MI skills during the training period, the officers that he/she supervises will receive inadequate training and may never master MI skills.   Therefore, it is important that supervisory training occur following the initial large group training allowing supervisors time to incorporate MI into their daily communication with officers, as well as learn proper coding of MI sessions.

2. **Probation officers should be evaluated every 6 – 12 months** on their use of MI with clients (by the MI coach/trainer) once the training period has ended. All members of the management team should also continue to be evaluated to show their commitment to MI.   Again, supervisors must be committed to the use of MI and believe in its effectiveness to promote staff acceptance and buy-in.

3. **Continued messaging about MI** is key to maintaining officers' commitment to using MI with clients and families. It is imperative that the management team members discuss the use of MI at staff meetings and during case discussions with officers, as well as demonstrate their own effective use of MI with staff. Staff should be provided with additional reading material on MI to continue to hone their skills. Helpful resources are included in the appendix of the manual; additional resources can be found at http://www.motivationalinterviewing.org.

4. **Smaller counties may want to consider joining with neighboring counties** for group or booster trainings once the grant expires. Combining resources is not only fiscally sound, but encourages staff to see the importance of MI throughout the state.   The smaller counties can also combine staff resources if necessary.   Larger counties will truly benefit from incorporating the above suggestions for sustainability, as their cost to continue with an outside trainer would likely bankrupt their training budget. Management must focus on sustainability in order for MI implementation to be successful.

5. Management needs to **integrate MI into everyday practice** of the office, just like going to court, completing required paperwork, etc. Once that occurs, you will have succeeded in implementing MI in your department.

RECOMMENDED PROTOCOL FOR MI IMPLEMENTATION

STEP I
- Educate the management team on benefits of MI implementation
- Encourage management to understand and accept the change that MI will bring to the office
- Decide to move forward with MI implementation
- Selection of MI trainer by administration
- Encourage supervisors support for initiative including their involvement in the planning process
- Provide handouts/information to staff for review
- Provide ongoing messaging and education of staff to set the stage for implementation

STEP II
- Develop stakeholder support for the introduction and implementation of MI
- Develop plan for implementation in conjunction with MI Trainer

STEP III
- Conduct Initial MI Large Group Training

STEP IV
- Select JPO's/Supervisors to attend advanced MI training that includes coding and feedback skills
- Select JPOs/Supervisors to attend advanced MI training that includes coding and feedback skills
- Strategize and plan for in-house MI training and overall sustainability of initiative
- Initiate development of MI policy

STEP V
- Develop MI Training exercises
- Conduct bi-annual booster trainings for staff
- Conduct bi-monthly small group trainings

STEP VI
- Develop Release of Information form and policy for recording sessions
- Begin Direct Observation, Audio Recording, and/or Video Recording of staff begins on a quarterly basis for one to two years during initial training process
- Begin coding and feedback of sessions by MI Trainer and/or MI Coaches

STEP VII
- Ongoing re-evaluation of progress
- Finalize MI policy /protocol

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BERKS COUNTY JUVENILE PROBATION
MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING AUDIO TAPING POLICY

I. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The Berks County Juvenile Probation Department has incorporated the use of Motivational Interviewing in its daily operations. Implementation and skill development requires ongoing coaching and supervision to reach and maintain a level of competency. In addition to ongoing training and coaching sessions, audio recordings of routine probation officer/probationer and supervisor/probation officer meetings for staff supervision and training purposes will be utilized. Audio taping of sessions will support the development and competence of Motivational Interviewing skills of both probation officers and administrators, will help enhance interventions, will aid in the supervision of youth and probation officers, and will support quality assurance efforts.

II. BACKGROUND

The policy and procedures outlined below describe the circumstances for audio taping of probation officer/probationer sessions and supervisor/probation officer meetings and establishes requirements for securing, storing and dissemination of audio recordings.

III. POLICY

It is the policy of Berks County Juvenile Probation to make reasonable efforts to audio record probation officer/probationer sessions and supervisor/probation officer meetings to support ongoing training for both probation officers and administrators. This policy applies to those sessions and meetings that are audio recorded.

IV. PROCEDURES FOR RECORDING SESSIONS AND MEETINGS

A. It is the policy of Berks County Juvenile Probation to obtain consent for audio taping of probation officer/probationer sessions and supervisor/probation officer meetings. The probation officer, probationer, and parent/guardian of the probationer all must sign a consent form for taping to occur. Recording of a family session requires the written consent of all family members that are participating and being taped.

B. No taping shall occur without the consent of the probationer and parent/guardian. Unwillingness of any probationer or parent/guardian to be involved in taping shall by no way negatively impact upon their probationary status. In addition, the probationer or parent/guardian may revoke a signed consent at any time with no negative impact upon their probationary status.

C. Signed consents will expire when supervision is terminated, except when revoked by the juvenile, parent, or guardian or when another expiration date is documented on the release. The original consent should be dictated into the juvenile's case file. Two copies of the release shall be made with one going to the juvenile/family and the second to the probation officer's immediate supervisor. Should the juvenile/family choose to revoke the release, the date of the revocation should be indicated on the original release and on the supervisor's copy (i.e. "Consent to Audiotape revoked by juvenile on 4/1/11").

D. Recordings should make no reference to the last name of either the juvenile or other family members participating in the session.

E. The Motivational Interviewing trainer, the assigned probation officer, the assigned supervisor and/or other administrators will review audiotapes to support skill development, training, and quality assurance. The audiotapes may also be used in group training and/or group practice sessions.

V. **PROCEDURES FOR STORAGE, DESTRUCTION AND RELEASE OF AUDIOTAPES**

A. Audiotapes shall be labeled with the juvenile's case file number, the session date, and the assigned probation officer's name.

B. No individual has the authority to alter an audiotape.

C. Upon completion of the review and/or discussion of the recording by the trainer, probation officer, supervisor and usage of the tape in the training/practice session, the tape shall be destroyed. Destruction shall take place within ten (10) days of the final review/usage of the tape in training and coaching sessions.

D. Tapes shall be stored with the Deputy Chief Juvenile Probation Officer when not in use. It is the responsibility of the Deputy Chief to destroy these recordings as per this Policy. Tapes may leave the premises with the assigned Motivational Interviewing trainer for review. No copies of any tapes will be made.

BERKS COUNTY JUVENILE PROBATION
CONSENT AND RELEASE TO AUDIOTAPE

Date:

Juvenile's Name:

Case #:

I understand that audio taping of interviews, intake sessions, and other probation meetings is the practice of the Berks County Juvenile Probation Office and that this audio taping is done for the purposes of supervision, enhancing interventions, staff training, staff skill development, and quality assurance.

I understand that this consent to audiotape is voluntary, will not impact positively or negatively on my probationary status and may not be used against me. Refusal to consent to taping will also have no bearing on my probationary status.

I further understand that I, or my parent, may revoke this consent at any time with no consequences. Unless revoked, this release will remain valid from the date of my signature throughout the length of my period of probation or until   (date)   .

I understand that these tapes may be reviewed by staff and trainers of the Berks County Juvenile Probation Office and utilized as a training tool for both my assigned Juvenile Probation Officer as well as other Juvenile Probation Officers.

I further understand that no copies of the tape will be made and that tapes will be destroyed within 10 days of completion of observation and discussion by probation staff and trainer.

I understand that the Berks County Probation Office, its Juvenile Probation Officers and staff shall not be held responsible for any use of audiotapes containing my voice by any unauthorized user or third party, and I hereby release and hold harmless the Berks County Probation Office, its Juvenile Probation Officers and staff from any and all liability for damages of whatever kind, character or nature which may at any time result from this Consent and Release.

_____   _____
Signature of Probation Officer/Date   Printed Name of Probation Officer

_____   _____
Signature of Parent or Legal Guardian/Date Printed Name of Parent or Legal Guardian

_____   _____
Signature of Juvenile/Date   Printed Name of Juvenile

Affirmations: 6/13

Affirmations (one of the 4 Core Skills of M.L) are statements regarding a person's strengths, successes (past or present), abilities, talents, and achievements. These statements serve the purpose of building self-efficacy, i.e., "I have the ability to make a change" and "It will make a recognizable difference in my life".

To do what they are designed to do (build self-efficacy), affirmations need to be **factual** and **specific** so clients can 'see' the strength, have something specific that guides them to replicate this strength/success in a needed area, and not be distracted by "values judgments" in statements such as "good job".

Change the following statements into 'pure' Affirmations:

1. A juvenile on your caseload was being bullied by another student in school and she decided to talk her way out of the current situation and reported the matter to a school official.

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. A juvenile on your caseload reported her mother's alcohol abuse to you and convinced her mother to attend AA groups.

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. A juvenile on your caseload reported her mother to the police because her mother was driving while severely impaired by prescription medications.

   _____

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4. A juvenile on your caseload completed all of his sex offender specific therapy assignments.

   _____

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   _____

5. A juvenile on your caseload successfully passed his maintenance polygraph.

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6. A juvenile on your caseload stole several items from Macy's and told his parents about his actions.

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7. A juvenile on your caseload brought her grades up from all F's to C's and B's.

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8. A juvenile on your caseload successfully completed the CSF Intensive Supervision Program.

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9. A juvenile on your caseload reduced his car insurance rate by completing a highway safety course.

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10. A parent you work with reported her son's drug and alcohol usage from this past weekend.

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Change Talk

Soliciting change talk is a cornerstone of Motivational Interviewing.

It allows the client to support his/her own need for change without the Probation Officer suggesting it or imposing it. When the need for change is the client's idea there is less chance that he/she will defend not changing.

Change Talk is how people talk about the idea of change. They mention or "land on" their Desire, Ability, Reason, Need and Commitment to change behaviour. This is DARN-C

Below are several case examples. Please identify pieces of change talk in these examples. From the identified *change talk* please move between Affirmation, Reflections, Open Ended Questions, and Summarizations.

MI Case Examples 4/13

Terry is 17-years-old. She is currently in placement in an Independent Living Program. The assigned PO is making a monthly contact with her. The PO was made aware that Terry tested positive for marijuana about 2 weeks ago. Terry has been struggling with the general rules of the program. She has violated the program's curfew on several occasions and she has had contact with several juveniles that the program said she should not have contact with. Terry has maintained the same full time job the past 5 months. She has almost completely paid off her restitution. Terry has also been promoted two times in the past 5 months. Terry is in line to become a manager within the next few months if she continues to do well at work.

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John is 13-years-old. He is currently in the Bucks County Youth Center due to a pending Assault Allegation. John allegedly assaulted his father during an argument. John has his adjudicated hearing in 10 days and he is most likely facing some sort of residential placement due to his issues at home and his poor school attendance. John is currently having a psychological evaluation completed. John said that he got into the altercation with

his father because of how his father was treating his mother. John said that his mother and father always fight and argue; however, his father often takes the arguing to a physical level. John said that he only knows how to get people's attention by making threats and being physically aggressive because that is how his father resolves his issues. John said that he is scared that he is going to become just like his father. John said that he does not want people to be afraid of him.

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Fred is 18-years-old. He will graduate high school in June. He has been accepted at Penn State main campus. He would like to pursue a career in engineering. Fred is currently being supervised on a Consent Decree for vandalizing several home exteriors. Fred has completed his community services and all of his other Probation conditions.

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Steve is 16-years-old. He is currently being supervised on Indefinite Probation for a Burglary he was involved in with his friends. Steve has been cooperating with all the rules and regulations of his Probation. Steve has been paying off his restitution and he has almost completed his community service hours. Steve has been working at Jiffy Lube for the past 6 months; he works about 30 hours per week. Steve is also involved with his high school football team and he just had a big game this past weekend. Steve plays the position of wide receiver and he caught several passes this past weekend that resulted in touchdowns.

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Tanya is 17-years-old. She is currently being supervised on a Consent Decree for Retail Theft. Tanya is also being supervised by Bucks County Children and Youth due to issues with her mother and truancy. Tanya is struggling to maintain a full-time job and complete GED tutoring; both of which were Probation conditions. Tanya said that she would like to be able to live on her own sooner than later. Tanya stated that she and her mother struggle to get along every day. Tanya said that her mother is an alcoholic and constantly struggles with her sobriety; she recently began drinking again. Tanya said that she cannot stand to be around her mother when she is drinking because her mother becomes aggressive and just plain mean.

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Tom is 14-years-old. He is currently being supervised on Indefinite Probation due to a fight with another student in school. Tom maintains that the fight was due to being bullied by the alleged victim. Tom is still in the same school as the victim and has had on going issues with the victim since court. Tom maintains that he is still being bullied and the school will not doing anything to help him or resolve the matter.   Tom said that he is afraid that if anything happens he will have his Probation violated and he does not want to get locked up.

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Fred is 48-years-old. He is the parent of a juvenile that is currently in the Bucks County Youth Center due to a Robbery allegation. Fred is aware that his son will be facing some sort of long-term residential placement. Fred is upset because he is going to have to pay child support. Fred made clear that he cannot afford to pay anything out of pocket right now. Fred said that he will be going on a hunting trip in the near future for about 10 days.

Fred said that he has always been able to provide for his children's needs but he is upset that he is going to be forced to pay support by the courts. Fred said that he was able to help two of his other children pay for their college education.

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Trish is 52-years-old. Trish's son just had court in front of judge Finley and is not happy how the judge handled her son's case. She said that the judge did not take into consideration anything positive her son did while he was being supervised on Probation for the last 8 months. She said that he only focused on her son's recent assault charge. Trish said that Probation has been helpful but she feels like she is constantly being reminded that she is bad and an ineffective parent because of her son's Probation. She said that she wishes her son would learn from this process faster and get his life together. Trish is even more frustrated because none of her other three children ever had problems with the police or school. Trish said that she is struggling to maintain a positive attitude about the court process because of the stress it is causing her. Trish said that she is struggling with depression lately and is afraid she will not be able to get her life in order and she really wants to feel better about herself and her family.

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Justin is 16-years-old. He is currently in placement at Today Inc. inpatient program; he was placed there by juvenile Court. He has been in the residential program for about 3 weeks. Justin is doing well in the program and has been trying to adopt sobriety and the changes he needs to make to be successful. Justin has said on many different occasions that he wants to get away from drugs and alcohol because he knows the affect both have had on his life. Justin has concerns about going home after he completes the inpatient program due to his current group of friends and his father. Justin is concerned about his friends because they all use drugs and alcohol. He is even more concerned about his father because he constantly drinks. Justin knows that in order to maintain sobriety he needs to change his

surroundings. Justin does not like the idea of entering a group home after he completes the inpatient program.

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Ben is 17-years-old. He is currently being supervised on a Consent Decree. He is supposed to graduate this year but he is struggling to pass Math and Science. Ben has said on several occasions that he wants to go to college but he thinks this will be impossible due to his current performance in those classes. Ben is having a difficult time maintaining a positive attitude due to his academic struggles. Ben is afraid to ask for help because thinks it will bring even more attention to him and he is afraid of how his friends will view him.

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Open Ended Questions:

Open-ended questions tend to lead clients to respond with more detailed information and more truthful information. While closed-ended questions are sometimes necessary, we want to lean toward a preponderance of open-ended questions when discussing behavior change with clients. This allows us to learn more about the nuances of a client's life, their 'vision', perspective, worldview, values, relationships that matter, ideas about themselves, etc. We then use this information to heighten their awareness about the **discrepancies** in their life.

With open-ended questions, we **evoke** more *change talk* and more awareness from the client about their strengths and abilities, what's at risk with current behavior, what consequences are the result of current behavior, who and what else their current behavior has affected, what the various benefits of behavior change would be.

With open-ended questions, we also allow client's to 'save face' by not locking them into a "yes" or "no" answer, and thereby making it more likely that they'll answer authentically.

Change these *closed-ended* questions into *open-ended* questions:

1.   Don't you want to stop being grounded by your parents for not following curfew?

   _____

   _____

2.   Don't you want to stop being told by your parents that they don't trust you?

   _____

   _____

3.   Don't you want to stop getting into trouble at school for cutting classes?

   _____

   _____

4.   Don't you want to stop getting into trouble at school for missing days of school?

   _____

   _____

5.   Wouldn't your life be far less complicated without having constant contact with the police?

   _____

   _____

6.   Don't you want your parents to permit you to own a car?

   _____

   _____

7.   Wouldn't you be a far better student if you weren't always getting high?

_____

_____

8.   Wouldn't you have a far better chance of receiving an athletic scholarship to college if you weren't always cutting class to hang out with your friends?

_____

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9.   If you continue to get suspended at school will you be able to enter into the tech school program?

_____

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10.   Don't you want your parents to permit you to hold a job?

_____

_____

11.   Do you know that your criminal history will limit job possibilities in the future?

_____

_____

12.   You know that your relationships with your parents would be better if you weren't always fighting with your brother and sister?

_____

_____

13.   You know that your criminal history could limit the possibility of obtaining federal financial aid for college?

_____

_____

14.   Do you think your relationship with your girlfriend would be better if you weren't always threatening her?

_____

_____

15.   Wouldn't you feel better if you weren't always getting high?

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_____

16.   Wouldn't you have a better relationship with your teachers if you showed them more respect?

_____

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17.   You know if you don't stop failing to complete you homework assignments you will not be able to graduate this year?

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18.   Wouldn't you have a more successful future if you stopped having contacts with the police?

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19.   You know if you keep hanging out with your current friends you will continue to get into trouble?

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20.   You know if you continue to not tell your parents where you are going when you leave the house they are not going to trust you?

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Columbia County Juvenile Probation

Motivational Interviewing Policy

I. **Purpose**

    a. The Columbia County Juvenile Probation department is hereby incorporating the use of Motivational Interviewing (MI) in the daily operations as standard procedure and protocol. The use of MI is a part of employing evidence based practices in the assessment of needs and strengths, stages of change in behavior and engagement of juvenile offender and family.

    b. The goal of using MI skills is to deflect resistant behavior and move the offender towards changes in behavior of self-efficacy and not simply compliance while on supervision. Previously offenders were externally motivated due to the justice system involvement and often only short lived, using MI encourages them to be internally motivated. The final result should be of lasting change of behavior they self motivate and maintain thereby reducing offender recidivism.

    c. MI is a component of the juvenile justice system enhancement strategy (JJSES) in which practices are performed with collected data to measure outcomes and based upon these results, strive to improve our efforts. JJSES maintains the focus of balanced and restorative justice (BARJ) in probation practices.

II. **Procedures**

    a. MI skills will be actively used at every stage within probation and by every probation officer. Intakes determine the initial assessments and identify needs, strengths, and potential readiness to change of the offender. Questions using MI approach are to be included in intake interview to gain as much information as possible. This information should be included in material given to assigned probation officer for the case.

    b. Probation officers develop a supervision plan based on information from intake and/or in combination of meeting with juvenile and family. MI skills are used in contacts to elicit clarification and to assist in determining what services and programs are best matched to the juvenile's stages of change.

    c. Risk levels and top 3 criminogenic needs shall be the focus of supervision plans and the concentrated use of MI skills to maintain a guided direction. Probation officers will report in monthly reviews of cases with the supervisor as to how they are using MI on each case and result. The goal is to move offenders to owning their plan, not simply being in compliance.

    d. Juveniles in placement facilities shall be a continued focus of MI skills as numerous facilities practice MI and it will maintain consistency among those

involved. MI may also assist in offender obtaining self identified goals as they progress along stages of change within a structured and supported setting.

e. Family engagement is critical in using MI skills so as to improve probability of long lasting change. Having juveniles in family systems that are actively engaged with probation and offers support and stability better ensures long lasting changes in thinking, attitudes and behaviors. These changes lead to reduced recidivism, fewer victims, safer communities and a reduction in placement spending.

III. **Training**

a. Initial training to prepare for MI will consist of overview reading material that outlines JJSES and importance of evidence based practices in the field of probation. Knowing the foundation of MI and how it will fit into the framework of assessment, identified risk and needs and corresponding supervision plan is key to successful utilization of the skill.

b. Group training with an MI trainer for 2-3 days will occur to cover basics of MI, stages of change and allow for role play observation and practice. Small groups using scenarios are good practice in using open ended questions, reflective listening, affirmations, summarizing and eliciting self-motivating statements.

c. Follow up booster training will occur within 6 months and again at periodic intervals as refresher skill courses on basics of MI along with expanding skills. The goal is development of confidence in using MI skills and the ability for a more natural use.

d. Digital voice recorders may be utilized to record offender contacts with probation officers as a skill building exercise. Consent to record will have been previously obtained by offender and parents prior to recording. These sessions will be scored and reviewed as training exercises with the MI trainer and among the probation staff. (Audio taping policy and consent follows this policy)

IV. **Measurement**

a. While difficult to directly measure other than scoring of recorded or observed contacts between offender and officer as to that officer's use of MI tools, the officer may see positive, lasting behavior changes in the offender. These changes will be reflected in the decrease of YLS score, decrease of youth with no new offenses or violations of probation.

b. Taken further as an officer and on the whole as a department, as MI skills are intensified there will be a noted decrease in the need for out of home placements thus leading to an increase in savings to the department costs.

Mercer County Juvenile Probation

Motivational Interviewing Policy

Effective Date: April 15, 2013

I. Definition

Motivational Interviewing is a person-centered communication style designed to identify ambivalence toward change and discrepancies between ones current behaviors and desired goals in order to increase motivation and self-efficacy for change.

II. Purpose

a. The Mercer County Juvenile Probation Department is hereby incorporating the use of Motivational Interviewing (MI) in daily operations as standard procedure and protocol. The use of MI demonstrates the utilization of evidence-based practices in the assessment of needs and strengths, stages of change in behavior and engagement of juvenile offender and family.

b. The Mercer County Juvenile Probation Department will use MI skills to deflect resistant behavior and move the offender toward changes in behavior through self-efficacy and not simply compliance while on supervision. The final result should be of lasting change in behavior as clients and families self motivate and maintain, thereby reducing offender recidivism.

c. MI is an essential component for completing the YLS (Youth Level of Service Inventory) Risk Assessment Measure whereby criminogenic needs are accurately identified and a case plan addressing those needs is collaboratively forged between the courts, offenders, and their families.

d. MI is a component of the Juvenile Justice System Enhancement Strategy (JJSES) in which practices are performed with collected data to measure outcomes and based upon these results, strive to improve our efforts. JJSES maintains the focus of balanced and restorative justice (BARJ) in probation practices.

III. Procedures

a. MI skills will be actively used at every stage within probation and by every probation officer. Probation officers during initial assessments will identify needs, strengths, and the offender's potential readiness to change. Questions using the MI approach are to be included in all initial interviews to gain as much information as possible.

b. Probation officers will develop a case plan (in the Juvenile Court Management System-JCMS) based on information obtained from the initial interview with juvenile and family. MI skills are used in contacts to elicit clarification and to assist in determining what services and programs are best matched to the juvenile's criminogenic needs and stages of change.

c. Probation officers will utilize MI skills to maintain focus on addressing up to three (3) primary/chosen criminogenic needs identified by the YLS. Risk levels and top three (3) criminogenic needs shall be the focus of supervision plans and the concentrated use of MI skills to maintain guided direction. Probation officers will report in monthly reviews of cases with the supervisor as to how they are using MI on each case.

d. Probation officers will engage families by using MI skills so as to imrove the probability of long-lasting change. Engaging families with probation personnel will ensure long-lasting changes in thinking, attitudes, and behaviors which will lead to reduced recidivism, fewer victims, safer communities, and a reduction in placement spending.

IV. Training

A. New Hires

1. New hires will attend a Motivational Interviewing Phase 1 & Phase 2 training that is approved and sanctioned by the Juvenile Court Judge's Commission (JCJC).

2. Phase 1 & Phase 2 training shall provide the fundamentals of Motivational Interviewing: MI basic principles; stages of change; enhancing communication techniques; and, identifying and sustaining change talk.

B. Trained Staff

1. The Mercer County Juvenile Probation Department shall identify personnel who will attend 'Motivational Interviewing Coaching Intensive' training for the purpose of providing ongoing MI skill maintenance and quality assurance for all department probation officers.

2. All probation officers shall participate in periodic booster sessions administered by department 'coaches' for the purpose of strengthening skills and developing confidence in the use of MI skills.

3. Department coaches shall directly observe probation officer – client interaction, or review a submitted digital audio recording of a probation officer – client interaction, for a minimum of 15 minutes, on a quarterly basis and complete a 'Motivational Interviewing Coding & Feedback Form' (Attached). Shall digital audio recording be the chosen method of evaluation, a 'Consent to Record' shall be obtained.

4. Department coaches shall review the 'Coding & Feedback Form' with each probation officer and collaboratively identify communication strengths and areas that are in need of improvement. Coaches will provide practice materials and exercises to increase proficiency in needed areas.

5. Department coaches shall submit the completed 'Coding & Feedback Form' for each probation officer to the Administrative Assistant.

6. The Administrative Assistant shall develop and maintain a file system for each probation officer where 'Coding & Feedback Forms' will be available to monitor staff development

V. Measurement
   a. Probation officer MI scores (via the 'Coding & Feedback Form') will be filed and reassessed quarterly by department coaches with the expectation that MI proficiency will steadily increase as the skills are practiced and booster sessions are performed.
   b. Probation officer's proficiency in MI skills will be reflected in a decrease in YLS scores at six-month review and in the reduction of probation violations and recidivism.
   c. As MI skills are intensified throughout all contacts with juveniles and their families, a noted decrease in the need for out-of-home placements and related expenditures will be realized.

Authorized by:

_____   _____
Mark F. Benedetto   Date
Chief Juvenile Probation Officer

WESTMORELAND COUNTY JUVENILE PROBATION
POLICY STATEMENT

APPROVED: _____Adeline Beighley_____ **DATE:** 8/7/2014

MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING POLICY

POLICY:	• ***To encourage long-term behavior change.***
	• Motivational Interviewing is a client-centered directive method for enhancing motivation to change. Research strongly suggests that "motivational interviewing techniques, rather than persuasion tactics, effectively enhance motivation for initiating and maintaining behavior change.
	• MI aligns with evidence-based practice, suggests effective tools for handling resistance, can keep difficult situations from getting worse, and keeps the probation officer from doing all the work and changes who does the talking.
	• We know that motivation predicts behavior and IS changeable. We also know that people change when a new action is more in line with their personal beliefs or values. Each person is motivated to change by unique factors.
PROCEDURE:	Probation Officers are expected to utilize and improve Motivational Interviewing Skills over time
	TRAINING PROTOCOL
	The department's management team will obtain certification as MI Coaches and a minimum of 3 probation officers
	• An MI Coach will train a new probation officer in Basic Motivational Interviewing within 3 months of their employment.
	• An MI Coach will observe a new probation officer meeting/conversation with a probationer within 1 month after completion of the Basic MI Training
	• All probation officers will participate in Motivational Interviewing

Booster Training every six months

- Small Group Consultations and additional MI Skill Building will be facilitated by the MI Coaches at the monthly Team Meetings

- Advanced MI Training will be scheduled as deemed necessary

RECORDINGS and CODING

- Probation Officers will be assigned their own digital recorder

- Digital Recorders will be used by Probation Officers to record their conversations with their client.

- Only first names are to be used during the recording, last names or any identifying information should be left out of the conversation

- Probation Officers have the choice to either record their conversations or request that they be directly observed by a Coach when meeting with their client. Each Probation Officer with a caseload will adhere to this (3) times per year

- Probation Officers will inform all appropriate parties and obtain their signatures if they are in full agreement to have their conversations recorded

- This signed Release Form will be presented to the MI Coach when the Probation Officer submits their recording to them

- If during the recording a youth begins to disclose information that must be child- lined, the Probation Officer will immediately stop the recording

- If any party wishes to end the conversation during the conversation they may do so

- The Probation Officer will be afforded the opportunity to self-evaluate their recording. The MI Coach will review their coding with the Probation Officer, offer the Probation Officer feedback on their observance and compare the outcome/coding to their previous recordings

- Upon completion of their review, the MI Coach will return the recording to the Probation Officer who will delete the recording. The Coach will however preserve the coding sheet.

ROLE OF THE COACHES

- Code recordings and document the outcome for officers. Coaches will track the coding of each officer and store them

- Offer feedback to each Probation Officer upon completion of the coding

- The MI Coaches will select at least (2) Probation Officer's recordings from their Unit and give them to their supervisor. The probation supervisors will re-code/score the conversation independently. The supervisor will then review their findings with the MI Coach's findings and discuss any discrepancies

- Lead monthly Team/Unit Meetings and incorporate MI skill building in those meetings. The topics will vary and be determined by the PO Coach and/or Supervisor

- Attend Booster Trainings

ARTIFACTS

Will be created and posted around the office to keep MI fresh and promote within the department

A Guide for Probation and Parole
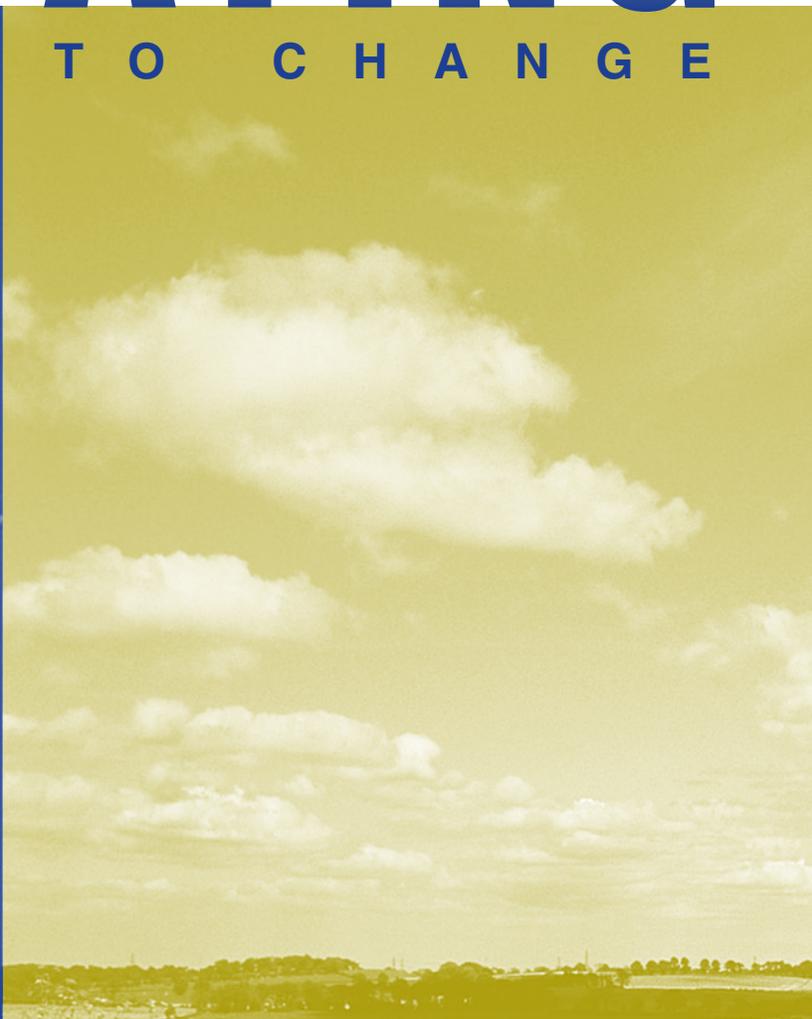
MOTIVATING

OFFENDERS TO CHANGE

National Institute of Corrections
http://www.nicic.org

A Guide for Probation and Parole

MOTIVATING

OFFENDERS TO CHANGE

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MELISSA L. MELTZER, M.A., M.P.H.

C O N T E N T S

List of Exhibits

The corrections field, and community corrections in particular, has long experienced tensions between its two main missions, protecting public safety and rehabilitating offenders. Treatment-oriented strategies that had as their goal the reintegration of offenders into society have contended with deterrence-oriented strategies based on apparent findings that "nothing works" in treating offenders. In recent years, the development and application of evidence-based practices (EBP)—practices informed by the results of scientific research and shown to increase public safety and reduce recidivism—have had a profound and positive impact on the corrections field. More thorough scientific analysis of both treatment- and deterrence-oriented programs has shown that many programs that emphasized motivation and behavior change over punishment have been successful in reducing crime rates among offenders. The National Institute of Corrections (NIC), through its sponsorship of studies and its training programs, has been a leader in the movement toward EBP in the corrections field and an advocate of more rigorous scientific analysis of programs for offenders.

One promising evidence-based practice for motivating offenders and fostering positive behavioral changes is motivational interviewing (MI). MI, which was first developed in the addiction treatment field, is now being applied widely and with positive results in corrections, particularly in probation and parole. The principle behind MI is that by listening to offenders and following up on the positive aspects of their speech and thinking, corrections professionals can help increase offenders' motivation to make positive changes in their lives that will reduce their likelihood of reoffending.

This publication, *Motivating Offenders To Change: A Guide for Probation and Parole,* provides probation and parole officers and other correctional professionals with both a solid grounding in the principles behind MI and a practical guide for applying these principles in their everyday dealings with offenders. Through numerous examples of questions, sample dialogues, and exercises, it presents techniques for interacting with offenders at all stages of supervision and at varying levels of commitment to positive change. In addition, it recognizes that deception, resistance to change, and relapse into criminal behaviors are realities for many offenders, and sets forth strategies for dealing with those issues that avoid unproductive confrontation with the offender.

Motivating Offenders To Change is intended as an orientation tool for new proba-
tion and parole professionals, a classroom aid for supervisors and trainers, and a
self-study resource for individual officers. Our hope is that the guide will not only
promote the use of MI, but also will help empower probation and parole officers and
other correctional professionals to act as positive influences for change in the lives
of the offenders they supervise.

Morris L. Thigpen, Sr.
Director
National Institute of Corrections

FOREWORD

Motivating Offenders To Change: A Guide for Probation and Parole provides the reader with a valuable primer on the tenets of motivational interviewing. The authors lay out the foundations of motivational interviewing and give examples of how it can be implemented. The authors have taken care to present information in an easily digestible and commonsense style. They provide guidance while remaining cognizant of the resource and time challenges faced by probation and parole staff. The book serves as a valuable prerequisite and aid to training in the use of this effective technique for facilitating positive offender change.

Although some probation and parole staff may be unfamiliar with motivational interviewing, it is not a new approach. Motivational interviewing grew out of the substance abuse and addiction treatment fields in the 1980s. At that time, research began to show that the widely accepted confrontational approaches to dealing with addicts simply were not successful. As a result, treatment professionals began to implement strategies that recognized and encouraged autonomy, self-determination, and positive reinforcement. Their success rates began to climb. In the past 25 years, motivational interviewing has been adapted to the medical and social service fields and has now proven to be a significant tool for facilitating positive behavior change in persons with a range of addictions and others seeking to make positive changes in their lives.

This guide reminds officers that their interactions with offenders have a pivotal role in determining subsequent behavior. If criminal justice professionals rely solely on punishment and incarceration—or the threat of punishment and incarceration—they neglect the greater part of their contribution. The social and financial costs associated with repeat offender incarceration are simply too high to ignore evidence-based strategies like motivational interviewing. Treating offenders in a harsh, rigid manner may look good politically, but it does not net the results that society deserves. Deterrence may work in the short term, but empowering offenders to change will work in the long term.

The audience of the guide is intentionally broad: probation and parole officers and supervisors, juvenile officers, training directors, counselors, and others who work in adult and youth justice settings. Departments might distribute all or portions of the book as part of an orientation for new officers or before or after training in motivational interviewing, or they may simply make the guide available as a resource to those who want to improve their skills. Supervisors, in particular, may want to

use this guide to become familiar with the techniques of motivational interviewing, instruct staff in specific interviewing skills, and provide ongoing supervision and quality control.

For readers who entered the field of criminal or juvenile justice believing that people can change and wanting to have a positive impact, this book should provide hope and confidence. For those who came into the field believing that behavior change is unlikely and that the primary role of an officer is to enforce conditions of supervision through rigid monitoring and punishment, this book may offer an alternative approach to supervision. Probation and parole staff can indeed have a larger role than simply enforcing conditions; they can be the impetus for positive change that increases long-term public safety.

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COMMENTARY

Pros and Cons: Reflections on Motivational Interviewing in Correctional Settings

William Miller, Ph.D.

More than a decade ago, applications of motivational interviewing broke out of the addiction field and have been spreading into new and interesting areas: cardiovascular rehabilitation, diabetes management, family preservation, pain management, public health interventions, and the prevention of HIV infection. The most recent surge of interest, in North America at least, is coming from a field where I least expected it: the criminal justice system. We are receiving calls for training from jails and prisons, courts, probation and parole departments, community corrections, diversion and pre-release programs.

At first I was curious as to why this is happening. Now my sense is, "Why not?" I realize, too, that my own initial surprise and reluctance were based on inaccurate stereotypes. "Lock 'em up and throw away the key" is rather opposite to the perspective that we seek to promote in MI. Yet the limitations of punishment and imprisonment are apparent to no one more than to those who work in correctional systems every day. More than the vast majority, who never set foot behind bars, they know first-hand that what American society is doing is simply not working. They understand well the passionate plea made in Karl Menninger's *The Crime of Punishment.* In training probation officers this year I met a group of profoundly patient and compassionate professionals who were doing their best, not to exact society's revenge, but to change behavior. Far from media fantasies of good guys versus bad guys, they work daily with the real people who are sentenced to temporarily restricted freedom.

I am, on reflection, particularly thankful that there seems to be interest and openness to a personally respectful MI approach within criminal justice settings. "Prisoners" and "criminals" are among society's most despised and rejected members. In the name of justice, they are routinely subjected in prisons to isolation, crowding, dehumanization, humiliation, terror, drug abuse, privation, and physical and sexual violence. These conditions are widely known (even as a subject of TV comedian

monologues) and are tolerated, as if they were "good for" offenders and for society. Among nations, America has one of the world's highest rates of incarcerated citizens, ranking with the most oppressive societies; yet the building of new prisons remains a growth industry.

It reminds me of how things once were in the addiction treatment field in the United States. The boot camp atmosphere of Synanon. The in-your-face screaming of insults and obscenities. Denial busting. The hot seat, "tearing them down to build them up." The surprise confrontational meetings that could feature on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal,* as exemplary practice, a physician shouting at an executive, "Shut up and listen! Alcoholics are liars, and we don't want to hear what you have to say!" The "family week" where people were told they had the fatal disease of co-dependency by virtue of being related to an alcoholic, and that they were thereby out of touch with reality and required treatment. It seems like a bad dream now, but it was very common just two decades ago. There are far too many places where these things still occur.

Something happened in the addiction field. A punitive, moralistic, and arrogant stance that was common in U.S. treatment twenty years ago has given way to a much more respectful and collaborative approach. I'm not sure that motivational interviewing had anything to do with it, but the field's amazing receptiveness to MI is at least a reflection of this profound change. In the 1970s it was acceptable, even laudable, to abuse "alcoholics" and "drug addicts" because it was good for them, it was what they needed, the only way to get through to them. It's no surprise, given this treatment, that there arose the impression that defensiveness is a natural concomitant of substance use disorders. Something happened. In a relatively short period of time, treatment has changed.

Is it too much to hope, then, that the field of corrections could see a similarly major change in the next twenty years? Offenders are the last major group in our society whom it is generally acceptable to abuse because they "need" and "deserve" it—because it is good for them and for society, and is "the only language they can understand." All evidence to the contrary, we collectively imagine somehow that it makes them better, and makes us a safer and more just society.

What would happen if motivational interviewing became a routine part of the training of correctional workers? What if large numbers of volunteers were trained to go into prisons and listen to offenders in this way? How would it affect outcomes if offenders were generally seen as preparing for change (like those entering treatment), rather than as less-than-human cons? What if we assumed that the central purpose of correctional systems is not to enact vengeance, but to change behavior? I know it is possible. Remarkable changes sometimes happen, in people and in systems, in a relatively short period of time. There are so many points in societal justice systems where motivational interviewing could be tried. Ed Bernstein, Morris Chafetz, Damaris Rohsenow and others have offered brief empathic interventions to people in hospital emergency rooms, in the midst of crisis. What if, upon arrest, someone

besides a lawyer met with people at the police station, just to listen in an MI style? Follow them through the system: in the jail, meeting with their lawyer, pre-trial, pre-sentencing, post-sentencing, on probation, beginning and during incarceration, on work release, pre-parole, post-release, before and after the end of a term of sentence. There are so many points in the system where motivational interviewing could be done. One can imagine many obstacles and objections. Yet it is possible. Motivational interviewers belong behind bars.

Perhaps, just perhaps, in twenty years' time we will look back on today's criminal justice practices and ask in disbelief, "How could it ever have been so?" Who in the addiction field imagined, twenty years ago, that we would be looking back disapprovingly, even shamefully at the confrontational models of the 1970s? These days when I begin talks with my old slides on the confrontation-of-denial model, even U.S. audiences sometimes refuse to believe that these things would ever actually be done in practice, and they accuse me of manufacturing a straw man. Who would have believed it? The straw man is dancing!

INTRODUCTION

Motivational interviewing (MI) is an evidence-based practice that corrections professionals are now using to encourage positive behavior change in offenders. The push toward evidence-based practices is partially in response to research suggesting that effective correctional programs share similar characteristics as well as evidence from other areas that brief interactions can significantly influence offender outcomes. In this effort, MI offers an empirically supported approach for communicating with offenders about compliance and behavior change.

Whom the Guide Is For

This guide is designed to serve as an MI primer and coaching tool for probation and parole officers and supervisors. It includes background information on evidence-based practices and behavior change theory and instructions and examples for using MI in correctional settings. Most of the examples focus on probation and parole officer interactions with offenders, though many of the interviewing skills will also be useful for counselors, social workers, court officers, and others who work in youth and adult correctional settings. The guide is designed to be used as part of the initial orientation for new officers, as part of continuing education for more seasoned officers, and as a resource for any who are interested in the topic.

How the Guide Is Organized

The guide has seven chapters. Early chapters provide background on evidence-based practices and behavior change theory; later chapters give the rationale and specific instructions and examples for implementing MI as part of different interactions with probationers and parolees.

Chapter 1, "How Motivational Interviewing Fits In With Evidence-Based Practice," explains the logic of evidence-based practice, offers a brief history of the tension between the punitive and rehabilitative approaches to interacting with offenders, and explores MI's role in evidence-based practice.

Chapter 2, "How and Why People Change," illustrates the processes individuals go through before, during, and after making behavior changes. The chapter introduces the Stages of Change model and suggests factors that make change more likely.

Chapter 3, "The Motivational Interviewing Style," gives the rationale for the MI approach. It talks about the roles of empathy, resistance, discrepancy, and self-efficacy, and shows why these elements are pivotal to encouraging change.

Chapter 4, "Preparing for Change," talks about techniques that are used during the initial stages of change. The chapter shows how open and closed questions, reflections, affirmations, and summaries help establish rapport, gather information, and engage the offender in the change process.

Chapter 5, "Building Motivation for Change," suggests ways to use questions and statements strategically to build motivation for change and connect talk to action.

Chapter 6, "Navigating Tough Times: Working With Deception, Violations, and Sanctions," talks about ways to handle situations that involve deception. The chapter explains why people may lie, how to address these issues, and how to address violations and sanctions without leaving a motivational style.

Chapter 7, "From Start to Finish: Putting Motivational Interviewing Into Practice," describes strategies for using MI throughout the supervision period. The chapter details the most effective ways to incorporate MI into the initial interview, case planning, routine visits, and postviolation interviews.

Two final notes about language: In referring to persons on probation, this guide alternates between "person" and "offender." The authors recognize that these terms may fall short; "person" may not be descriptive enough while "offender" captures only the aspect of how the person entered the system. However, the authors could not identify another term that captured what we were looking for—someone who is unfolding or changing over time, while still under correctional supervision.

This guide also uses the masculine pronoun "he" to refer to offenders. The authors are, of course, aware that there are many female probationers, but because most probationers are male, early readers said that it improved readability to use a single pronoun. When referring to the probation or parole officer, or *agent*, the guide uses "he or she." Again for readability, the guide refers to "agents" when discussing the professionals who deal with offenders on a day-to-day basis. This term allows for easy distinction from "offender" in the many dialogue excerpts that illustrate MI techniques. The term "agent" also reflects that in addition to probation and parole officers, many of the skills are applicable to counselors, social workers, and others who work in the adult and youth justice systems. Where the context specifically relates to probation and parole officers, however, the term officer is used. The authors encourage readers to adapt the skills as is appropriate to the setting.

How Motivational Interviewing Fits In With Evidence-Based Practice

A probation officer receives two new cases this week. The first case, Anna, is a 27-year-old mother of two. She received a 6-month supervision period for passing bad checks. She was in trouble with the law once before. One year ago, the neighbors at her apartment complex called the police to report a domestic disturbance. When the police arrived, they found a small amount of methamphetamines. Anna's boyfriend brandished a weapon at police officers and was subsequently sentenced to 6 months in the county jail. The court dismissed Anna's case after she successfully completed a 60-day inpatient drug treatment. She currently receives public assistance and her living and employment situations are unstable. There is no evidence of recent drug use. Anna is seen as a low- to medium-risk offender.

The second case, Bill, is a 43-year-old man with a substantial history of drug use and violence. He is under supervision for driving while intoxicated (DWI) and recently served a short jail sentence for assaulting a bartender who refused to serve him. The bar and bartender have also filed a civil case against Bill for injuries and damages sustained during the assault. Bill has been in and out of various electrician jobs over the past few years and his current employment status is unclear. With the exception of a brother who lives in another state, Bill is estranged from his family. Results of a urinalysis show that he used cocaine and marijuana as recently as 1 week ago. Although Bill has been referred to several drug treatment programs, he has not had a significant period of sobriety in several years. Bill is seen as a medium- to high-risk offender because of his personal and family history of criminal behavior.

To some extent, departmental policy and assessment results will guide the supervision process. However, the probation officer will also make a number of decisions based on his or her personal beliefs about what approach will be most effective with these offenders. How will the probation officer speak to these offenders? How similarly should the two be treated? How much time will be spent on monitoring progress versus talking about rehabilitation?

What Is the Goal of Supervision?

The mission statements of most corrections agencies emphasize two main tasks: holding offenders accountable to conditions (compliance), and encouraging positive behavior change (rehabilitation). Though these two tasks may seem self-evident, a quick look at the history of corrections shows that the field has emphasized different goals at different times. These two tasks have frequently been at odds with one another, and even today, the tension between them can be hard to manage. This chapter begins with a look at the history of community corrections. It then talks about why evidence-based practice might matter to supervision staff. Finally, it explains how motivational interviewing (MI) fits in with the current goals of supervision.

What Is Evidence-Based Practice?

Criminal justice systems engage in a wide range of activities to stop offenders from committing crimes, but not all those activities are equally successful. Programs can make behavior better, worse, or have no effect. For a treatment or program to be called evidence based, its effectiveness must be substantiated by a measurable outcome (e.g., decreased recidivism, increased public safety). In corrections, evidence-based practice (EBP) refers to programs that have been shown to reduce recidivism (Andrews and Bonta, 2003; Miller, Zweben, and Johnson, 2005). EBP moves beyond the older "best practices" models that were based on the collective experience of the field in that it emphasizes the results of scientific research.

Where Did Evidence-Based Practice Come From?

Scientific evidence has not always guided correctional practices (Cullen and Gendreau, 2001). In fact, until recently, community corrections practice was most often guided by whatever approach an agent was trained in or preferred. Two issues have discouraged agents from looking closely at their interactions with offenders. First, most agents simply assumed that what they did worked, and so had little incentive to look further. Second, performance measures for correctional officers have traditionally been linked to the technical aspects of the job (e.g., writing reports, court/board appearances, collection of fees) rather than to offender outcomes. Practice results could evade attention because the agent could always blame the offender for a poor outcome.

Historically, the corrections field has taken two basic approaches to changing offender behavior (McGuire, 2002):

■ **Deterrence strategies** use negative consequences to reduce undesirable behaviors. Methods include incarceration, punitive sanctions (e.g., fines, community restraints, electronic surveillance), and "get tough" programs that teach offenders structure and discipline (e.g., boot camps, wilderness programs).

■ **Constructional strategies** emphasize reducing undesirable behavior through teaching new skills and providing opportunities to use the new skills. Methods include increasing a person's opportunities and capacity for positive actions (e.g., skills training, education, employment) or helping the person succeed at some new behavior (e.g., drug treatment).

Three major shifts in correctional philosophy have occurred over the last 100 years. During some periods, corrections professionals have emphasized deterrence strategies; during others, they have relied more on treatment and constructional strategies. No period has emphasized one strategy alone; the difference has been in the degree to which they relied on one or the other. Exhibit 1–1 summarizes the major pendulum swings in corrections (Cullen and Gendreau, 2001).

Exhibit 1–1. Pendulum Swings in Correctional Policy

Early 20th Century, 1900s–1950s: Punishment and Deterrence Strategies

1950s–Early 1970s: Treatment and Constructional Strategies

Dehumanizing and brutal prison conditions gave way to "correctional institutions" and a treatment-oriented philosophy.

A 1974 article suggested "nothing works" in offender treatment, which brought harsh measures back to crime control. Focus was solely on penalties and punishment.

Mid-1970s–1990s: Punishment and Deterrence Strategies

1990s–Present: Treatment and Constructional Strategies

"What Works" research found—

(1) Sole focus on punishment actually made recidivism worse.
(2) Meta-analysis research identified treatment principles that offered reliable reductions in recidivism.

Correctional professionals are learning and using strategies and methods for probation supervision that are studied and empirically validated through rigorous science.

Present and Beyond: Change-Focused Constructional Strategies Through Evidence-Based Practice

In the early 1900s, the corrections field began to use treatment principles after many years of dehumanizing and brutal prison conditions. A rehabilitation approach flourished in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, constructional strategies were so common that it was taken for granted that the purpose of state intervention was to rehabilitate offenders. A second pendulum swing in the mid-1970s back to punishment happened because of prisoner complaints about arbitrary probation and parole decisions and a public outcry against large increases in crime. Rehabilitation-oriented policies were blamed for much of the trouble. This position was reflected in a 1974 literature review (Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, 1975; Martinson, 1974) that suggested "nothing worked" in offender treatment. This pessimistic view began to reverberate across the field of criminology until treatment was considered synonymous with coddling offenders. The new belief was that criminals needed to be held strictly accountable for their crimes and that treatment only served to undermine personal accountability (Hollin, 2001). The sentencing landscape changed to "get tough" laws, and community corrections followed suit by moving back to surveillance and punishment models.

The third pendulum swing happened in the 1990s in response to new research findings (McGuire, 1995). A new way of summarizing studies, a meta-analysis, gave researchers a better look at rehabilitation outcomes (Cullen and Gendreau, 2000). Unlike the old-style research review, in which individual studies were basically counted up as evidence for or against a theory, a meta-analysis takes into account evidence across all studies.[1] The new analyses showed what the 1970s studies had missed. When studies were lumped together, it may have appeared that nothing worked, but it became apparent from the meta-analysis that some approaches worked while other approaches clearly did not. Outcomes were mixed, depending on the approach. In fact, many treatments reduced recidivism, some by as much as 25 to 30 percent. Most punishment-oriented programs (e.g., boot camps, wilderness programs, electronic monitoring, home incarceration), however, were not effective, and some punishment-oriented programs that lacked a treatment component actually increased recidivism (Gendreau et al., 2002; Gendreau, Little, and Goggin, 1996; Gibbs, 1986; Taxman, 1999).

Why Does Evidence-Based Practice Matter?

The new findings on effectiveness have challenged some older ideas of what people think should work. One well-publicized example is the rise and fall of correctional boot camps. Modeled after military-style boot camps, these punitive programs enjoyed a wide popularity in the 1980s and were heralded in numerous articles and press releases. Correctional boot camps were first opened for adults in 1983 and were subsequently applied to juveniles as well. The evidence for this approach was based on the belief that a disciplined military experience can change youth for the

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[1] A baseball analogy is sometimes used to illustrate the difference between the two review styles. Older reviews that simply count studies are like keeping a score of the number of baseball games during a season where a batter hit or did not hit a ball. The meta-analytic format is more like a batting average, in that it takes into account how many times a batter hit a ball relative to the number of times up per game. Thus, it is a more sophisticated way to look at information because it takes into account the treatment impact across all studies.

better. Despite the enormous popularity of these "get tough" programs, the bulk of the research has shown that they have no effect on recidivism (Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau et al., 2002; Gibbs, 1986; Taxman, 1999).

Boot camps are a good example of why intuitive beliefs can be hard to resist. Their instinctive appeal may lead to the investment of huge amounts of resources without much theory or research to back it up. Says one reviewer, "These ideas could certainly not have come out of the 25,000 or so studies published in the last 25 years in the learning and behavior modification literatures. . . . Even a casual reading of these literatures would clearly indicate that the 'get-tough' strategies . . . have no hope of reducing recidivism" (Gendreau et al., 2002). Without outcome research to indicate which programs have an impact, corrections professionals are stuck with their own intuition and "commonsense" beliefs. Few other fields would allow this. It would be unthinkable for modern doctors to discount research studies and instead rely on a commonsense approach to treating cancer, heart disease, or diabetes. In medicine, there is simply too much at stake for a doctor not to rely on current research evidence. Unfortunately, as a group of prominent criminologists notes, criminal justice is one of the few fields that still tolerates quackery and "what is done in corrections would be grounds for malpractice in medicine" (Latessa, Cullen, and Gendreau, 2002). Evidence-based practice allows agents to move beyond commonsense or "seat-of-the pants" approaches and to rely instead on empirically proven methods.

Corrections still retains some of the assumptions it inherited from the last swing of the pendulum toward punishment. Many agents were trained during the "get-tough '80s." Even those hired in the 1990s were coached and mentored by those who honed their skills in the punishment era. Because of their training, some agents have come to believe that confrontational tactics are necessary because they are the only language offenders understand. Some agents adopt an abrasive style so that offenders will know how serious their offending behavior is and to make it clear that they (the agents) cannot be taken advantage of. However, new literature that speaks directly to probation and parole officers urges agents to suspend the belief that confrontational approaches are necessary. An alternative is to take a "firm, fair, and consistent" stance where agents work to form a positive, collaborative relationship with offenders while holding them accountable for their actions (Clark, 2006).

What Are the Principles of Effective Interventions?

Research points to three main principles of effective interventions:[2]

1. **Risk**—Directing programs toward higher risk offenders.

2. **Needs**—Targeting behaviors that reduce crime.

3. **Responsivity**—Being responsive to offender style.

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[2] Treatment integrity is sometimes talked about as a fourth evidence-based principle. This means that, beyond the three principles discussed in this guide, programs should be of sufficient length, have appropriate content, and be delivered by adequately trained staff so that they can achieve their aims (Taxman and Bouffard, 2000).

These principles suggest what agents can do now to change the probability of future criminal behavior (Andrews et al., 1990; Cullen, 2002; National Institute of Corrections, 2003; Taxman, Shepardson, and Byrne, 2004).

Risk

Supervision and treatment resources should be targeted at offenders who are at a higher risk of reoffending. High-risk offenders have a greater need for positive skills and thinking strategies and thus have more room to show improvement. It is also more cost effective to invest resources in this population because high-risk offenders are more likely to commit new crimes. When supervision resources are focused on lower risk offenders, they tend to produce little or no improvement (Cullen, 2002). Pouring resources into this group may even make things worse. Assigning low-risk offenders to greater external controls and elevated treatment interventions actually increases recidivism for some offenders (Cullen, 2002). Systems that target high-risk populations with intensive supervision, smaller caseloads, and focused interventions will reap a greater "bang for the buck."

Criminogenic Needs

Interventions should target factors that predict crime and that can be changed. Some predictors of crime, such as history of criminal behavior, are "static," which means that they cannot be changed. Others, like self-control, are "dynamic," which means that they can be changed. Dynamic needs are promising targets for reducing crime and helping offenders make other positive changes. Research identifies six dynamic risk factors that have a direct link to criminal behavior and thus are ways to reduce future criminal behavior (Andrews and Bonta, 2003):[3]

1. Improved self-control.

2. Increased circle of caring.

3. Engagement in prosocial values.

4. Increased contact with prosocial "faces and places."

5. Substance abuse treatment.

6. Reconnection to primary/healthy relationships.

Improved Self-Control

People with low self-control are more likely to commit crimes. Agents can help offenders improve self-control by encouraging natural talents and interests, talking about what things worked for them in the past, and identifying and role-playing difficult situations. New brain research helps explain why these strategies work (Lipchik et al., 2005). The regions of the brain that are activated when someone

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[3] For the purposes of this guide, the authors chose to rephrase the six criminogenic needs in terms of the goal rather than the deficit. Hence, "low self-control" becomes "improved self-control" and "antisocial personality" becomes "increased circle of caring."

becomes fearful or angry override logical decisionmaking capacities. People seem to be wired to give either rational responses or upset responses, but not both at the same time. Correctional agents should not expect thoughtful decisions from angry, frustrated, or fearful persons. Instead, by listening and focusing on positive aspects of the offender's life, an agent can create an atmosphere that improves self-control and promotes rational decisionmaking.

Increased Circle of Caring

People who hold antisocial attitudes are less concerned about how their actions affect others. However, most offenders do have a small circle of people who are important to them. It is not that most offenders are totally unconcerned about others, but that their circle of caring is too small. Although an offender may care deeply about family members or gang friends, the circle of caring does not extend outside this small group. One way to address this is through connecting the offender to other parts of the community through employment, faith communities, and other types of civic participation. Another method, the "helper principle," works to identify ways an offender can give to others, such as through volunteering or mentoring (Maruna and LeBel, 2003; Toch, 2000).

Engagement in Prosocial Values

A small circle of caring affects personal values. An offender may disassociate himself from the larger community and instead take on the antisocial values of a small group. Programs for engaging prosocial values include those that focus on increasing empathy and concern for others. An offender may also have ideas about people who have been positive influences in the past. As discussed in the next chapter, the focus should be on modeling prosocial behaviors and drawing out the offender's own resources and strengths whenever possible.

Changing Peer Groups To Include Prosocial Faces and Places

Peer groups affect behavior; thus, criminal friends increase the likelihood of further criminal behavior. Borrowing from alcohol and drug recovery programs, agents encourage offenders to change "playgrounds and playmates" and advise alcoholics to stay away from "wet faces and wet places." Many of the strategies for increasing the circle of caring and engaging prosocial values are also helpful for increasing contact with prosocial faces and places.

Substance Abuse Treatment

The relationship between substance abuse and criminal behavior is complex. Offenders may commit crimes while under the influence or to support a drug habit, and many forms of substance use are themselves illegal. The good news is that mandated alcohol and drug treatment is effective for a large percentage of clients (Brecht, Anglin, and Jung-Chi, 1993; Miller and Flaherty, 2000). However, one factor that influences treatment success is the extent to which offenders are prepared by agents to enter a program. For instance, a brief motivational interview before an

outpatient or inpatient program significantly improves treatment outcome (Bien, Miller, and Boroughs, 1993; Brown and Miller, 1993). Thus, an agent potentially has a large role in improving an offender's success in substance abuse treatment (Taxman, 1999).

Reconnection to Primary/Healthy Relationships

Family history has a strong impact on criminal behavior. Family members may have had substance abuse problems, encouraged antisocial values, or modeled criminal behavior. Many offenders have had few positive role models. Ruptures in primary relationships also may have eliminated potential helpers from offenders' lives. Agents can help identify positive friends and family members and encourage offenders to reconnect with these positive influences. Though corrections has not often included families in the rehabilitation process, engaging family and friends who can act as positive influences in the process can have a number of benefits (see *www. familyjustice.org* for one example).

Responsivity

General responsivity means being responsive to or targeting the known predictors of recidivism (i.e., the six criminogenic needs listed in the previous section). General responsivity suggests that agents use cognitive behavioral, social learning, and other evidence-based strategies to address dynamic criminogenic needs (Andrews and Bonta, 2003). Several large research studies have shown that approaches that use techniques such as modeling and practice of positive behaviors, providing resources and referrals, and giving feedback on performance tend to address these needs better. For optimal learning, positive feedback should outweigh negative feedback by a 4 to 1 ratio (Cullen, 2002). Most of the suggestions in this guide also fit into the category of general responsivity.

Specific responsivity means that interventions will be more effective if they are tailored to the needs of the individual (Taxman, Shepardson, and Byrne, 2004). The adage, "Different strokes for different folks," applies here. The following three questions can guide an agent in tailoring an interaction to the needs of a given offender:

- How ready is this person to change this behavior?

- Why might this person want to change this behavior?

- What kind of interaction will be most effective with this person?

How Ready Is This Person To Change This Behavior?

One way to tailor interactions is to consider the offender's readiness for change at the intake or case planning stage. Offenders in the earlier stages of change (see chapter 2) do not yet see the behavior as a problem. Thus, agents may need to gear interactions and referrals to raise awareness and build motivation for change. In contrast, offenders who have progressed in their motivation may need help increasing their cognitive and behavioral skills to help translate desire into action. It is also

important to understand that an offender may vary significantly in his motivational attitude, depending on the behavior to be modified. Thus, an offender may want help with job training while believing that his drug use is not a problem. This motivational profile may complicate interactions, but the basic principle remains that in the offender's mind, the two issues are separate. For this reason, chapter 5 suggests ways to meet offenders where they are in their thinking about different behaviors.

Why Might This Person Want To Change This Behavior?

A second way to tailor interactions is to consider the person's interests and priorities. For instance, one offender might be motivated to seek drug treatment because of the effect of drugs on his family, another might be motivated because of the financial or health consequences, and yet another might be motivated because of legal pressure. Chapter 2 suggests some properties of change that are generally more attractive, such as beliefs about personal control, competence, and relatedness, but individuals may have their own ideas about what benefits are most attractive to them. Many times, simply listening to what an offender talks about first or most often can give a clue as to what he finds important. In other instances, a simple question like "If you decided to do this, how would that make things better for you?" can help determine what reasons this person might have for taking action.

What Kind of Interaction Will Be Most Effective With This Person?

A final way to tailor interactions with offenders is to consider capabilities such as learning style and intelligence. Some individuals learn well from written material, whereas others need a more hands-on approach. Offenders with co-occurring disorders might benefit from visual aids, more frequent meetings, tangible rewards, or a reminder phone call.[4] Taxman, Shepardson, and Byrne's *Tools of the Trade: A Guide to Incorporating Science Into Practice* 2004; (available at *www.nicic.org/ Library/020095)* offers a number of additional suggestions for matching services to offender responsivity. With a base of general responsivity, specific responsivity is a way to fine-tune meetings to the individual.

How Does Motivational Interviewing Fit In With Evidence-Based Practice?

Evidence-based practice highlights the important role that agents have in offender outcome. In the past, rehabilitation was primarily the domain of mental health professionals, but EBP emphasizes that frontline staff, such as probation and parole officers, also have the opportunity to influence the change process. For example, officers conduct assessments, meet regularly with offenders, determine to which programs offenders are referred, and can speak with offenders in ways that motivate change. EBP elevates the officer's role from that of a mere observer and reporter of

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[4] In treatment planning, it may also be important to take into account individual demographic factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, and history of trauma, although less information is available on exactly how to match interventions to clients based on these variables.

compliance to that of a professional—someone who has specialized skills to influence positive behavior change.

Much has been written about the first two principles of effective practice—risks and needs—but much less information is available about ways to access offender responsivity (National Institute of Corrections, 2003). Discussions of responsivity have focused mainly on matching programs to offender learning styles and intelligence. However, even if an agent does a good job matching an offender's learning style and intelligence to specific programs, the offender may not be ready to engage in these programs. Because the system requires participation from the start, agents need to be able to motivate offenders to take action. Motivational interviewing provides a basis for carrying out the principle of responsivity by suggesting a style of communication that makes it more likely that offenders will listen, will be engaged in the process, and will be more ready to make changes.

K E Y   P O I N T S

- Build collaborative relationships that both motivate and hold offenders accountable for their actions.

- Target supervision and treatment resources to offenders who are at a higher risk of reoffending.

- Target factors that predict crime and that can be changed.

- Help improve the offender's self-control by encouraging natural talents and interests, talking about what worked for an offender in the past, and identifying and role-playing difficult situations.

- Enlarge the offender's connections to other parts of the community through employment, faith communities, and other types of civic participation.

- Encourage an offender to change "playgrounds and playmates"—that is, to stay away from criminal friends and criminal behaviors.

- Tailor interactions and interventions to offender characteristics such as motivation, learning style, and intelligence.

- MI is the foundation for working with offender responsivity. It suggests questions and statements that make it more likely that offenders will think, talk, and act in a positive direction.

How and Why People Change

Chapter 1 talked about some principles of good correctional practice. This chapter talks about how and why people change and shows how correctional agents can use this knowledge to engage offenders in the change process.

Old Assumptions About Motivation

Historically, motivation has been treated as a fixed personal characteristic. That is, an offender showed a certain amount of motivation and if that amount was too low—or until he was ready to change—the agent could do little to influence the offender's outcomes. Under this model, the supervising agent acted as an enforcer of a legal contract but not necessarily as an active participant in the change process. One agent describes his role as follows:

> The defendant receives supervision in lieu of jail. In our initial meeting, and throughout our work together, I tell the defendant what is expected of him and make it clear what the penalties will be should he fail to comply. We have regular meetings to verify that he is making progress on his conditions and I answer any questions he might have. If he breaks the law or shows poor progress on his conditions, I see to it that appropriate sanctions are assessed. Throughout the process, he is well aware of the behavior that might send him to jail, and if he ends up there, it's his own behavior that gets him there.

Reflected in this statement is an agent who believes he or she is essentially cut out of the change process, except as an observer. Further, agents often judged an offender's potential to change according to the following criteria:

- **Agreement with the agent's views.** It is better if an offender agrees with the official views of why he has become involved with the criminal justice system, including the arrest report and the court's/board's judgment. The agent also hopes the offender will recognize the "wrongness" of his offending behavior and express an early desire to reform.

- **Acceptance of a diagnosis.** It is better if the offender accepts a mental health diagnosis given to him by a formal assessment, such as "alcoholism," "major depression," or "problems with anger management."

- **Showing distress.** It is better if the offender regrets having to go through the legal process of arrest, detention, court/board appearance(s), and supervision. Distress is a sign that the offender is taking the process seriously.

Based on early indicators like these, agents sometimes decided who was likely to succeed while under supervision. Agents were willing to work with those who seemed ready to commit to a program of change, but tended to dismiss those who were uncooperative as destined to fail.

Even though many agents claim to have a kind of "radar" about forecasting future behavior, research shows that guesses about who will succeed under supervision based on the offender's initial presentation are rarely reliable. In general, assumptions like the ones above have only a small effect on eventual outcomes (Miller, 1985). The larger determinants of outcome are yet to come. Agents do not have to wait around for an offender to "get motivated." They have many ways to raise motivation, even if an offender seems very unmotivated to begin with.

New Findings on Motivation

Although compliance is one marker of success, the larger goal of supervision involves more than just having offenders "do what they're told." Compliance does not equal change. Consider two offenders who agree to complete an anger management class: One agrees because he wants to avoid jail; the other agrees because he is concerned that his angry outbursts are affecting his marriage. Both offenders may be compliant, but the second is more likely to make changes that reduce the probability of future criminal behavior. Offenders make choices that affect the safety of their families and communities. Thus, it is important not only that they successfully complete supervision, but also that they make changes that will help them integrate into mainstream society after supervision.

Short-term compliance is, of course, one part of corrections. But the drawback of using punishment to gain compliance is that it may take the focus off long-term change. In fact, the threat of punishment mostly teaches people how to avoid being punished in the future (Skinner, 1953). Change can occur for external reasons, but it is often weak and short lived (Ryan and Deci, 2000). If the goal is to encourage long-term behavior change, agents need to be able to use techniques that access internal motivation for change, rather than those that rely solely on external pressure. Exhibit 2–1 illustrates some of the markers that help determine whether an interaction moves the offender toward change. Offenders who are more ready for change are thinking about, talking about, and exploring the possibility of change.

Motivation is a good predictor of outcome (DiClemente, Bellino, and Neavins, 1999), and its role in criminal justice is becoming increasingly emphasized in research and practice (Clark et al., 2006; Mann, Ginsburg, and Weekes, 2002). We know, for instance, that:

Exhibit 2–1. Short-Term Markers of Long-Term Change

```
Less                    Decreased           Raised                Increased
receptive               desire to           awareness             desire to
to future    Decides    change                       Problem      change
attempts     it's not a            No                 recognition
             problem              awareness,
                                  interest

    ↓           ↓          ↓         ↓         ↓          ↓           ↓

◄══════════════════════════════╗  ╔═══════════════════════════════►
     AGAINST CHANGE             ║  ║     TOWARD CHANGE
◄══════════════════════════════╝  ╚═══════════════════════════════►

    ↑           ↑                     ↑          ↑

Increases    Makes verbal         Makes verbal    Changes
offending    commitments          arguments in    behavior
behavior     against              support of
             change               change
```
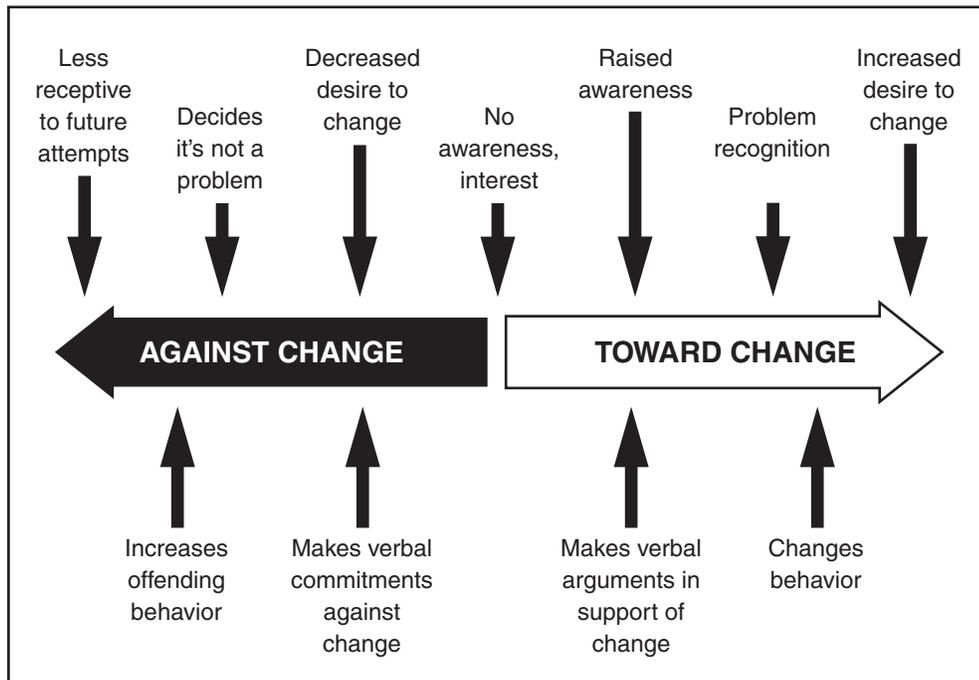
- **Motivation predicts action.** Motivation predicts how likely a person is to initiate and carry through with an action. Motivation is not a guarantee, but it does increase the likelihood of an action.

- **Motivation is behavior specific.** To talk about offenders as "unmotivated" in a global sense misses the point that people have different responses to different behaviors. For instance, an offender may be ready to attend marital counseling (because he thinks it would help his relationship) and pay fees (because it seems easy), but not be ready at all to attend a substance abuse evaluation (because he thinks he does not have a problem). Because people feel different about different behaviors, each behavior may need to be addressed separately.

- **Motivation is changeable.** Motivation is not a fixed trait like height or eye color; it can be increased or decreased. People frequently make changes after a significant event like a birth, marriage, or death of a loved one. Many young offenders simply mature out of criminal behavior. For others, even small events like a conversation with a friend or counselor can have an impact.

- **Motivation is interactive.** Talking with the agent can raise or lower the offender's motivation and guide what the offender talks and thinks about.

- **Motivation can be affected by both internal and external factors, but internally motivated change usually lasts longer.** Internal factors include how actions fit with personal values or goals ("How important is this change to me?") and beliefs about competence ("Am I going to be able to make this change?").

In corrections, internal and external forces work together to facilitate change. Because correctional agents work with a mandated population, change might begin because of external pressure (e.g., conditions of supervision), but later might be continued for internal reasons (e.g., the offender sees personal benefits). Agents can choose to emphasize short-term compliance as the primary goal, or they can choose to use strategies that help offenders make long-term progress.

How People Change

The "Stages of Change" model, originally developed to explain how people quit smoking, is one way to think about behavior change (Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross, 1992; Prochaska and Levesque, 2002). According to this model, for most people, change is a process that unfolds over time. People can range from having no interest in making changes (precontemplation), to having some awareness or mixed feelings about change (contemplation), to preparing for change (preparation), to having recently begun to make changes (action), to maintaining changes over time (maintenance). Offenders in the earlier stages are less interested in change and may feel more coerced into acting, whereas offenders in the later stages are more interested in change for their own reasons. Exhibit 2–2 illustrates the stages of change, and exhibit 2–3 describes the stages in more detail.

In criminal justice, three major forces move people through the stages (Prochaska and Levesque, 2002). The first force is developmental. Criminality tends to decline with age. Most young people mature out of criminality, and so, to some extent, time is on the side of prosocial behavior change. The second force is environmental. Many times a personal event, such as the birth of a child, an illness, or a new friendship, will change a person's thinking about a behavior and motivate him or her to take action. The third force involves system efforts like legal sanctions, rehabilitation efforts, and interactions with agents. When considering the agent's role in the process, some principles of communication (which are discussed in chapters 3 and beyond) seem to work well throughout the process.

Exhibit 2–3 lists strategies that tend to be helpful at each of these three stages. The Stages of Change model can make interactions more efficient because it suggests

Exhibit 2–2. The Stages of Change
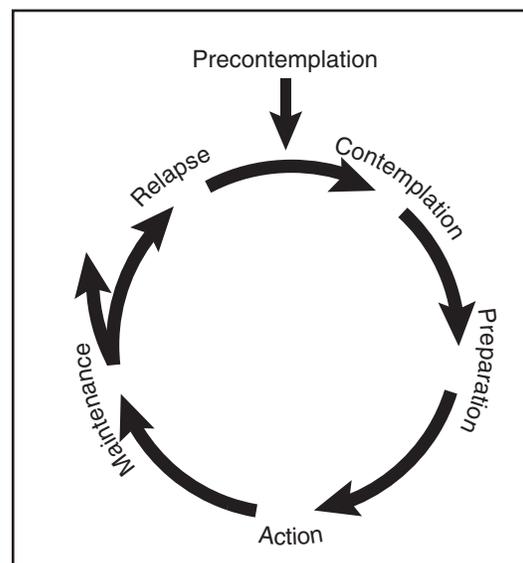
Source: Velasquez et al., 2001; adapted from Miller and Rollnick, 1991, 2002.

Exhibit 2–3. Issues and Strategies in the Stages of Change

Stage	Issues	Strategies
Precontemplation	*"Nothing needs to change."* Not considering change. Either avoids thinking about change or has decided that benefits of current behavior outweigh costs. May appear as denial or rationalization.	■ Build rapport and trust. ■ Increase problem awareness; raise sense of importance of change.
Contemplation	*"I am considering change."* Thinks there may be a problem, but has not decided what to do about it. May appear as ambivalence or mixed feelings.	■ Acknowledge ambivalence (mixed feelings) about change. ■ Explore discrepancy between present behavior and personal values or goals. ■ Discuss pros and cons of change. ■ Talk about ways to "experiment" with change.
Preparation	*"I am figuring out how to change."* Preparing to change by making small initial steps. Attitude may improve with a plan of action. May begin to ask questions about planning or how others have done it.	■ Build confidence. ■ Talk about timing of change. ■ Present information, options, and advice. ■ Resist the urge to push; stay at the offender's pace.
Action	*"I'm working on reaching my goals."* Actively making changes. May have found ways to manage urges or triggers that would lead back into problem behavior(s).	■ Offer planning assistance. ■ Support and encourage efforts to change. ■ Develop reachable goals and monitor progress. ■ Help develop plans to maintain behavior over time.
Maintenance	*"I've made my changes. Now I have to keep it up."* Maintaining changes over time. Developing ways to manage problems and stressors. Momentary slips are followed by remorse and renewed efforts.	■ Support and encourage behavior change. ■ Talk about possible trouble spots and develop plans to manage relapse triggers.
Relapse	*"I've fallen back. Now all is lost."* Has a slip and revisits the problem behavior. May appear as anger, demoralization, or denial of the behavior. Most reenter an earlier stage having learned something from the relapse.	■ Address relapse, but do not add to feelings of shame. ■ Assess and discuss what went wrong. ■ Raise importance or confidence for another attempt.

material to concentrate on and material to avoid. For instance, if a person is already making changes, the agent can lose ground by going over what has already been covered. On the other hand, if a person is not yet interested in change, the agent can waste time by giving advice and suggestions to someone who is not yet convinced that he needs or wants to change.

Looking at change in this way leads to four insights:

1. **Change tends to be a process.** Some people change quickly after a specific event (e.g., sudden insight, epiphany), but for most people, change is more complex. People may need to get information, weigh the pros and cons, and experiment with change before making a serious attempt to change.

2. **The stages suggest what kind of approach is most likely to help a person become more motivated.** When dealing with someone who is not ready to take action, the main goal may be to prepare that person for change. In the earlier stages, the goal is to raise the offender's awareness of the need for change. Someone in the middle stages of change may need help with planning or the timing of the change. In the later stages, suggestions and assistance with problem solving can be more helpful.

3. **Relapse is part of the cycle for many people.** In areas like dieting or quitting smoking or drinking, most people make several attempts before the change seems to stick. The same may be true for people under supervision. Change is a trial-and-error process for most people.

4. **Although the agent would like to see an offender move through all of the stages of change, a more practical goal during an individual reporting session may only be to raise motivation a little.** For instance, the goal of an early reporting session might be to inform the offender about the expectations of supervision and help him weigh the pros and cons of compliance, whereas the goal of a later session might be to encourage and assist in long-range planning.

Why People Change

The Stages of Change model describes how people change, but it does not tell us why people change. We tend to assume that people weigh the pros and cons of their actions in a more or less rational manner before acting and that this pushes them through the stages. This logic was behind many of the "rational choice" approaches of the 1980s. If penalties were stiffer (e.g., longer jail terms, three-strikes laws), people would be less likely to commit crimes. Unfortunately, this logic does not always hold; people don't always consider the consequences before they act. For example, someone might decide that the immediate benefits of feeling good outweigh the future possibility of jail time.

A second idea that has been revised in recent years is the belief that in correctional settings, change must be externally imposed. After all, the logic goes, if an offender

wanted to change on his own, he would have done it already. However, behavior change, even in corrections, arises from a mix of influences both from within the person (e.g., values, goals, sense of accomplishment) and from outside the person (e.g., threats, incentives, interpersonal pressure). In a study of clients entering alcohol treatment, 35 percent of court-mandated clients said that they did not feel they were being coerced into treatment; they felt they were doing it for their own reasons (Wild, Newton-Taylor, and Alletto, 1998). Conversely, among a group of self-referred clients, 37 percent felt that they were being coerced into treatment. These findings show that a considerable range of interests and goals exists even within groups of people who "have to" and people who "volunteer to" enter into treatment.

Why do some people make changes gladly, while others drag their feet and put in only the minimum amount of work? Self Determination Theory (SDT) gives us some insight into the conditions under which people make changes that stick over time (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Ginsburg et al., 2002; Markland et al., 2005; Ryan and Deci, 2000). SDT first assumes a motivational continuum (exhibit 2–4). As with the Stages of Change, people can range from having no interest in change to being very interested in change. People on the lower end of the continuum may have only external reasons for change, such as the threat of legal sanctions, whereas people on the upper end may also have internal reasons such as family, health, or a feeling of accomplishment.

Exhibit 2–4. Motivational Continuum

1 10

| Not Ready | Unsure | Very Ready |
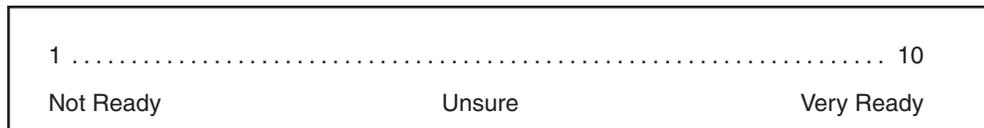
When people make changes for internal reasons, they try harder, are more satisfied, and stick with the changes longer than when they make changes for external reasons. In a treatment study that measured perceptions about internal and external motivation, the clients with the best outcomes were those who reported both a high degree of external pressure and significant internal reasons for wanting to succeed (Ryan, Plant, and O'Malley, 1995). Success was associated with both a high degree of internal motivation and a high degree of legal pressure, but externally motivated subjects had positive long-term outcomes only when they also had high levels of internal motivation. This suggests that people's perceptions about what is driving the change play a big part in the outcome. All changes are not created equally; the more a person owns the reasons for change, the more likely he or she is to succeed.

Of course, external coercion is a part of the criminal justice system. Studies have shown, however, that a person's perception of what is prompting the change is more important than what is actually prompting the change. According to SDT, agents can increase internal motivation for change by addressing three basic factors: autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

- **Autonomy.** Autonomy is an individual's perception of himself or herself as the determining agent of an action ("I chose to do this"). When people think that they are making changes for their own reasons, they work harder and are more likely to stick with the new behaviors. In fact, too much coercion can undermine internal motivation because it makes people feel they are being manipulated, which in turn makes them less likely to change (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Agents can help offenders build autonomy by acknowledging reluctance, providing options, and emphasizing personal choice. The agent may not be able to negotiate whether or not an offender complies with the supervision conditions, but he or she can frequently negotiate how and when the offender complies. This makes the offender feel that the decision to comply is under his control.

- **Competence.** Competence involves beliefs about confidence ("I can do this"). To change, a person needs to believe that change is both important and possible. Consider an offender who has been stealing to support his family. Even if the offender wants to change his behavior, he might have doubts about whether he would be able to hold a job or support his family on a lesser income. Many offenders come from backgrounds where expectations are low and examples of prosocial behavior are hard to find. Helping the offender set realistic goals, talking about personal strengths, and giving positive feedback on small successes (rather than focusing only on what the offender has not accomplished) can increase his sense of competence. In fact, encouragement from the agent may be the only positive feedback some offenders receive.

- **Relatedness.** Change is more likely when people are available to support the offender. This condition of relatedness gives a powerful explanation of why people sometimes act against their own self-interest (Deci and Ryan, 1985). For better or worse, people tend to behave like those with whom they associate. For instance, a youth offender might violate a curfew or rob a liquor store because it fits with the values of his peer group. Conversely, someone else might work two jobs, save money, or give up drinking because it is meaningful to his mother. These individuals engage in these behaviors because they are meaningful to others to whom they feel connected.

Relatedness also includes the relationship between an agent and offender. Agents can clarify their roles, model prosocial behavior, and help offenders develop problem-solving skills. A good working relationship will make interactions more efficient and effective (Ward and Brown, 2004). Meta-analyses show that the provider-client relationship plays a large role in client outcome (Hubble, Duncan, and Miller, 1999; Wampold et al., 1997). A critical finding drawn from more than 1,000 research studies concludes: "Putting this all into perspective, the amount of change attributable to the relationship is about seven times that of the amount attributable to a specific model or technique" (Hubble, Duncan, and Miller, 1999).

Although SDT does not totally explain why people change behavior, it provides certain clues as to when change is more likely to occur. Offenders who have internal reasons to change, who feel confident about the new behaviors, and who have others to support and encourage them are more likely to make positive, lasting changes. Conversely, offenders who feel coerced, manipulated, or unsupported may make superficial changes, but more often than not, their old behaviors reappear quickly after the external contingencies are removed.

KEY POINTS

■ Motivation predicts behavior and is changeable. An agent can do a lot to increase (or decrease) an offender's motivation to change.

■ Both internal and external factors can affect motivation, but internally motivated change usually lasts longer.

■ The Stages of Change model describes the process people go through in thinking about change.

■ People change when a new action or behavior is more in line with their personal beliefs or values. Each person is motivated to change by unique factors.

■ Agents can support an offender's internal motivation to change by highlighting autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

The Motivational Interviewing Style

Motivational interviewing (MI) is a way of talking with offenders to build their internal motivation for change. MI suggests ways to use questions and statements strategically to make it more likely offenders will talk in a positive direction. This chapter covers the logic behind the MI approach, including its basic principles, assumptions, and thoughts about how MI facilitates change.

What Is Motivational Interviewing?

MI arose during the 1980s from alcohol counseling research. This research began to suggest that certain types of brief counseling interactions could be as effective as more lengthy interventions and that a certain kind of provider style was better at eliciting change. Two recent reviews of more than 70 MI outcome studies in different areas strongly support the effectiveness of the MI approach (Hettema, Steele, and Miller, 2005; Rubak et al., 2005). MI performed significantly better than other approaches in three out of four published research studies, and outperformed traditional advice-giving 80 percent of the time. Even when looking at single encounters of 15 minutes or less, 64 percent of studies showed a lasting effect using this method.

MI is a person-centered method of fostering change by helping a person explore and resolve ambivalence (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). Rather than using external pressure, MI looks for ways to access internal motivation for change. It borrows from client-centered counseling in its emphasis on empathy, optimism, and respect for client choice (Rogers, 1961). MI also draws from self-perception theory, which says that a person becomes more or less committed to an action based on the verbal stance he or she takes (Bem, 1972). Thus, an offender who talks about the benefits of change is more likely to make that change, whereas an offender who argues and defends the status quo is more likely to continue his present behavior. Finally, MI is logically connected to the Stages of Change model discussed in chapter 2 (Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross, 1992). For most people, ambivalence—mixed feelings, hesitancy, arguments against change—is a normal part of the change process. Most offenders will have mixed feelings about quitting drugs, finding a job,

participating in treatment, and attending supervision meetings. Although MI appears to work throughout the change process, it is particularly suited to individuals who are resistant, reluctant, or in an early stage of their thinking about change.[1]

Although MI suggests some tangible strategies, it is better thought of as a style of interaction that follows these basic principles:

- **Express empathy.** Empathy is about good rapport and a positive working environment. It is an attempt to understand the offender's mindset, even though the agent may not agree with the offender's point of view. Empathy also involves an effort to draw out concerns and reasons for change from the offender, instead of relying on the agent's (or court's/board's) agenda as the sole persuasion strategy.

- **Roll with resistance.** It is normal to have mixed feelings when thinking about change. Therefore, the agent does not argue with the offender. As one writer put it, "Do not argue or debate with the client. You are not likely to change her mind through reasoning. If this approach was going to work, it would have worked by now" (Berg, 1994). Rolling with resistance means finding other ways to respond when the offender challenges the need for change.

- **Develop discrepancy.** Discrepancy is the feeling that one's current behavior is out of line with one's goals or values. Rather than telling the offender why he should change, the agent asks questions and makes statements to help the offender identify his own reasons for change.

- **Support self-efficacy.** A person is more likely to follow through with behavior he believes he has freely chosen and believes he can accomplish. Therefore, the agent remains optimistic, reminds the offender of personal strengths and past successes, and affirms all efforts toward change.

In emphasizing respect, optimism, and choice, MI clearly differs from confrontational approaches. It also differs somewhat from the helper approaches that are more prevalent in social work and counseling. MI emphasizes listening while looking for ways to guide the interaction toward positive talk.

Initially, some agents might view MI as a slow and passive process, especially as compared with the drama of direct confrontation. Some agents may worry that a quieter approach may signal to the offender that his reluctance to change his behavior is acceptable. However, the outcomes of more than 70 studies show that this is not the case. Aggressive confrontation usually pushes offenders backward in the change process.

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[1] Because they are often talked about together, MI is sometimes confused with the Stages of Change model. However, the two are not necessarily connected. Stages of Change is a theory of behavior change. MI is an intervention strategy for building motivation for change.

In the MI model, agents interact with offenders to produce positive change. Because people are more likely to make changes that they believe are personally important and that they have talked about (see exhibit 3–1), agents use questions and reflections strategically to elicit positive talk from the offender (Kear-Colwell and Pollock, 1997; Moyers, Miller, and Hendrickson, 2005).

Exhibit 3–1. Probability of Behavior Change

Officer talks about why change is important. Probationer nods head.

Probationer thinks about why change is personally important.

Probationer talks about why change is personally important.

Probationer makes verbal commitment to change.

Low   **High**

Probability of Behavior Change
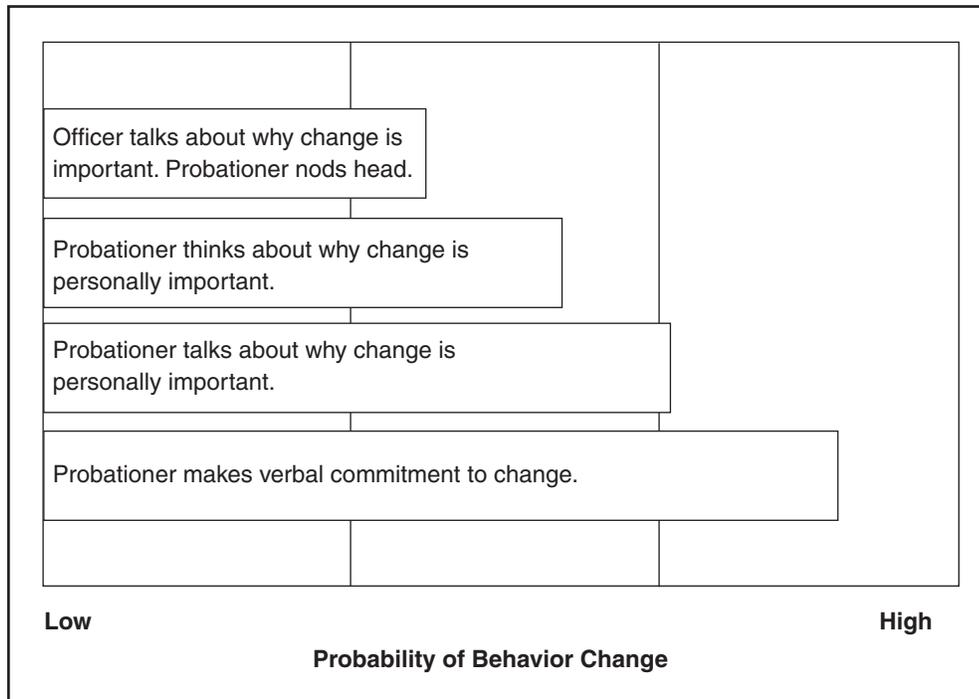
What Are the Basic Assumptions of Motivational Interviewing?

An agent's view of the nature of offenders can determine whether he or she will be able to embrace the MI style. There are three basic views of human morality. One view is that all people are basically good and will commit harmful acts only if they cannot achieve their goals through acceptable means. A second view is that most offenders are born bad and that antisocial acts are part of their basic nature. This view can lead to aggressive confrontation, a failure to recognize an offender's positive efforts, and negative interpretations of otherwise normal behavior. A third, balanced view assumes that offenders, like other people, are equally capable of good and bad actions and that both sides are already present in each person (Ward and Brown, 2004). Thus, working with offenders is more like "drawing out" preferred behaviors than "putting in" something offenders lack. MI assumes that all offenders are entitled to be treated with respect because of their essential worth as human beings. This is consistent with a strengths-based perspective, which holds that offenders already possess a range of talents, abilities, skills, and resources (Rapp,

1998; Saleebey, 1992) . The goal is to draw out these positive resources to help people exit the criminal justice system and improve their lives. Agents can detest the illegal behaviors but at the same time believe that every person is worthy of their best efforts.

How Does Motivational Interviewing Facilitate Change?

Given its excellent track record, interest in how MI works has increased. Research suggests that MI facilitates change by promoting three conditions (Amrhein et al., 2003; Moyers and Martin, 2006; Moyers, Miller, and Hendrickson, 2005):

- It reduces resistance.

- It raises discrepancy.

- It elicits change talk.

It Reduces Resistance

Because they view motivation as a fixed offender trait, some agents feel the best strategy is to confront denial, rationalization, and excuses directly:

- You've got a problem.

- You have to change.

- If you violate, you'll go back to jail. Is that what you want?

Other officers shy away from a heavy-handed approach, relying instead on suggestions or logical persuasion.

- Can't you see how this behavior is affecting your kids?

- Why don't you just . . . ?

- Here's how you should go about this.

Unfortunately, the evidence suggests that both of these strategies tend to make things worse, especially early on in the interaction. When confronted with external pressure, the typical response is to defend the status quo. The agent confronts and the offender resists, as shown in exhibit 3–2.

Exhibit 3–2. Agent Confrontation and Offender Resistance

Agent Confronts	Offender Resists
You've got a problem because . . .	No, I don't because . . .
Why don't you . . .	That won't work for me because . . .
If you don't you'll . . .	My friend did and he . . .

Agents can and should enforce the appropriate sanctions, but confrontation between the offender and his own issues (discrepancy) is more conducive to long-term change than confrontation between the offender and the agent (coercion). An alternative to confronting resistance directly is to reflect what the offender has said and emphasize personal responsibility. The section "Reflect What You Are Hearing or Seeing" in chapter 4 provides a number of examples of ways to respond to resistance.

It Raises Discrepancy

Some probationers enter supervision in the precontemplation stage, not thinking that they have any reason to change. Others enter supervision in the preparation or action stage, having already acknowledged the problem and needing minimal assistance to begin to change. Throughout supervision, mixed feelings are a normal part of the change process. (See "How People Change" in chapter 2.)

Officers have long been taught to see ambivalence as a classic form of denial, yet to the motivationally inclined officer, it demonstrates a reason for optimism. Rather than being a sign that a person is moving away from change, ambivalence signals that change may be on the horizon. The person is thinking about change. Ambivalence makes change possible; it is a precursor to positive behavior change.

The best interaction is one in which the probationer voices the arguments for change. First, the officer works to establish a positive and collaborative relationship with the probationer. A positive relationship creates a place in which probationers can feel comfortable talking about change. Second, the officer identifies and calls attention to the probationer's ambivalence about change. The gap between the probationer's goals or values and his current behavior creates discrepancy. This gap becomes the ground for amplifying the probationer's own reasons for change.

Everyone is motivated for something, but movement from harmful behaviors to more healthy behaviors requires the resolution of ambivalence. The balance tips to one side or the other. A small percentage of probationers have no ambivalence about their current behavior. However, the large majority of probationers will enter the supervision system with some concerns about their behavior (if only about the legal consequences). Where this discrepancy leads depends on whether an officer recognizes the discrepancy and uses it to elicit talk that leads to change.

It Elicits Change Talk

People can literally talk themselves in and out of change; hence, agents can learn to recognize the kind of talk that leads to change. The agent's speech sets the tone for the offender's speech, which, in turn, influences the ultimate outcome. An offender may come in with a certain range of readiness for change, but what the agent says makes a difference in where the offender ends up on the motivational continuum, as illustrated in exhibit 3–3.

Exhibit 3–3. Movement Along the Motivational Continuum

People come in within a certain range of motivation.
What you say influences where they end up.

Linguists have studied the speech content of motivational interviews—the actual words spoken between an agent and a client—looking for clues to predict behavior change (Amrhein et al., 2003). They divided motivational speech into five categories: desire, ability, reasons, need, and commitment language (sometimes referred to by the acronym DARN–C).

- **Desire.** Desire expresses a wish to attain or succeed:
  "I wish I could get off supervision." "I really want to get a job."

- **Ability.** Ability talks about confidence:
  "I could quit smoking pot." "I believe I could get back with my spouse. I've done it before, and it's possible."

- **Reasons.** Reasons involve a tangible incentive, motive, or rationale for change. For instance, reasons might focus on how change would make things better or how continued behavior would make things worse:
  "At least my wife would quit bugging me if I found a job." "Smoking crack really flares up my asthma."

- **Need.** Need, at least initially, may overlap with reasons. After a while, need may involve more emotion: "I've got to. I must." Need moves beyond logical reasons into urgency. Where reason says, "I should," need says, "I must."

- **Commitment.** Commitment expresses a readiness or agreement to change:
  "Five job applications? Yeah, I'll do that."

Within this model, it was not so much the frequency of the speech, but rather the quality and strength of the language that predicted who was and was not successful. The first four kinds of speech (i.e., "DARN") moved people toward change, but commitment speech sealed the deal. Exhibit 3–4 shows the flow of talk that best predicts later change. Speech about desire, ability, reasons, and need lead to commitment talk, which leads to change in behavior. "I'll try" is a weak statement as compared to "I will," which conveys much more strength of commitment. A wise trade would exchange five "I'll try"s for one "I will."

Exhibit 3–4. Flow of Change Talk

Although chapters 5 and 6 talk more directly about ways to draw out the kind of talk that leads to change, this chapter has hinted at three principles:

1. **Because offender speech is a predictor of outcome, agents should encourage offenders to talk about why and how they might change.** Ideally, the agent should talk only as much as is necessary to keep the offender talking in a positive direction. Offender speech is a good predictor of later change.

2. **Agents should avoid arguing with offenders.** Aggressive persuasion and confrontation tend to make a person more resistant, thereby decreasing DARN–C talk. If confronted in a heavy-handed style, an offender is more likely to argue with the agent and defend his current behavior.

3. **Agents should ask questions that elicit the kind of talk they want to hear.** The offender speaks about his interests and motivation, and the agent keeps track of what might motivate this person in order to direct the conversation better.

For Whom Is Motivational Interviewing Best Suited?

MI is an evidence-based practice: that is, good evidence exists that MI works well as the preferred style for talking about change. However, less information is available about who is more or less likely to benefit from MI. The approach has a good track record in studies with schizophrenic, depressed, and antisocial clients and others with relatively low cognitive functioning (Hettema, Steele, and Miller, 2005; Project MATCH Research Group, 1998; Rubak et al., 2005). Recent findings from large alcohol and drug treatment studies suggest that MI may work particularly well with people who are early in the change process and those who are angrier or more resistant to change (Project MATCH Research Group, 1997, 1998). It may seem obvious that for people in the early stages of change, the goal is to increase motivation. For those in the later stages of change, the goal is not to motivate, but to encourage and support continued efforts. The finding about resistance may make less intuitive sense. However, research has shown clearly that the more resistant the client, the better MI seems to work as compared with other approaches.

The available research on the use of MI both in criminal justice settings and in other contexts suggests that MI can work for a wide range of offenders. MI has been shown to be useful for increasing motivation for some observable behaviors, such

as paying fees, finding a job, or engaging in alcohol or drug treatment (Ginsburg et al., 2002; Harper and Hardy, 2000; Vivian-Byrne, 2004), MI also has an excellent track record in preparing people to engage in alcohol and drug treatment programs (Baker et al., 2002; Daley et al, 1998; Miller, Meyers, and Tonigan, 1999). It also has been well validated with adolescent substance abusers (Dunn et al., 2004; Erickson, Gerstle, and Feldstein, 2005; Monti et al., 1999; Monti, Colby, and O'Leary, 2001; Tevyaw and Monti, 2004). Although there are published accounts of the use of MI with sex offenders and other character-disordered persons (Berk, Berk, and Castle, 2004; Easton, Swan, and Sinha, 2000; Mann and Rollnick, 1996; Marques et al., 1999), less information is available about whether or how MI might need to be modified for use with these populations.

Because MI relies on cognition and communication, the interviewee must be reasonably verbal and capable of abstract thinking for this approach to work effectively. Using MI with persons with co-occurring mental illness or more limited cognitive functioning may require modifications to the basic MI skill set, such as simplifying questions, refining reflective listening skills, heightening affirmations, and integrating psychiatric issues into discussions (Martino et al., 2000, 2002). Taxman, Shepardson, and Byrne's *Tools of the Trade: A Guide to Incorporating Science Into Practice* (2004; available at *www.nicic.org/Library/020095*) provides other examples of issues that might be relevant to different offender types.

KEY POINTS

- MI is a client-centered, directive approach that emphasizes listening and looking for ways to direct the interaction toward positive talk.

- Mixed feelings, hesitancy, and even arguments against change are a normal part of the change process.

- Aggressive confrontation pushes offenders backward in the change process.

- MI facilitates change by reducing levels of resistance, raising discrepancy, and increasing positive change talk.

- The best interaction is one in which the offender gives the reasons for change.

- Identifying and calling attention to an offender's ambivalence can help him determine whether his behavior is in conflict with other personal values.

- Talk about desire, ability, reasons, and need leads to commitment talk, which, in turn, predicts behavior change.

CHAPTER 4

Preparing for Change

The old adage, "You can't make a person change if they don't want to," is only partially true. In fact, agents may be able to do a lot to prepare an offender to find a job, address chaotic family life, or give up substance abuse. The art lies in getting the person to want to make changes in these areas. Frequently, agents want to jump straight to problem solving. However, this ignores the fact that most people need to be prepared for change. For this reason, this chapter outlines basic strategies to prepare a person to think about change.

Four main techniques (sometimes referred to as "OARS," for open-ended questions, affirm, reflect, and summarize) help agents guide the conversation toward change. These techniques are a gas pedal for the conversation. Chapter 6 talks about ways to use these techniques strategically to steer conversations, but steering in itself is worthless unless the car is in gear and moving forward.

Ask Open-Ended Questions

Closed questions ask for yes or no responses; open-ended questions ask for longer answers or elaboration. Both kinds of questions may be useful during an interview, depending on the purpose of the question. For instance, agents may ask closed questions to gather information or document compliance:

- Have you had any contact with the victim?
- Are you making a payment today?
- Has there been any change in your residence?

Because the interactions between agents and offenders are often brief, the agent may need to move through some aspects of the interview quickly. However, if the purpose of the question is to gather detailed information or to encourage the offender to think about the answer, open-ended questions are usually better. Exhibit 4-1 illustrates the difference between the two types of questions.

Closed questions are less good at pulling out more detailed information because they merely confirm or disconfirm the interviewer's opinion. They tell the agent whether his or her guess was right or wrong, but they do not get the offender talking

Exhibit 4–1. Closed Versus Open-Ended Questions

Closed Question	Open-Ended Question
Do you feel you have a problem with alcohol?	What problems has your alcohol use caused for you?
Is it important to you to complete supervision successfully?	How important is it for you to complete supervision successfully?
Anything else?	What else?

or thinking about the answer. In contrast, open-ended questions ask for a longer, more considered response.

Consider the difference between two basic questions: "Anything else?" and "What else?" Changing a single word dramatically increases the quality of the response. The first question calls for a simple yes or no. If the question is intended to encourage the person to talk, it falls flat. In contrast, the second question sets the stage for a more detailed and thoughtful answer.

One place for open-ended questions is in the assessment portion of an interview. The following dialogue illustrates the use of open-ended questions to gather information about job history.

> **Agent:** Tell me a little about your job history. *[Open-ended question.]*
>
> **Offender:** I'm a certified pipe welder, mostly commercial stuff.
>
> **A:** How long have you been doing that? *[Closed question.]*
>
> **O:** I guess about 5 years.
>
> **A:** What other skills do you have? *[Open-ended question.]*
>
> **O:** Sometimes they call me out to operate some of the heavy equipment when people are out.
>
> **A:** So that might be a possibility again at some point. What other things have you done? *[Open-ended question.]*
>
> **O:** Well, I was a checker at a supermarket when I was younger, but you can't really support a family on that.
>
> **A:** OK, so you might be able to do supermarket work as a last resort, but it doesn't really look like a long-term solution. What are some of the things you think might get in the way of you finding the kind of job you want? *[Reflection; open-ended question.]*

O: Well, I'd probably have to pass a drug screen.

A: So if you weren't using, that would make things easier for you. What other things would you need to do to make yourself more marketable? *[Reflection; open-ended question.]*

In addition to gathering some basic information about vocational skills, the agent inserts a key question ("What things might get in the way?") to gather information and get the offender thinking about potential solutions. Open-ended questions such as the following keep a person talking—they pull out speech:

- Tell me about your drug use.

- What's that like for you?

- What was your life like before you started drinking?

- How do you want things to end up when you're done with supervision? Where do you want to be?

- What other ideas do you have? What else might work for you?

Another advantage of open-ended questions is that they encourage a person to think about what he or she is saying. The following interaction shows an agent using closed questions to try to motivate an offender to seek drug treatment. The agent uses questions to try to raise awareness of and interest in change, but phrases them in such a way that the offender instead becomes defensive. Closed questions are unlikely to produce the kind of talk the agent is looking for.

Agent: You don't think your drug use is a problem?

Offender: Not really. When I used to use, I would just do it every once in a while, and I can't see how it really hurt anything.

A: How about your kids? Don't you think that your drug use has a negative impact on them?

O: No, because they didn't see me use.

A: Even if you don't use in front of them, aren't you afraid that it might put them at risk? I mean, how can you care for your kids if you're high?

O: It doesn't really affect them. Because when I used to use a neighbor always took care of them. She just kept them overnight.

This dialogue stalls because the offender feels that the agent is using questions to trick him into entering drug treatment. He counters each question with an excuse to avoid being logically ambushed by the agent. He is thinking more about how to counter the agent's point and less about what his responses actually mean.

Open-ended questions, on the other hand, are usually better for increasing motivation—especially internal motivation—to change. Here are some examples:

- What concerns do you (does your wife, girlfriend, etc.) have about your drinking?

- How has this caused trouble for you?

- What do you think might happen if you got another positive urinalysis?

- If you did go ahead and finish the class, how would that make things better for you?

Questions like these encourage the offender to think about how his present behavior creates difficulties for him and how things would look if he changed that behavior. They help shift the balance toward action. Open-ended questions can also help a person arrive at a specific plan of action:

- There are a few things that might work for you (provide a short list). Which of these would you like to try?

- What would you like to work on first?

- Who would (or will) help you to . . . ?

- What worked for you in the past?

None of these questions is a magic bullet—a person can always shut down or refuse to answer—but they increase the probability that a person will speak and think more productively. The following example illustrates how the previous dialogue regarding drug treatment might have been different if the agent had used open-ended questions to target the offender's interest in change:

Agent: What effect do you think your drug use has on your kids? *[Open-ended question.]*

Offender: I don't really think it affects them. They're never around when I'm using.

A: You're careful to make sure that it doesn't affect them. *[Reflection, affirmation.]*

O: Well yeah, I don't want them to have to deal with what I went through as a kid.

A: What was that like? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: I had a bad time of it, with no father and a drug-using mother.

A: . . . and you want something better for your kids. *[Reflection.]*

O: Absolutely. That's no way to be raised.

A: What are you afraid might happen to the kids? I mean, what things are you worried about? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: When Joe comes over, there's always pressure to use. Even if I don't take a hit, he might. He doesn't care whether the kids are there or not, and I think it could get ugly.

A: How so? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: He gets mean and loud and somebody usually ends up calling the cops.

A: You want to make sure your kids have a better time of it than you did, and you're afraid that situations like that might place them at risk. *[Reflection.]*

The agent uses open-ended questions to help the offender think about the effects of his drug use on his children. Although the offender has not yet agreed to enter drug treatment, this conversation has been productive. The offender has provided information about what is important to him (having a safe environment for his children to grow up in), a situation he thinks is particularly risky (when Joe comes over), and more general thoughts about change (how being around drug-using friends affects his children). From here, the agent might ask about the possible benefits of entering treatment or perhaps even leave the topic for the next visit. Either way, the offender leaves the appointment with something to think about.

Unlike the agent in the first dialogue, this agent does not use heavy-handed persuasion. The offender clearly has mixed feelings about his drug use, and the agent uses questions and statements to pull out these thoughts. Also notice that the offender is doing most of the talking—another indicator of a successful interaction. Finally, the tone of the conversation leaves the door open to future conversations. In contrast to the first dialogue, the offender probably feels that the agent is looking out for his best interest and the best interests of his children.

Affirm Positive Talk and Behavior

The classic book on business management *How to Win Friends and Influence People* talks about Andrew Carnegie's reasons for picking Charles Schwab as the first president of U.S. Steel. Schwab had a remarkable way of getting things done that made him well worth his million-dollar-a-year salary. At the heart of Schwab's genius was his ability to motivate through encouragement. Schwab said, "I am anxious to praise. . . . If I like anything, I am hearty in my approbation and lavish in my praise" (Carnegie, 1998). Schwab went out of his way to recognize positive efforts.

Unfortunately, many people do just the opposite—they criticize what bothers them and stay quiet when they see something they like. Some probation and parole officers avoid praise because they believe that offenders should not be rewarded for doing what they are ordered to do. Others are reluctant to tell an offender that he is

doing well because of the chance that the offender has been lying all along. The best approach for an agent who wants to avoid being wrong is to stick with the "tough as nails" approach. However, if an agent believes that his or her role involves helping the offender change his behavior, then incentives, and especially verbal recognition, must be part of the equation. Positive statements build rapport, provide feedback, and make positive behaviors more likely (Farbring, 2002).

One kind of affirmation reinforces something the person has done or intended to do:

- Thanks for coming in on time. It helps me to keep things on track.

- You're doing nice work on your community service requirement.

- Thanks for telling me about that.

- It's clear that you have thought a lot about this.

- It seems like that will really work for you.

Another kind of affirmation calls attention to something admirable or interesting about the person:

- You care a lot about your kids and want to make sure they're safe.

- Your willingness to respond to the hard questions shows that you're really thinking about this.

- You're the kind of person who speaks up when something bothers you, and that's a real strength.

- You have a lot of leadership qualities. It's clear that people listen to you.

Some psychologists have suggested that the optimal ratio for positive behavior change is about four affirmations for every critical comment (Cullen, 2002). A less rigid rule of thumb is to use as many affirmations as possible and affirm any behavior that you want to see again. Some agents look for ways to praise things that an offender has done or intended to do, while others take time to learn about an offender's family, hobbies, and strengths so that they can show a genuine interest in his personal life.

Another affirmation strategy is to "blame" people for their successes (Clark, 1998). Rather than dwelling on failures, this involves paying special attention to personal successes. A few "how" questions can reinforce positive efforts and build confidence:

- How did you do this?

- How did you know that would work?

- You know, a lot of people under supervision never seem to get it together, but you have really found a way to make this happen. You found a job in spite of the difficulties with childcare, and are even ahead on your fees. How did you manage to do all that?

Agents may also tie affirmations to other incentives. For instance, the system may provide incentives for offenders who complete tasks on time, find jobs, pay fees, or stay out of trouble. Each time agents provide an incentive for good behavior, they increase the probability that the offender will behave that way again. Because of this, agents (and systems) should develop specific incentives for positive behavior and look for ways to reward people who are doing well. A list of incentives might include the following:

- Verbal affirmations.

- Community service credit for a general equivalency diploma (GED) or treatment.

- Travel permits.

- Fax or mail-in reporting.

- A more flexible reporting schedule, such as late-night/early-morning or front-desk reporting.

- Counting class attendance as an office visit.

- Decreasing meeting or urinalysis frequency.

- Certificates of completion or reference letters.

- Extended time to complete specific requirements.

- Early termination of supervision.

The following examples show agents commending offenders for meeting supervision conditions and suggesting ways of relaxing those conditions as appropriate:

- **Person arrives on time:**
  Thanks for showing up on time. I know it's hard for you to get here this early, and it shows that you're sticking with this.

- **Clean urinalysis (UA):**
  You have another negative UA, so I think we can go back to monthly UAs. You are doing really good work staying clean and I'm making sure to document that in my case notes. Obviously you're working hard at this, and I'm wondering what you've been doing to make sure that you stay clean. How is this different than last time?

- **Prompt payment of fees:**
  Payment? Good, I think that brings you almost up to what you owe. You always make some kind of payment, and I think that's really helping you out. In fact, you're doing well enough that it might be possible to submit a petition to reduce your community service requirement for on-time payment of fees. Is that something you'd like to look into?

Reflect What You Are Hearing or Seeing

New agents often underestimate the power of an aptly placed statement. Reflections disarm; reflections affirm; reflections guide. For these reasons, reflections are frequently a core part of counseling, negotiation, and sales techniques. For instance, in William Ury's book on business negotiation, the chief task in the opening minutes of a negotiation is to reflect and summarize what the other person is saying: "It is not enough for you to listen to the other side. They need to know that you have heard what they have said. So reflect back what you hear" (Ury, 1993). Likewise, in his bestselling book on crisis negotiation, Frederick Lanceley writes, "The negotiator works with the subject's feelings, values, lifestyles and opinions to resolve the incident. . . . It is far more effective for the negotiator to demonstrate understanding through active listening" (Lanceley, 2003).

At their core, reflections are guesses as to what an offender is saying or thinking. Reflections do not indicate agreement with the offender; rather, they tell the offender that the agent has been listening and help the offender hear what he has been saying. They may repeat or rephrase what an offender has said, summarize an emotion, or point out mixed feelings. More advanced reflections may direct the conversation by emphasizing part of what an offender has said or pointing out a connection between two statements (see chapter 5).

Two basic principles help raise the quality of reflections:

1. **Strip the statement down.** State only the most important elements of what the person has said. Avoid starting reflections with stems like, "So, what I'm hearing you say is that . . . ." or "What you're telling me is that . . . ." If the offender sounds angry, say, "It makes you angry," or simply, "You're angry." In fact, the best reflections may only be a word or two.

   o It's surprising. (You're surprised.)

   o It feels like this might be a waste of your time, and so it frustrates you.

   o It almost feels like someone is out to get you, because every time you come in, there are these new surprises.

2. **Continue the paragraph.** The best reflections do not parrot back what the offender has said. They either paraphrase what has been said or guess what would come next if the offender continued to talk. In this way, good reflections give momentum to a conversation.

   o . . . and that makes you angry.

   o It feels pretty overwhelming when you think about how you're going to get the money to pay all these fees.

   o It feels to you like there are no good options here.

The following dialogues give several examples of response strategies that incorporate different types of reflections. In the first example, the offender minimizes the issue of his drinking and does not seem motivated to change:

> **Offender:** I don't know why this is such a big deal for everyone else. All my friends drink like I do.

> **Agent 1:** It doesn't seem like that big a deal, when what you see is people basically drinking like you do. *[Repeat—allows the offender to hear what he has said; rolls with resistance.]*
>
> **Agent 2:** Others have some concerns, but it hasn't been an issue for you. *[Rephrase—allows the offender to hear what he has said; rolls with resistance.]*

In the next example, the offender expresses frustration with the lack of success in his job search:

> **Offender:** Everyone should just relax. I'm doing the best I can with trying to find a job.

> **Agent:** It makes you angry because it feels like others aren't recognizing all the efforts you've made. *[Emotive—allows the offender to hear what he has said; rolls with resistance.]*

In this example, the offender expresses skepticism about his job search:

> **Offender:** I guess it would probably help me get a job, but . . .

> **Agent:** Part of you knows that finding a job would really help you out here, but at the same time, it's hard to think about how you're going to get the kind of job you want. *[Double-sided—points out mixed feelings or a contradiction in what the offender has said.]*

In a final example, the offender discusses drinking at family get-togethers:

> **Offender:** You don't know my family. It's basically impossible not to drink when we get together.

> **Agent:** It would be difficult to be around your family and not drink. It might even mean planning ahead to see how you might be able to manage that situation. *[Agreement with a twist—calls attention to one aspect of what the offender has said, and makes it more likely that the offender will continue to talk about that element.]*

Reflections help agents avoid two common problems. First, when there is a disagreement, the agent can be tempted to debate the issue with the offender. This persuasion strategy can create a situation where the agent gives the arguments for change, while the offender gives the arguments against change. Each leaves the

interaction more convinced that he or she is right. The offender becomes convinced that change is unnecessary, and the agent becomes convinced that the offender is dragging his feet. To avoid these pitfalls, agents use reflections in two ways. The first is to roll with resistant comments instead of arguing with the offender. The second is to keep offenders talking in a particular direction to raise interest in change. The rest of this chapter talks about the first use; chapter 5 talks more about the second use.

Offenders may have conflicting feelings surrounding their behavior. An offender may recognize the negative effects of drug use on his family but, at the same time, enjoy getting high. It should not come as a surprise that an offender may feel two ways about supervision or may even be openly hostile to the idea of change. Allowing the offender to be resistant may require considerable patience on the part of the agent. Resistance is not necessarily a sign that things are going badly. Instead of confronting resistance, a more effective response is usually to reflect what the offender is saying and redirect the conversation with an open-ended question or a statement emphasizing personal responsibility.

> **Offender:** It's impossible to find a good job. Nobody wants to hire a guy with a record.

> **Agent 1:** There are lots of jobs out there, even for people on supervision. In fact, most offenders are able to find jobs. *[Confrontational—less effective.]*

> **Agent 2:** It can be much more difficult for someone on supervision to find a job, sure. How do you think you might go about that*? [Reflective—more effective.]*

> **Offender:** This is bullshit. Nobody told me I'd have to take those stupid classes. I got screwed by my lawyer.

> **Agent 1:** You're the one on supervision! These classes are designed to help you with your anger— especially the kind of anger I'm seeing now. *[Confrontational—less effective.]*

> **Agent 2:** You weren't expecting that you would have to attend these classes, and at this point it seems like a real waste of time. So maybe we can leave that for later. Here are the other things we've got to talk about . . . . Which one would you like to talk about? *[Reflective—more effective.]*

Reflections are also a good response when the agent does not know what to say. The agent is unlikely to do harm, and often can do much good, by reflecting what the offender is saying. The following dialogues present two examples of an agent restating what the offender has said and using reflections to avoid arguments over the offender's resistance to supervision conditions. In each case, the agent puts the burden for meeting those conditions back on the offender by giving him options and emphasizing his personal responsibility. In the first dialogue, the offender is surprised to learn that his supervision involves a significant amount of community service:

Offender: Community service? My lawyer didn't tell me I'd have to do that.

Agent: It's a bit of a surprise. *[Reflection—restatement.]*

O: Yeah, I don't think I should have to do that.

A: I understand that it's a surprise to you. We could certainly leave that for now, and talk about it at another meeting, and that would give you time to talk to your lawyer if you like. Would that be OK? *[Reflection—restatement; redirects conversation and gives option.]*

In the next dialogue, the offender resists making a change in his marijuana use. The agent avoids an argument by restating what the offender has said and emphasizing personal responsibility.

Offender: This whole thing is stupid. Sure, I smoke a little weed, but you're treating me like I'm some sort of addict or something.

Agent: It seems to you people might be blowing this out of proportion. *[Reflection—restatement.]*

O: Yeah, pot's not even a drug. It's all natural, it's an herb, so how can it be dangerous?

A: . . . and it doesn't seem to you like it's causing many problems. *[Reflection—continues the thought.]*

O: Yeah, everybody I know smokes. I'll be clean while I'm on supervision, but as soon as my 12 months is over, I'm going right back to smoking. They can't tell me what to do once I finish.

A: Well, of course, you have to decide what is right for you. I certainly can't tell you what to do after your supervision ends, but I do appreciate your willingness to stay clean while you're on supervision, even though it doesn't seem to you that it's a problem. *[Reflection—emphasizes personal responsibility.]*

O: Yeah, that's right. The judge is the one with the problem.

The agent does not allow the offender's irritating comments to put the agent on the defensive. The offender is already well aware of the court's/board's position, so the agent emphasizes the offender's personal responsibility given the conditions of supervision. At this moment, the offender may agree to complete a drug assessment, while still not admitting that he has a problem. Motivating the offender to complete this assessment may be a perfectly reasonable goal in a brief space of time, but at this point, a quick attitude shift is unlikely. The offender may need time to think about it.

Exhibit 4–2 presents examples of offenders' resistant comments and a few possible reflections for each. In each case, the reflections "roll with resistance" by restating the content or emotion of the comment. Reflections in these instances let the offender know that the agent has been listening. They allow the offender to save face and ultimately decrease the probability that he will continue to make similar statements.

In some instances, an agent may feel the need to confront an offender on some statement. However, the risk in using this harder approach is that it can increase resistance and close the door to more productive future conversations. Confrontational styles rarely engage people in thinking about behavior change. When offenders resist, it is usually better to back off, reflect, or try a different approach.

Although there is no hard and fast rule on what to reflect, the general principle is this: Reflect ambivalence in early interactions and emphasize change talk in later interactions. Similarly, reflect ambivalence early in an interview and emphasize change talk as the interview progresses. When in doubt, reflect what the offender is saying. (An exercise in rolling with resistance is provided at the end of this chapter.)

Exhibit 4–2. Rolling With Resistance

Offender	Agent
This whole thing is about money! All you guys want is my money.	■ It seems like maybe we care more about the money than we do your success on supervision. *[Restates offender's statement.]* ■ The whole money thing seems pretty overwhelming. *[Reflects emotion.]*
You've probably never even used drugs. How old are you anyway? I want a new officer.	■ You feel like maybe I can't understand where you're coming from. *[Reflects emotion.]* ■ We can certainly look into that if that continues to be important to you. We definitely don't want to put up any barriers to successfully completing supervision. *[Gives option.]*
I wouldn't even have to do this community service if I had a different lawyer.	■ It seems to you that things would have been different if you had had a different lawyer. *[Restates offender's statement.]* ■ Given that it is a condition of your probation, what do you what to do about that? *[Emphasizes personal responsibility.]*

Summarize What Has Been Said

A summary is a special form of reflection. Summaries remind the offender about major discussion points, the plan of action, and the offender's own reasons for taking action. Summaries are useful in two ways. If the offender slows or stops talking, summaries can act as a bridge to help him continue. Summaries may also help remind the offender what he has said or point out a connection between his statements.

In addition, summaries may allow for direction or commentary by the agent to emphasize elements or themes in what the offender has said. Summaries are also appropriate as transitions between major sections of an interview and at the end of an interview.

For instance, the following summaries make the transition between talking about payment of fees and the results of a recent urinalysis:

> **Agent:** Okay, it sounds like that will work for you. You said that you would be able to work an extra couple of hours a week, and your mom said she would be willing to set the money aside so you can get caught up on fees. I'd be glad to speak with her about that. That sounds like a good plan, and I really think it will help you out. One other thing we need to cover is the issue of the last UA. The lab results show that it came up diluted. This means that . . . .

> **Agent:** So at this point, it sounds like there's nothing we need to solve. The UA did come up dilute, but you're not reporting any use. This is the first time it's appeared this way, and I guess it's something to watch. We will definitely have to revisit this if it occurs again in the future. Since we haven't talked about this in a while, I wonder if it would be okay to spend a couple minutes talking about your past drug use, and maybe some of your reasons for wanting to stay clean now. Would that be okay?

Summaries often include such basic elements as:

- The specific problems or behaviors that were discussed.

- The offender's most important reasons for wanting to take action.

- What the plan of action will look like, including measures of success in completing the action and incentives or sanctions for completing or not completing the action.

- The date and time of the next contact.

Summaries may also help agents formulate their chronological records. A good summary shares many elements with a good chronological account. Both summarize what was said, include the offender's thoughts about motivation, and conclude with a plan of action. The following example summarizes and closes an early meeting focused on completing conditions related to anger management:

Agent: OK, so it looks like we're about out of time. We've been covering some of the conditions of your supervision. You thought that the fees would not be a problem, and we've agreed on a fee schedule. You thought it would just be easier to get the drug assessment out of the way, but at this point, you have some real mixed feelings about completing the batterer intervention class. You're aware that it's one of your conditions, but it's kind of costly, will take several weeks, and seems like it might be a waste of your time. That's certainly understandable, since it's a supervision order. We can revisit that next session if you want to take some time to think about it, and we can also talk about your community service options. I know this is a lot to cover in 20 minutes, but it I do appreciate your willingness to work with me. Is there anything else I need to know?

The next example summarizes a meeting focused on job placement:

Agent: We've talked about a couple of things today. One is catching up on your community service hours, and you thought that the parks and recreation option would work for you. Because they give double hours for weekend work, it's a way for you to get caught up quickly. As far as the employment situation, we talked about some of your other options. You thought that you would be able to put in five applications in the next 2 weeks, we talked about some options, and you have the verification forms for those. I don't want to be on your case about this—you have enough people lecturing you—except to remind you that you're approaching the end of your 90 days. If we can't verify employment, we move to weekly reporting, so that will mean that instead of reporting every month, you would report in every week. So where does this leave you?

How agents talk makes a difference in the way offenders react to the conditions of their supervision. The OARS techniques discussed above—open-ended questions, affirmations, reflections, and summaries—help gather information and set the stage for change. Although this chapter emphasizes these four techniques, the style of the interaction determines whether the techniques will work. In particular, the principles emphasized in earlier chapters—expressing empathy, rolling with resistance, developing discrepancy, and supporting self-efficacy—set the stage for a more productive interaction. Lists of questions and statements that may help in initiating and maintaining a motivational style are provided at the end of this chapter.

An Example: Good Things and Not-So-Good Things

One way to broach the subject of change is to ask an offender about the benefits and drawbacks of a behavior. The two questions can be asked of almost anyone, no matter what his or her interest in change. They are also useful when an agent does not know what to say to an offender who has taken a very strong stance against change.

- What are some of the good things about . . . ?

- What are some of the not-so-good things about . . . ?

In this example, the questions focus on drinking:

Agent: In your experience, what have been some of the good things about drinking?

Offender: I don't know, I just like it. I guess it helps me to get along with people.

A: You enjoy the social part. What else do you like about it?

O: I guess I can forget about all the bad stuff in my life. It's like I can relax and just enjoy life.

A: So, for dealing with problems. Let me write that down. What else?

O: When my wife says something that pisses me off, and the kids are screaming, it just helps to calm me.

A: It's a way to deal with angry feelings. Okay. So if those are some of the good things, how about the other side. What have been some of the not-so-good things about drinking?

O: Well, it sucks to have a DWI [driving while intoxicated] on your record.

A: The DWI is definitely an example of one of the not-so-good things. What else?

First, the agent begins with an open-ended question (usually asking about the good things first) and immediately follows with a reflection. The agent continues to ask open-ended questions (e.g., "What else?") until the offender has listed several items. Most offenders can list several items on both sides, so the agent does not stop after the first or second item. Second, the agent does not shy away from asking about the good things about drinking. This agent is comfortable with the fact that drinking, like all problem behaviors, has some positive aspects. The agent is not condoning illegal or unhealthy behavior, but rather trying to understand the dilemma from the offender's perspective. The offender remains ambivalent about drinking, seeing both pros and cons, even though not drinking may be a condition of his supervision. Similarly, a sex offender may have mixed feelings about registering as a sex offender, even though it is a condition of his supervision. Third, the agent avoids labeling the behavior or using this exercise as a way to bully the offender into change. The questions invite the offender to talk on both sides of the issue; the offender gives both sides of the argument. The list resulting from this exchange might look something like this:

Good Things About Drinking	Not-So-Good Things About Drinking
■ Get along with friends.	■ Legal trouble from DWI.
■ Get away from problems.	■ Trouble in marriage, wife nags me.
■ Helps to deal with anger.	■ Bad memories persist, increase.
	■ Health, danger.
	■ Possibility of another DWI.
	■ Hangovers, blackouts.
	■ Trouble at work.
	■ Financial cost.
	■ Bad role model for sons.

The questions can also focus on the pros and cons of change itself. For instance, an agent might ask:

- ■ What would be some of the benefits of quitting drug use?

- ■ How about some of the drawbacks about quitting drug use? What would you have to give up?

Discussing the benefits and drawbacks of change gives the offender an opportunity to think about both sides of an issue. Many offenders remain stuck in destructive behavioral patterns simply because they have never taken the time to weigh the pros and cons of their behavior. At the same time, the agent gains information with which to tailor future conversations. The benefits of change tell the agent why the offender might want to make a change, and the drawbacks tell the agent the things the offender might have to give up or find substitutes for if he did decide to change. For instance, in the example given above, the offender recognizes that quitting drinking would save him from future legal difficulties, but at the same time, he wonders how he would deal with his anger or with whom he would spend time if he did not drink.

Although this exercise is designed to prepare the offender to begin thinking about change, the agent may immediately follow up on such a conversation in one of several ways. For instance, if the list of not-so-good things is longer than the list of good things, the agent might point this out and ask the offender what he makes of this discrepancy or what the next step is:

- ■ It's interesting that your not-so-good thing list is longer than the good thing list. What do you make of that?

- ■ What's the next step here?

Another followup technique is to ask about change hypothetically (see also chapter 5). If the offender chose not to drink, how might he still get some of the perceived benefits of drinking?

Agent: So, in thinking about the anger, if you decided not to drink, how else could you deal with these feelings of anger that keep coming up? What would that look like?

For an offender who has not yet decided to take action, this kind of question allows him to think about change without having to agree that he needs or wants to change. It is a safe but still productive question. Both of these followup techniques provide a bridge for connecting these questions to a discussion centered on changing a target behavior. A conversation about the good and not-so-good things might focus on the following:

- Continued drug or alcohol use.

- Obtaining GED or stable employment.

- Obtaining counseling for a chaotic family relationship.

- Continuing to associate with drug-using peers.

- Participating in a treatment group.

- Completing a drug or alcohol evaluation (whether or not the offender feels that drugs or alcohol are a problem).

- Attending anger management classes (whether or not the offender sees anger as a problem).

- Successfully completing supervision.

Focusing questions on future behavior sidesteps the issue of innocence or guilt, which can be particularly useful when an offender denies the offending behavior (see chapter 6). For instance, if an offender denies recent drug use, he may still be willing to discuss the pros and cons of drug use when he was using. Similarly, if a sex offender denies committing the offense, talking about the pros and cons of admitting to the offense or participating in treatment may still be productive. In both of these instances, talking about the pros and cons of a behavior given the conditions of supervision creates an alternative to debating innocence or guilt.

K E Y   P O I N T S

■ Open-ended questions are better for increasing motivation—especially internal motivation—to change.

■ Positive statements build rapport, provide feedback, and make positive behaviors more likely. Agents should use as many affirmations as possible and affirm any behavior that they want to see again.

■ Reflections may repeat or rephrase what an offender has said, summarize an emotion, or point out mixed feelings. Reflections can also be used to respond when an agent does not know what to say.

■ When reflecting, state only the most important elements of what the person has said.

■ When offenders are resistant, it is usually better to back off, reflect, or try a different approach.

■ How the agent talks with offenders makes a difference in the way they react to the agent and to the conditions of their supervision. Confrontational statements that defend the court's/board's position are unlikely to persuade the offender.

■ An MI-inclined agent understands that all problem behaviors have some positive aspects and allows the offender to talk about both sides of the issue.

Exercise: Rolling With Resistance

All of the following are things a client might say. Think of two things you might say in response if you want to roll with the resistance.

You might try—

- Simple reflection (restating content in similar words).

- Paraphrased reflection (restating content in other words or inferring meaning).

- Emotive reflection (stating the emotion).

- Double-sided reflection (highlighting mixed feelings).

- Asking a hypothetical question (If you wanted to, how…?).

1. I'm not the one with the problem. If I drink, it's because my wife is always nagging me.

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. You'd drink, too, if you had a family like mine.

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. I know you're sitting there thinking that I'm an addict, but it's not like that. I just like getting high sometimes.

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. My wife is always exaggerating! I never hurt anybody when I was drinking!

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. The job isn't my problem. What I want to talk about is my son—now he's the one with the problem!

   _____

   _____

   _____

Useful Questions for Motivational Interviews

What concerns do you (does your wife, girlfriend, etc.) have?

How has . . . caused trouble for you?

What are some good things about . . . ? What are some not-so-good things about . . . ?

How would things be better for you if you made that change?

What thoughts have you had about change?

What do you think will happen if you don't . . . ?

If there were no more drugs or alcohol in the world, what do you think would replace how drugs make you feel?

If you look forward to, say, a year from now, how would you want your life to be different?

How do you want things to end up when you're done with probation? Where do you want to be?

How would that pay off for you, if you went ahead and made this change?

In what situations is it hardest for you to stay sober?

There are a few things that might work for you (provide a short list). Which of these would you like to try?

Here are some things that we need to talk about (provide a short list). Which of these would you like to talk about first?

On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it for you to change your . . . ?

On a scale of 1 to 10, how confident are you that you could change if you wanted to?

If you wanted to change, how would you go about it?

Who would (or will) help you to . . . ?

What worked for you in the past?

What would you like to work on first?

When would be a good time to start?

How could (or will) you do that?

How can you make that happen?

What can I do to help you succeed at . . .?

What else?

Useful Statements for Motivational Interviews

Thanks for coming in on time.

It feels to you that people might be blowing this out of proportion.

You don't feel like I can understand where you're coming from.

At this point, it doesn't seem that big a deal to you.

Drinking has some positive aspects for you.

It's frustrating. (You're frustrated with having to be here.)

It's difficult. (I know this must be difficult for you.)

It's hard for you. (It might be hard for you.)

I can see why you might think that.

So the thing that most concerns you is . . . .

You want to do the right thing.

That's a good idea.

I think you could do it if you really wanted to.

I think that will work for you.

Thanks for talking with me.

I appreciate your honesty.

Restatement of anything that indicates concerns about present behavior or interest in change.

Building Motivation for Change

Whereas the last chapter focused on listening skills, this chapter talks about ways to tip the motivational balance toward change. The chapter begins by presenting strategies for guiding a conversation to focus on behavior change. It then suggests ways to encourage positive talk and engage the offender in thinking about change. Finally, the chapter suggests ways to help connect talk to action.

Pick a Focus

Conversations about change are most effective when they address one or two areas at a time. Thus, it is important for the agent to decide which behaviors deserve consideration at this moment and which can be left for later. Agents must weigh issues based on their importance to the court/board as well as to the offender.

Early on, assessment results or a case plan may suggest areas of focus. For instance, a risk/needs assessment helps determine the kinds of services provided to an offender, including monitoring, placement, and specific areas of change. The following example illustrates focusing the discussion of the results of the risk/needs assessment:

> **Agent:** What we have here are the results from one of your assessments. It shows different areas that might make it easier or harder for you to successfully complete supervision. Some areas you don't have any control over. For instance, we can't change the fact that you've been convicted before or that you've had a previous probation revoked. On the other hand, some things you do have control over. Three areas that we'll be revisiting are your living situation, your marital relationship, and your circle of friends. All three of these seem to have gotten you in trouble in the past, or at least made it difficult for you to keep out of trouble. I wonder if you could tell me a little about each of these areas. For instance, I'm interested to know how your circle of friends might have caused trouble for you in the past.

Chapter 7 talks more about ways to integrate assessment and case planning into subsequent interactions. Later on, supervision progress or continued problem may determine areas of focus. In this example, the agent transitions from asking questions to talking about a substance abuse evaluation:

> **Agent:** OK, I think I have what I need for my case notes. Thanks for answering those questions. There's a couple of things I'd like to talk about today. One of your conditions requires that you complete a substance abuse evaluation in the first 90 days, and I'm concerned that you have about a month left to get that done to avoid a sanction. Would it be OK if we talked about that for a minute? Tell me this, on a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it for you to make this happen in the next week or so? *[See "question on a scale" technique later in this chapter.]*

Another way to focus is to ask the offender to set the agenda. Supervising agents cannot always negotiate "if" a person will comply with the terms of his supervision, but they can usually negotiate "how" and "why" the person will comply. In transitioning from asking questions to talking about a substance abuse evaluation, giving the offender a choice in what to talk about can be a good strategy for encouraging him to become more involved in his own plan of action:

> **Agent:** We've been working on a couple of things. One is your community service, and the second is completing this anger management class. We also need to make sure you are staying current with your fees, which will probably mean talking about how the job search is going. Which of those would you like to talk about?

Look For and Emphasize Things That Motivate

Legal sanctions may motivate some people, but in general, the power of external punishment as a motivator is overestimated. The most powerful motivators are intrinsic: family, children, friends, keeping a job, gaining the respect of others, or feeling a measure of control over life. For most people, change is an inside job.

Ask Questions That Raise Interest

Chapter 4 talked about using open-ended questions to encourage an offender to think and talk about change. The following questions, based on the DARN–C (desire, ability, reasons, needs, commitment) model discussed in chapter 3, address the offender's reasons for change:

- **Drawbacks of current behavior:**
  - What concerns do you have about your drug use?
  - What concerns does your wife have about your drug use?
  - What has your drug use cost you?

- **Benefits of change:**

  o If you went ahead and took care of that class, how would that make things better for you?

  o You talk a lot about your family. How would finding a job benefit your family?

  o How would that make things better for your kids?

- **Desire to change:**

  o How badly do you want that?

  o How does that make you feel?

  o How would that make you feel different?

- **Ability to change:**

  o How would you do that if you wanted to?

  o What would that take?

  o If you did decide to change, what makes you think you could do it?

- **Specific commitments the offender will make to change:**

  o How are you going to do that?

  o What will that look like?

  o How are you going to make sure that happens?

Because questions partially determine the offender's responses, the agent asks questions that try to elicit increased motivation and commitment to change. When talking about matters of fact, this might be considered leading, but when talking about motivation, the agent can assume that every offender has some mixed feelings regarding the desired behavior changes. The outcome is not fixed, so the agent provides every opportunity for the offender to talk and think about positive behavior change.

In guiding a conversation toward change, it is usually better to start by exploring the offender's mixed feelings. Later, it is usually better to follow up on elements that express desire to change, ability to change, or reasons for change. Once an offender has decided to take action, it can be appropriate to ask questions about commitment to change.

Follow Up on Productive Talk

A second way to keep the conversation focused on change is to emphasize productive offender statements, ignoring less productive statements unless there is a good reason to address them. Consider the following statement from a domestic violence offender:

> **Offender:** Sure, counseling would probably help us a lot. But there's no way my wife would go for it. And anyway, we can't afford it.

In this statement, the offender is saying at least three things: first, counseling might help improve their relationship; second, his wife is reluctant to participate; and third, it might be too expensive. What the officer says next determines which of these three elements the offender talks about. Of the three, the first is probably the most likely to be productive. Following up on either of the other two elements, which are negative, encourages the person to talk about barriers to change and probably will not make change more likely.

At least two options for following up on the first element are available. One option is to begin raising the offender's interest or readiness to engage in treatment; another is to talk about planning independent of desire. For instance, a question or reflection might highlight the person's desire to obtain help:

- It sounds like there are some barriers there, but it also sounds like part of you thinks that counseling would really help.

- In what ways do you think it would help?

- What problems would that solve?

Another type of question might ask about why or how he might obtain help:

> **Agent:** Let's say for a moment your wife was on board. How would you go about getting some help here? What would work for you?

Here is an example of an offender who expresses a desire for change but comes up with excuses for not changing his behavior:

> **Offender:** I want to stay clean and sober, but I can't get a job because of this court thing and so I have to live with my brother who drinks all the time.

The temptation for the agent is to answer the part that is most irritating—the suggestion that the court has ruined the probationer's job prospects and placed him at risk for relapse. However, the most productive element for increasing the probationer's interest in change is his stated desire to remain clean and sober. The agent might respond with a reflection or question that focuses on this element:

- You do want to stay clean and sober.

- How are you going to manage that?

- You really do want to do the right thing here. But given that you've been placed in a difficult position, how are you going to make sure you stay clean?

The following two dialogues present examples of how an agent can use questions and statements to draw out more productive elements in talking with offenders who are in different stages of motivation to change. In both dialogues, the agent uses

reflections and questions to shift the conversation toward change. In the first dialogue, the offender minimizes the issue of his drug use and shows little motivation to change.

> **Offender:** Sure, I smoke pot every once in a while. Everyone else is all concerned, but I don't think it's that big a deal. I mean, don't a lot of people smoke?
>
> **Agent:** So, some other people are concerned, but it doesn't seem like a big issue to you. You think that maybe they're blowing the whole thing out of proportion. *[Reflection—simple restatement of concerns.]*
>
> **O:** Yeah, I'm old enough to make my own decisions. It's not like I'm stealing or anything to buy drugs.
>
> **A:** So, who is concerned about the use? *[Open question—asks about others' concerns.]*
>
> **O:** My mom for one. But it's no big deal. She doesn't know what's going on with me anyway. And she smokes too. She's such a hypocrite.
>
> **A:** What do you think she's afraid of? *[Open question—asks for elaboration on concerns.]*

In the second dialogue, the offender has relapsed into drug use but demonstrates some interest in changing his behavior.

> **Offender:** I don't know what happened. It's just like the last time. Things are going well, and then I'm using again.
>
> **Agent:** It's almost like it sneaks up on you when you least expect it. We talked about how much you wanted to remain clean, because you recognize the negative effect on your kids. You see it. *[Reflection—restates drawbacks of use, desire to remain abstinent.]*
>
> **O:** Yeah, they see it too. It's never long before I'm using in front of them, and that's not right.
>
> **A:** You want to do right by your kids. You don't want them to have that same environment which has caused you all this trouble. *[Reflection—restates reasons for abstinence.]*
>
> **O:** There's got to be something better than this. Maybe some more of those classes or something.
>
> **A:** Maybe getting some formal treatment would help. *[Reflection—restates desire to change, adds treatment element.]*

Use Forward-Focused Questions

When talking about action, it can be more efficient to concentrate on forward-focused questions. Forward-focused questions ask what the offender could do or will do or what things will work for him. This is in contrast to backward-focused questions that ask about why the offender can't, won't, or didn't do something. The following example presents contrasting responses to backward- and forward-focused questions in following up with a domestic violence offender who must attend a drug and alcohol assessment, even though the incident did not involve alcohol.

> **Offender:** Alcohol assessment? I don't even drink! I don't have time to do that.

> **Agent 1:** Why can't you do that? *[Backward-focused question.]*

> **Agent 2:** How could you do that? *[Forward-focused question.]*

> **O:** I wasn't even drinking when it happened. Plus, it's just going to create more trouble if my wife thinks I have a drinking problem.

> **O:** Well, I guess I could go this weekend when I'm off work, but I still think the thing is a waste of time.

The first agent's question sets up the offender to give a list of barriers; the second agent's question encourages the offender to think of solutions. The second agent's question also sidesteps a debate about whether the offender has a "problem" with alcohol. This offender may agree to complete the assessment even though he still does not admit he has an alcohol problem. Motivating the offender toward this action may be a reasonable goal, given a brief space of time. Exhibit 5–1 presents a series of backward-focused questions transformed into forward-focused questions.

Exhibit 5–1. Transforming Backward-Focused to Forward-Focused Questions

Avoid Backward-Focused Questions	Try Forward-Focused Questions
I thought we agreed that you would get information on that AA group. What was the problem?	AA will probably be an important part of successfully completing supervision, so I'm wondering how we can make sure that will happen this week.
You're late with that receipt for your payment. Why didn't you bring that in?	You're late with a receipt for your payment, and I'm wondering if there's something that we can problem-solve here. How can we make sure that you get it to me this week?
Why couldn't you get a copy of that job application?	How can we make sure that I can get a copy of that application by the time we meet next week?

Although identifying obstacles is an important aspect of planning, the downside is that this tack tends to draw out excuses. This approach also increases the interaction time because the agent must revisit the issue of how the offender can or will accomplish the task. Problem solving also assumes a motivated subject; given a short amount of time, it is usually better to put the effort into building motivation and to leave the primary responsibility for problem solving with the offender.

Ask Scaled (Rather Than Yes/No) Questions

One way to structure a brief discussion about change is to ask scaled questions about different aspects of motivation—being "ready, willing, and able" (Rollnick 1998). The following questions show how these aspects relate back to specific DARN–C elements:

- **Desire (will) to change.**
  On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it for you to make a change in . . . ?

- **Ability (confidence) to change.**
  On a scale of 1 to 10, how confident are you that you could make a change in . . . ?

- **Readiness (specific commitment) to change.**
 On a scale of 1 to 10, how ready are you to make a change in . . . ?

There are two advantages to asking questions in this way. First, a scaled question captures ambivalence better than a yes/no question. A person who says, "I don't need to do anything about that" might give a two or three in response to a scaled question. Second, a scaled response is more useful for initiating a conversation about change; it assumes at least a minimal willingness to change, whereas a "yes/no" question may appear to close off the possibility of change entirely (see exhibit 5–2). To aid in case planning, use the separate importance and confidence rulers shown in exhibit 5–3 to talk about readiness to complete different mandated conditions.

Exhibit 5–2. Transforming Yes/No Questions to Scaled Questions

Avoid Yes/No (Closed) Questions	Try Scaled (Open-Ended) Questions
If you want to keep custody of your kids, you need to find a job. Isn't that what you want?	On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it to keep custody of your kids? Why is that?
Do you want to complete supervision?	On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it to you to complete supervision? Why is that? Why not a lower number?
Don't you want to do something about your drug use? Can't you see what it's doing to your family?	On a scale of 1 to 10, how ready are you to do something about the drug use? Why is that? Why not a lower number?

Exhibit 5–3. Importance and Confidence Rulers

Importance Ruler

On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it for you to make a change?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all important   Extremely important

Confidence Ruler

On a scale of 1 to 10, how confident are you that you could make a change if you wanted to?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Not at all important   Extremely important

Beyond the assessment question, some subtlety in followup questions can be helpful. If the goal is to raise interest or confidence, concentrate followup questions in a certain direction (e.g., "Why not a lower number?"). This encourages the offender to elaborate on why change is important and why he is confident that he can do it. Followup questions also provide a springboard for talking about a plan of action. If it is important to the offender, what is he willing to do to make it happen?

The steps in using importance and confidence questions look like this:

Importance questions:

- **Ask how important it is to make a change in an area.**
  On a scale from 1 to 10, how important is it for you to make a change in your . . . ?

- **Reflect the response.**
  It's pretty important (somewhat important) for you . . . .

- **Ask for elaboration.**
  Why is that? What things make it important?

- **Ask why not a lower number.**
  Why did you pick a five and not a one?

- **Ask for elaboration.**
  Tell me more about that. What else? . . . What else?

Confidence questions:

- **Ask how confident the offender is in his ability to change.**
  On a scale from 1 to 10, how confident are you that you could make a change if you wanted to?

- **Reflect the response.**
  You're pretty confident (somewhat confident, not very confident) that you could . . . .

- **Ask for elaboration.**
  Why is that? What things make you confident?

- **Ask why not a lower number.**
  Why did you pick a five and not a one?

- **Ask for elaboration.**
  Tell me more about that. What else? . . . What else?

The next dialogues present examples of followup questions to three different offender responses to scaled importance and confidence questions directed to building motivation to avoid drug use. The first dialogue presents responses to a scaled importance question:

Agent: On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it for you to stay clean?

Offender 1: A one.	**Offender 2:** About a four.	**Offender 3:** Maybe a nine.
A: OK, so it's not that important to you at this time. Let me remind you though, that it is one of your conditions of supervision. Maybe we can visit that later.	**A:** So, about in the middle. But I'm wondering, why did you say a four and not a one? So, one reason it's important is . . . . What else?	**A:** So it's very important for you to avoid using drugs. Why is that? What else?

The second dialogue presents responses to a scaled confidence question:

Agent: Using the same scale, how confident are you that you could stay clean if you wanted to?

Offender 1: A one.	**Offender 2:** About a four.	**Offender 3:** A ten.
A: Hmmm . . . Pretty low. What would it take to raise that estimate a little bit? Tell me about a change you made in the past. How did you go about it? Who might help you to . . .?	**A:** So, about in the middle. But why a four and not a one? What else? What would it take to raise your confidence to, say, an eight? How would you go about it? How can I help you to make that happen?	**A:** Very confident. How would you go about it? What would it look like? What else? How can I help you make that happen?

Scaled questions can be used to talk about any current behavior or area in need of change. For instance:

On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it to—

- Complete community service hours?

- Get caught up on fees?

- Avoid contact with the victim?

- Complete a batterer intervention course?

- Complete a substance abuse evaluation?

Scaled questions can also be used to capture more general motivation to complete supervision successfully:

On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is it to complete all of your conditions of supervision successfully?

As with the other interviewing techniques presented in this guide, this technique is not meant to be used to bully offenders. (An agent was once heard to say to an offender, "On a scale of 1 to 10, would you rather spend 6 months in jail or 12 months?") These questions are designed to access internal motivation for change. In general, bullying offenders with external threats makes it less likely that they will take on new, more prosocial behaviors. An exercise in asking good questions and additional examples of good communication are provided at the end of this chapter.

Strengthen Commitment To Change

The agent hopes that at some point, the balance of motivation will shift. He/she spends time exploring the offender's ambivalence and building motivation to help the offender decide what he would like to do about his situation. Exhibit 5–4 shows these two phases of motivation. Phase 1 corresponds to the early stages of change, when the agent works to elicit talk about desire, ability, reasons, and need for change. ("Why is change important?") Phase 2 occurs when the agent works to elicit specific commitments from an offender who is motivated to change. ("What do you want to do about it?")

A domestic violence offender might begin supervision not believing that his anger issues are important. In exploring the issue with his supervising agent, he may become more aware of the way his behavior affects himself or others. The agent looks for statements like the following from the offender to show that the balance is ready to shift from Phase 1 to Phase 2:

- The cops keep showing up, and it's embarrassing.

- Things have gotten really bad between us. I don't know what's going to happen.

Exhibit 5–4. Two Phases of Motivation

Phase 1

Building Motivation

Phase 2

Strengthening Commitment
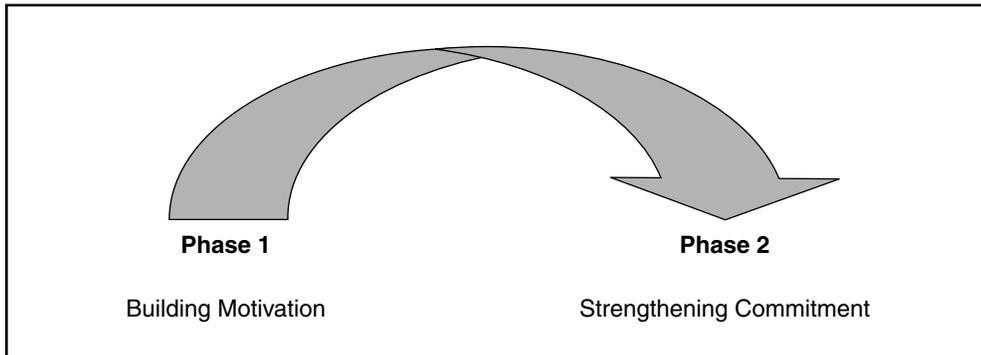
- She really gets onto me about coming home late, and I guess I don't handle it that well.

- I guess I should just take that anger management class, even though I don't think I really need it.

In these statements, the offender is expressing desire, ability, reasons, or need to change (Phase 1). Given these signals, an agent can move the conversation toward commitment (Phase 2) by asking an action question, giving advice or information, or asking about change without obtaining a specific commitment.

Ask an Action Question

One way to move the conversation toward commitment is to ask an action question:

- Where do we go from here?

- What's the next step?

- What do you want to do about that?

- What's one thing you would be willing to do this week to make that happen, or is this something you need more time to think about?

An action question not only moves the conversation toward change, but it also gauges the respondent's level of commitment. If the respondent answers with weak commitment language, the agent can either proceed with this weak commitment or continue to elicit change talk until the respondent is ready to make a stronger commitment.

Give Advice Without Telling What To Do

Another way to move the interaction toward commitment is to provide information or advice without obtaining a specific commitment from the offender. Because most supervision interactions are relatively brief, many agents suggest how the offender might go about securing transportation, finding a job, or completing community service hours. However, a person is much more likely to act on a solution he comes up

with himself. Suggestions are sometimes helpful in changing behavior, but the danger is that an offender may be less likely to consider them if he feels that he is being told what to do. Therefore, agents should be careful to avoid rushing to provide too many suggestions.

In the following interaction, the offender has not been able to complete his community service referral because of transportation difficulties. Each suggestion by the agent for resolving those difficulties meets with objections from the offender:

> **Offender:** I'm trying to get there, but I don't have a car.
>
> **Agent:** What about borrowing a car from your mother?
>
> **O:** My mother doesn't even know I'm on supervision. There's no way I could ask her. She'd totally freak out!
>
> **A:** How about the bus line?
>
> **O:** Yeah, I thought about that, but there's no bus line near my house.
>
> **A:** Well, how did you get here today?
>
> **O:** My buddy dropped me off, but he doesn't live anywhere near the place you told me to go.

This agent has fallen into a classic trap. The agent gives a suggestion, and the offender tells why it will not work for him. The interaction frustrates both parties. The agent feels like the offender must be dragging his feet, and the offender feels like the agent does not understand his situation. Certainly, transportation is a real barrier for many people. And yet, most people seem to figure out how to accomplish things that are important to them. One simple tool is to ask the offender what ideas he has for accomplishing that task or what things have worked for him in the past.

Agents sometimes do decide to provide advice. In such instances, the following strategies will make it more likely that the person will seriously listen to and act on that advice:

■ **Ask for permission before providing advice.**
Would it be okay if I gave you some information about . . . ?

■ **Preface advice with permission to disagree.**
This may or may not work for you, but one thing you might think about is . . . .

■ **Give more than one option.**
There are a couple of things that might work for you here.

■ **Emphasize personal responsibility.**
Ultimately, you're the one who has to decide how this goes. You'll have to decide what's right for you—whether it's easier to make this happen, even though it's not convenient, or whether it's just easier to take the sanction.

The following example using these strategies demonstrates how the previous dialogue might have gone differently:

Offender: I'm trying to get there, but I don't have a car.

Agent: It sounds like it might be difficult for you.

O: Yeah, how am I supposed to get all the way over there without a car? I mean, are you going to come pick me up?

A: It sounds like it is something you want to do, but at the same time you're frustrated in thinking about how you're going to get there without a car. It does make things more difficult.

O: Yeah, I want to. I just don't know how.

A: I wonder if you would be interested in working together to come up with a solution. Is that something you would be interested in?

O: Yeah, I guess.

A: There are a couple of things that might work for you here . . . .

The second dialogue will take more time because the agent is listening to the offender and encouraging him to work out his own solution. Exhibit 5–5 illustrates the difference between less effective responses that dictate a solution and more effective responses that help an offender to come up with his own solution.

Exhibit 5–5. Responses That Facilitate Rather Than Dictate Solutions

Dictating Solutions	Facilitating Solutions
Couldn't you borrow your mother's car?	So it's going to be very important for you to keep your meetings. How are you going to make that happen?
What about that job at McDonald's?	McDonald's might be one option, but I'm wondering what else you've thought of?
The next time you get angry, make sure you count to 10 before acting.	When you think about times when you've been able to manage your anger, what things have worked for you?

A menu of options is another way to provide suggestions. If the agent provides several options instead of just one, it is more likely that the offender will find an option that works for him:

- What are your options here?

- You have a couple of options here . . . .

- I know transportation has been a problem for you, so here are a few things that might work. (Provides a short list.) Which would you like to check into?

- We have a few things we need to talk about: the job situation, taking care of the drug education class, and getting caught up on fees. Which would you like to talk about first?

The three previous sections have talked about ways to move the conversation from motivation (Phase 1) to commitment (Phase 2). However, it is important to recognize that individuals may go back and forth between the phases. They may express interest in change while talking about the barriers to change. Ambivalence is a normal part of the change process, even after someone has decided to act. The next set of dialogues illustrate some ways that an agent can respond to an offender who continues to have mixed feelings about change.

Offender 1: Yeah, I want to find a job, but who's going to take care of my kids while I'm working?

Agent 1: It might be hard for you. *[Reflects offender's ambivalence about change.]*

Offender 2: I'll go to the class, but I still think my wife's the one with the problem.

Agent 2: Ultimately, I guess you'll have to decide whether you're willing to take action here. *[Emphasizes personal responsibility.]*

Offender 3: I just don't know how I can afford to make the restitution payments.

Agent 3: I know it seems pretty overwhelming. I'm wondering whether it would be helpful to spend a minute looking over this finance worksheet. I'd be glad to talk with you to see if we can come up with a plan. *[Offers assistance.]*

Help Connect Talk to Action

The final step is to talk about the specifics of the plan for changing the offender's behavior and meeting the supervision requirements. The more specifically an offender talks about this plan, the more likely he is to follow through with it. If an offender agrees to attend Alcoholics Anonymous, what kind of group will he attend? When is the meeting? With whom will he go? How will attendance be monitored? Because of time constraints, the tendency is to give the offender the plan. However, offender speech is a much better predictor of action than agent speech. For this reason, agents go out of their way to encourage an offender to develop and talk about his own plan, addressing the following issues:

- What specifically will the behavior look like?

- When will the behavior occur?

- Where will the behavior will occur?

- Why is the behavior personally important to the offender?

- How can the behavior be achieved? How can the agent verify action? How can the agent assist in carrying out the plan?

Using written or visual cues, such as handouts or worksheets, can be helpful. Some people work well with a simple plan of action. In the following example, the behavior is job seeking:

- **What?**
  Submit five job applications before next meeting.

- **When?**
  I can go any day, but Tuesday mornings after the drug class are best.

- **Where?**
  Mostly fast food applications, but I might also try supermarket checker positions.

- **Why?**
  I would have my own income, and maybe be able to move out on my own. I might be able to be dismissed from supervision early.

- **How?**
  My mom can take me to get the applications. I can bring the job applications and copy them at the department office. Officer can assist me by calling on Tuesday morning to remind me.

The better the foundation the agent has laid for change, the easier the solution will appear. In fact, some of the best interactions are those where an agent has spent a good deal of time helping the offender to explore why it is personally important to complete a condition. If the offender decides it is important, the agent can then ask for a commitment: "How are you going to make that happen?" It is amazing to see barriers disappear when an offender is well prepared for change.

KEY POINTS

- Prioritize issues based on importance. Use assessment results or a case plan to guide the focus, or let the offender pick from a list.

- Threats of punishment rarely produce lasting behavior change. Raising internal motivation involves recognizing and encouraging the kind of talk that increases that motivation.

- Follow up on productive statements and ignore less productive statements.

- Ask scaled questions rather than yes/no questions.

- Spend time building motivation and then ask an action question about what the offender will do.

- A person is more likely to act on a solution he feels he came up with. Involve the offender in planning, use a menu of options, and give advice without bullying.

- The more specifically a person talks about the plan, the more likely he is to follow through with it.

Exercise: Asking Good Questions

Not-so-good questions increase resistance and decrease the likelihood that the offender will talk about changes in his behavior. Many not-so-good questions are suggestions (or accusations) in disguise. For each of the not-so-good questions below, rephrase the question to reduce resistance and encourage talk about change.

Not-So-Good Question	Better Question
You don't have a drinking problem, do you?	
What about the job training program. Could you do that?	
If you got a job, wouldn't that make things better at home?	
Aren't you worried about how your drug use affects your kids?	
Every time you see Larry, it seems like you get in trouble. What about driving home another way so that you can avoid running into him?	
Why can't you just get a ride to the AA meeting with your brother?	
You use again, you go to jail. Is that what you want?	
Is your wife concerned about you being on probation?	

Communication Examples

Some statements and questions are better than others because they increase the chance that the offender will talk more productively about change.

Trap	What NOT To Say	What TO Say
Playing the Expert	You don't have a job because you're not putting in enough applications.	What ideas do you have as to how you might get a job?
Arguing the Positive Side	You need to stop making excuses and find a job.	How would things be better for you if you found a job?
Giving Unsolicited Advice	You need to get up first thing in the morning, get a cup of coffee, and go in to fill out that application.	If you decided you wanted to put in a job application, how would you go about that?
Premature Focus on Change	We've been talking a lot about how important it is to get a job, and this week I'd like you to submit five job applications.	Ultimately you're the one who has to decide whether you want to put in the hard work to finding a job. What do you think is a reasonable number of applications to put in this week?
Asking Backward-Focused Questions	Why did you go to that party when you knew it was going to get you in trouble? Why haven't you been able to get a job?	It sounds like that situation really got you in trouble. What can you do this week to move this thing forward?

Navigating Tough Times: Working With Deception, Violations, and Sanctions

In dealing with offenders, probation and parole officers must play two conflicting roles—counselor and mentor to the offender and representative of the justice system who has the power to return the offender to confinement. Probation and parole officers help the offender plan to meet supervision conditions, but dispense sanctions if he fails; they ask the offender to be honest, but also report violations to a court or board (Trotter 1999). This chapter suggests ways to navigate this dual role—to address violations and supervise for compliance while maintaining a motivational style.

Lying and Deception

Deception is commonplace in criminal justice, whether by deliberate lies, half-truths, or omission of information. In response to being charged with a violation or significant lack of progress, offenders sometimes lie ("I didn't do it!") or make excuses for their behavior ("I did it but it's not so bad"). The range of assertions seems endless: "Everybody does it" (consensus); "It's not that bad" (minimization); "I needed the money" (justification); "I didn't mean to" (intention). With the coercion inherent in corrections, it is reasonable for probation and parole officers to expect deception from a certain percentage of the offenders whom they supervise. At the same time, it is important to understand that most offenders bend the truth for pretty ordinary reasons. To some extent, lying and deception—hiding our inner selves or our outer behavior—are simply part of our social world. Lying is one more natural continuum of human behavior. It is not so much its presence or absence, but the degree of deception that becomes a problem.

Why Do People Lie?

This chapter talks about two types of deception: Intentional, self-aware deception toward others and deception toward others that also involves some degree of self-deception.

People tend to make two assumptions about their own actions (Sigmon and Snyder 1993): "I'm a good person" and "I am in control most of the time." These assumptions protect and enhance mental health. These beliefs also mean that people may speak in a way that protects these assumptions. For instance:

- **A person will lie to save face.** To save face is to protect a positive self-image—"I am a good person" and "I am in control."

- **A person will lie to save face for someone he or she cares about.** Relationships are powerful motivators. This explains why abused children may lie to a protective services worker to protect their parent(s) and why one spouse cannot be compelled to testify against the other in a court of law. It creates a conflict to have to provide damaging information about someone with whom one has a close relationship.

- **A person will lie to prevent a perceived loss of freedom or resources.** There are penalties for admitting lawbreaking behavior, and an offender must weigh the immediate penalties resulting from telling the truth against the possibly worse, but less certain, penalties that might occur if he told a lie. In fact, a lie can be a good gamble if the immediate penalties are more certain and possibly just as bad.

Any or all of these influences might be present as an offender progresses through the system. Like all people, offenders have obligations—to personal pride, important relationships, or the threat of a loss of freedom—that they must weigh against what the system is asking of them.

There are also deceptive tendencies that operate partially outside the offender's awareness—ways that people bend information to make it more consistent with how they feel or what they believe (Saarni and Lewis, 1993):

- **A person will reinterpret information so that it fits with his basic assumptions about his goodness or competency.** Nowhere is this more evident than in making excuses. For instance, if I believe that I am generally competent, but I am not able to follow through with a referral, I tend to believe that circumstances must have made it too difficult. Taking full responsibility for poor outcomes can conflict with perceptions of oneself as good and in control.

- **A person will bend information in response to who is asking the question and how the question is phrased.** How an agent asks a question partially determines what answer the offender gives. In fact, some agents inadvertently encourage lies through their use of questions. In an attempt to trick an offender into admitting something, they will ask the offender to elaborate on an obviously concocted story. In listening to himself, the offender comes to defend, justify, or perhaps even believe elements of that story. It becomes more difficult for him to extricate himself once he has created details—new lies—to support his initial story. Other agents push offenders to justify past

or present behavior by asking backwards-focused questions such as, "Why didn't you do that?" or "Why can't you do that?" In response to questions like these, the agent essentially gets what he or she has asked for—a list of excuses for why the offender was not able to complete some task, interpreted in a way that fits with the offender's basic beliefs about his own goodness and autonomy.

What Can Be Done About It?

First, the adage "Don't take it personally" is appropriate here. Taking full responsibility for poor outcomes can conflict with a person's perceptions of himself or herself as good and in control. Many offenders deceive not so much to con the agent as to defend these assumptions within themselves—it may be a product of self-deception.

Fortunately, a positive relationship between the agent and the offender makes lies less likely. Some agents believe that a confrontational style sends the offender a message that the agent cannot be taken in, but research suggests it is more the opposite: a harsh, coercive style can prompt an offender to lie to save face and allows the offender to justify his lies to himself. Agents who have positive, collaborative relationships with offenders are less likely to be lied to. A mutual working style makes honesty more likely. A motivational approach handles deception, not by ignoring it or getting agitated by it, but rather by taking a step back from the debate.

Addressing Violations and Sanctions

When faced with difficult situations, the temptation for the agent is to move to one side or the other—to become too harsh or too friendly—when a more middle-of-the-road approach is called for. Agents are like facilitators or consultants in that they manage the relationship between court/board and offender. Agents make decisions neither for the offender nor for the court/board. If agents look at their position from the perspective of a facilitator, they can avoid some of the pitfalls inherent in this dual role. Adopting a middle-of-the-road stance provides the best balance between being an effective advocate for the court/board and encouraging the offender to make positive changes.

Explain the Dual Role

Agents should be up front with offenders about conditions, incentives, and sanctions. They should also be honest with the offender about their dual role as representatives of and advocates for both the offender and the supervising court/board. For instance:

> **Agent:** I want to make you aware that I have a couple of roles here. One of them is to be the agency's representative and to report on your progress on the conditions that have been set. At the same time, I act as a representative for you, to help keep the system off your back and manage

these conditions, while possibly making some other positive steps along the way. I'll act as a "go-between"—that is, between you and the system—but ultimately you're the one who makes the choices. Tell me how that sounds to you right now. Is there anything you think I need to know before proceeding?

Be Clear About the Sanctions

Agents should make sure offenders are aware of what sanctions are likely to occur as a result of a violation. This is perhaps most evident when the offender is getting close to receiving a sanction. In this example, the offender has shown a significant lack of progress.

> **Agent:** We've been talking this meeting about getting you up to speed on employment. We've been working together for 6 months on this, but it looks like things have been difficult for you. What happens at this point is that if you can't produce verification of employment by our next meeting, we will then move to weekly reporting. That means that instead of meeting once a month, we would meet every week. I know that would obviously make things more difficult for you, so I guess the ball's in your court. You'll have to decide whether it's easier to make time to do this or whether it's easier to take the sanction. What do you want to do about this?

Informing offenders of the sanctions can make compliance more likely, but it is by no means a magic bullet. When delivered, sanctions should be clear, immediate, and proportional to the violation. When systems adopt a progressive sanctions model, the incentives and penalties become apparent to both agents and offenders. An agent should work to ensure that an offender is never surprised by a sanction.

Address Behavior With an "Even Keel" Attitude

Bluster, especially when addressing violations, tends to make difficult situations worse. An offender may already be on the defensive about his lack of progress, and an agitated agent can make the offender's attitude worse. For this reason, approach violations with an "even keel" attitude, addressing the behavior and dispensing the appropriate sanction, but not getting agitated or taking the violation personally. This section provides two examples of an even-keel attitude. Chapter 7 provides another example in which a violation of supervision conditions has led to revocation of the offender's probation.

The following dialogue presents a situation in which an offender is getting close to a violation of supervision orders. The agent informs him what will happen as a result of the violation, but does not get upset by the offender's attitude.

> **Agent:** We've talked about this before. In another 2 weeks, you will be in violation of this order. We have also talked about how it is up to you. You can certainly ignore this order but sanctions will be assessed.

Offender: Darn right, I can ignore it—this is so stupid!

A: It seems unfair that you're required to complete this condition. It feels like it might be a waste of your time.

O: Yeah, I can't believe I have to do this!

A: Even though it's hard to swallow, I want to make you aware of what will happen if you don't complete this. If it's not done in the next 2 weeks, you will have to start reporting to me weekly instead of monthly. I guess you have to decide whether it's easier to do it even though it seems like it might be a waste of your time, or whether it's just easier report to me more often.

O: You don't have to report this.

A: Unfortunately, that's part of my job.

O: You mean you can't just let it go?

A: No, I don't have a choice. But you have a choice, even if I don't. I'm wondering what we can do to help you succeed here?

O: I'll think about it; it just seems unfair.

In this example, the agent refuses to leave the middle, neither defending the order nor siding with the offender to stop the sanction. A confrontational approach is an option, but at this point, it is probably more appropriate simply to recognize the offender's reluctance and tell him what is likely to happen. Regarding the specific sanction, the agent defers to the system and emphasizes the collaborative relationship between the agent and the offender: "How do we (you, significant others, and I) keep them (the judge, the board, the agency) off your back?" This neutral stance improves the likelihood that a positive decision will eventually overtake the emotions of the moment. Finally, the agent emphasizes the offender's personal responsibility. A probationer on supervision does not have to complete the supervision conditions; he always has the option of taking the sanction.

The following dialogue illustrates another difficult situation—a positive urinalysis (UA) when the probationer denies use. In this example, the agent presents the results, refuses to defend the lab results, and immediately emphasizes the probationer's personal responsibility.

Agent: We got the results of your last UA and it came up positive for cocaine. Tell me what happened.

Offender: Positive? Are you sure? It must have been from that last use . . . what was it . . . 3 months ago?

A: Sort of a mystery as to how it came up dirty.

O: Yeah, I haven't used, so your lab must have made a mistake.

A: Unfortunately, the system goes strictly off the results of the UA, so there's nothing we can do about that, but you do have a couple of options at this point. It looks like there will be some jail time, but you also have the option of signing a voluntary admittance. It's a good-faith gesture, and sometimes they will go a little more leniently if they feel that the person is taking this seriously. It might mean that you could do some sort of drug treatment in lieu of jail time. On the other hand, if you decide that's not something you want, the decision will be based on the results of the UA, which will probably mean serving time in jail. But again, it's up to you.

The agent bases his or her decision on the physical evidence, rather than on the offender's admission or refusal to admit to the drug use. A dirty UA is a dirty UA. This is also the approach to take when offenders exhibit "pseudocompliance"— talking about change but showing a significant lack of progress. Agents can provide opportunities for offenders to talk and think about change, but they judge the offender's progress whether or not the offender meets the conditions of supervision.

Adopting a new approach like motivational interviewing is clearly a process. Even after initial training, many officers tend to abandon a motivational style when violations occur. If the offender shows lack of progress, a common mistake is to switch to more demanding strategies to relieve the agent's frustration. However, enforcing sanctions based on lack of progress does not mean switching to a more heavy-handed style. An agent can enforce orders and assess sanctions without leaving motivational strategies behind.

The goal is to avoid both the hard and soft approaches. The hard approach is overly directive, defending the court's/board's authority ("Don't blame the court; you're the one who broke the law."). Less examined is the "soft" approach when an officer refuses to bring violations to the court's/board's attention to save the relationship ("I won't tell this time—but don't do it again"). A positive alliance with the offender is not the same as ignoring violations. Agents can collaborate with the offender while still being true to their agency roles. They can respect personal choice yet disapprove of the behavior.

When the Offender Denies the Initial Offense

Another difficult situation can occur when the offender denies committing the initial offense. This differs from the case when an offender denies a violation of supervision conditions in that he claims the charge was wrong from the beginning and hence he has no need to change. In working with this kind of person, some agents assume that no progress can be made unless the offender first admits the offense. Sex offenses sometimes require the offender to meet a number of supervision

conditions for which admission of guilt seems to be a prerequisite—including registry, participation in a treatment group, polygraph testing, and letters expressing remorse.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the first strategy is to avoid defending the court/board, the police report, or the test results. If the agent sees his or her role as less an interrogator and more a facilitator of certain behaviors, a middle way appears. Agents work with an offender given the conditions of supervision. The system expects certain behaviors if the offender wants to complete supervision successfully. Thus, in interacting with offenders, agents should concentrate on the observable conditions of supervision without debating the validity of the charge. Agents emphasize responsibility for future actions; the offender always has the option of taking the sanction. (Of course, it may be that the denial of the offense is accurate. The agent does not know, and so has to take the facts as presented.) Although it is best that the offender take responsibility for his past actions, admission of guilt need not always be a prerequisite of a change-focused conversation.

> **Agent:** So, because it was your car, even though you didn't know your friend stashed it under the seat, you pled "no contest" because you didn't think you could beat it, and it would cost you a lot to go to trial. So now, you're stuck with a year's supervision and all of these conditions and that's pretty frustrating to you.
>
> **Offender:** Couldn't you just put me on write-in or something?
>
> **A:** I'd be glad to work with you on that. To do that, we first need something like 6 months of good progress, so it's just a matter of navigating these first 6 months. It depends on you.
>
> **O:** But why do I have to do all these things when I'm not guilty? It's going to take a lot of time I don't have, and this substance abuse class is a joke. Sure, I've used a little weed in the past, but it's never been a problem.
>
> **A:** Kind of a rough spot to be in. Since neither of us has any control over that, what can I do to help you through the process?

The agent does not allow himself or herself to be drawn into an argument. By listening and emphasizing the offender's personal responsibility, the agent works with the offender without taking sides on the issue of innocence or guilt.

KEY POINTS

- A person may lie to protect himself or herself or a loved one, or to protect against a perceived loss of resources.

- A respondent will bend information according to who is asking the question and how the question is phrased.

- Agents who form positive, collaborative alliances are less likely to be lied to.

- Agents should be up front with offenders as someone who represents both the offender and the criminal justice system.

- Informing offenders of the sanctions for failure to meet supervision conditions can make compliance more likely. When an offender is surprised by a sanction, this creates more resistance and less motivation to change.

- Agents should approach violations with a neutral attitude, addressing the behavior, but not taking the violation personally.

- Agents should focus on observable behavior change without being caught up in debates about innocence or guilt.

7

From Start to Finish: Putting Motivational Interviewing Into Practice

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 presented some of the details of motivational interviewing (MI). This chapter talks about ways to put MI skills into practice. The first part covers how to apply MI to three motivational targets: importance, confidence, and commitment. The second part talks about ways to use MI in different kinds of interactions: those near the beginning (assessment and planning stage), middle (progress stage), and end (completion stage) of supervision.

Moving From Motivation to Commitment

Chapter 2 introduced the Stages of Change model as a way to think about how people change. People who are in the early stages are low in motivation, so the task is to explore ambivalence and build motivation for change. The agent uses open-ended questions, affirmations, reflections, and summaries (OARS) to encourage talk about desire, ability, reasons, and need. At some point, the agent hopes the motivational balance will tip, and the offender will decide to make a commitment to change (DARN–C).

In the following dialogue, an agent is working with a domestic violence offender to motivate him to complete an anger management class. To structure the conversation, the agent uses the importance and confidence rulers discussed in chapter 5 and finishes with an action question.

The offender begins by defending his choices and implying that change is unnecessary. The agent ignores this less productive talk and keeps the conversation focused on change. The agent spends little time asking for details about the circumstances of the offense. In some instances, it might be helpful to understand the person's point of view, but because this offender is too angry to give a valid account of the incident, probing would probably yield little useful information. The agent acknowledges the offender's reluctance to change, but does not reinforce it. The agent uses open-ended questions, affirmations, and reflections to emphasize those parts of the offender's speech that support his motivation to change. When the offender makes

statements about wanting to change, the agent asks an action question to steer the conversation to commitment talk. The use of importance and confidence rulers helps the offender progress from importance to confidence and finally to commitment.

Agent: So, one of your supervision conditions is to attend anger management classes. *[Choice of focus.]*

Offender: Yeah, well, my wife should be in jail for provoking me into things.

A: It seems to you like she shares some of the blame. *[Reflection of ambivalence.]*

O: And the stupid judge blew up at me for no reason. It made me so mad, when he doesn't know what really happened.

A: I'm glad you were able to control your temper with the judge. It shows that you are really trying. *[Affirmation.]*

O: If I had done what I felt like doing, he would have thrown me in jail.

A: So, it sounds like you have the ability to control your behavior even when you are provoked. *[Reflection.]*

O: Oh, I can control it when I have to. Or want to.

A: And with your wife, you . . . ? (Pause) *[Open-ended question.]*

O: To be honest with you, she just makes me so mad. Why should I be the one who always has to remain calm?

A: Still, with your wife's behavior, part of you wishes you had acted differently. *[Reflection of desire.]*

O: (Pause) I guess that's true. Like, right now, I am still so mad at her because she got me into all of this, but I guess it wasn't the best decision to slap her.

A: It's like part of you is still angry with her but the other part feels bad for hitting her. *[Reflection of ambivalence.]*

O: I guess so.

A: There's a part of you that wishes you could handle her behavior without losing control of your own. *[Reflection of desire.]*

O: (Thinking) That's right. It sounds like I don't love her, but I do. She already told the attorney that she was sorry she called the cops on me. I could tell she was sorry in court and that's why I just pled guilty. If she testified, she probably would have lied for me and I didn't want that.

The reason I was so mad when I came in here is because the D.A. was making me out to be some kind of monster and the judge went out of his way to humiliate me in front of all of those people.

A: The whole process has been bad for you. It's embarrassing to be on supervision. And now you are thinking that in spite of her behavior last night, that your love for your wife is stronger than your anger toward her. *[Reflection of reasons and desire.]*

O: Yeah.

A: There's a lot of regret there. *[Reflection of reasons.]*

O: Yeah.

A: What else has it cost you? *[Open-ended question about reasons.]*

O: (Pause) My kids. We told them to go upstairs, but they know what's going on. My parents fought like this, and it's the scariest thing you can imagine.

A: And you don't want your kids to have to go through what you went through. *[Reflection of desire.]*

O: (Thinking) And it's self-respect. It's not just my wife, but the people I know, my friends and coworkers—I would die if they knew what happened.

A: So, let me see if I've got this right: You and your wife were having a verbal altercation where you got so angry, you hit her. She called the cops. Even though you are still a little angry with her, part of you knows that your behavior was wrong. And now, you wish you had a way of behaving better in this situation. So, where does that leave you? *[Summary, open-ended question about commitment.]*

O: Well, I wish we both knew a better way of handling things.

A: Let me ask you this. How important is it to you to have a better way—let's say on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not important and 10 being very important—how important is it to you that you handle future conflicts with your wife better? *[Open-ended question about desire.]*

O: Definitely, a 10.

A: It's at the very top. Why a 10 and not a lower number? *[Reflection of desire, open-ended question.]*

O: Well, I want us to be happy and to be there for each other. I hate all of this.

A: So, changing this behavior couldn't be more important. *[Reflection of desire.]*

O: That's right.

A: On the same scale, how confident are you that you could change your behavior if you wanted to? *[Open-ended question about ability.]*

O: Right now, I want to say a 10, but I don't really know. Maybe about a 5.

A: You're pretty confident. *[Reflection of ability.]*

O: Yeah, there's a couple of things I can do.

A: What would it take to get that number up a little, say to a 6 or 7? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: (Thinking) I don't know. I'm just not sure just these anger management classes will help. I think we both should get some counseling or something. I know we are going to forgive each other when I get home, but, tomorrow, all of the same problems—the bills, the kids, time for ourselves—it's all still going to be there.

A: So, maybe getting some help for the both of you would bring that to a 6 or 7. *[Reflection of commitment.]*

O: We can't afford it. Our financial situation is one of the biggest stresses.

A: So, if there were a place that took into consideration your financial situation, you would be more willing to go there. *[Reflection of commitment.]*

O: Oh, I would definitely go. I think my wife would too, since she has brought it up before.

A: So, what would you like to do about that? *[Action question about commitment.]*

Adapting Motivational Interviewing to Different Kinds of Interviews

This section talks about using MI during three stages of the supervision process: near (or before) the start of the term of supervision, in the middle of the term of supervision, and closer to discharge or revocation.

The First Meeting

An offender may already have formed a number of impressions even before the first interview with his probation or parole officer. He may have been ordered to appear at the probation or parole office at an inconvenient time, had his fingernail clippers

confiscated at security, seen a host of signs prohibiting some things and ordering others, and had to wait in a cold, unfriendly waiting room. Given these conditions, an agent can gain or lose influence by how he or she greets the offender.

Early meetings lay the foundation for how offenders and agents will interact in later meetings. In departments with separate intake staff, the intake interview heavily influences the ease or difficulty of the initial meeting between the offender and the agent. In fact, some officers say that they can predict whether an offender will show up for his initial appointment based on which intake officer he sees. One officer reports, "If I see one name, I know the person will be reluctant to come in and I'll spend a portion of my time trying to undo all the damage that the intake officer caused. If I see the other name, not only do I know the client will show, I know I will have a hard time living up to the positive image that this officer created. It's like night and day."

Discussing the conditions of supervision is the first task in most initial meetings. Even though it is routine for the agent, it may be intimidating and overwhelming for the offender. One way to address this anxiety is to spend a moment talking about how the person feels about being on supervision:

> **Agent:** Mr. Campbell, I see you've been placed on probation for theft. As you are aware, there are a number of conditions that we'll have to cover. But I'm wondering if we can spend a minute talking about what it's like for you to be on supervision.

The conversation might also touch on how the person feels about the activities that have caused him to be on supervision:

> **Agent:** I have the police report and know something about why you're on supervision, but I'm more interested in hearing how you see things. From your perspective, what happened to bring you here?

Other agents use the initial conversations to talk about the offender's key values, interests, or significant relationships. These moments are a way to gather information and set the tone for subsequent meetings. The following exchange shows how one agent handles the first few seconds of an early routine interview:

> **Agent:** Hi Mark, thanks for coming in. How are you?
>
> **Offender:** Pretty good.
>
> **A:** How was your weekend?
>
> **O:** It was okay. Pretty busy with all the overtime.
>
> **A:** How's the family? I think your daughter was sick the last time we talked.

O: Oh yeah, it was no big deal. We did have to spend last Saturday in the ER, but it turned out to be just a cold.

A: Boy, those ER visits can be brutal. You sit there for hours with a sick kid, not knowing when they will see you. I'm glad she's all right. So anyway, let me explain what I want to do today. I have a few questions about how things are going with your supervision up to this point, and I'd also like to hear about any concerns you have that I might be able to assist you with so that we can keep you in compliance with your conditions. So what's been going on that might affect your supervision?

The agent spends the first 30 seconds of the interview chatting with the offender and then moves to the business at hand. Rather than having a stern or prepackaged attitude, this agent is honest, empathetic, and collaborative. Notice also that the agent remembers and asks about an issue the offender mentioned during their previous meeting. This inquiry shows that the agent is interested enough to remember something that is important to the offender.

Motivational Interviewing and the Case-Planning Interview

Case management helps connect assessment, planning, and supervision. This section talks about ways to use assessment results to guide the case-planning process.

There are four basic steps to case planning:

1. Consult the assessment results for information on risk, needs, and responsivity.

2. Ask the offender what problem(s) he thinks are most closely related to his crime.

3. Factor in any relevant court- or board-ordered conditions.

4. Given the information from all three areas, use MI strategies to help resolve ambivalence and motivate positive behavior.

In the following interview, the agent uses the results of a risk/needs assessment to initiate a conversation about change. The agent presents the results of the assessment and discusses the first of three dynamic risk factors. Because the offender seems committed to action but has only a vague plan, the agent asks permission to assist him in developing a more specific plan. At this point, the agent might continue to focus on anger management or proceed to another issue that puts the offender at risk of committing another crime or otherwise violating the conditions of supervision.

Agent: Last time we talked, I asked you some questions about areas that might place you at risk. I'd like to explain a little about the results. *[Request for permission.]*

Offender: Sure.

A: OK, let's look this over together. Over here is a risk scale. It indicates that you are at the high end of medium risk. According to the scale, the factors that put you there are that you have been in trouble before, that most of your friends have been in trouble before, and that you have had some problems in the past managing your anger. What do you think? *[Information, open-ended question.]*

O: Well, I know I'm not going to get in trouble again—I'm sure of it.

A: Great. You're really confident. *[Affirmation, reflection.]*

O: I am.

A: Good. Maybe we can talk about some things you'd be willing to do right now to reduce your risk. *[Information.]*

O: Well, I have already decided not to do stuff without thinking about it. My brother Jake is already doing time for this, so I won't be hanging out with him. And I know I told you I used to blow up and stuff, but I'm not going to do that any more.

A: Good for you. It's important to you to look at some of these behaviors because you don't want this kind of trouble again. Tell me a little about how you decided this. *[Affirmation, reflection, open-ended question.]*

O: Well, for one thing, Jake's in jail. Then my girlfriend broke up with me for a couple of months, and I lost a lot of time at work because of all of this. All of my vacation and sick time are used up, and I've got all of the court costs to pay.

A: I remember you saying that your anger and some of your friends were factors in the last two offenses. *[Reflection.]*

O: Yeah, I'll just have to watch those things this time. I'll stay away from those people that get me worked up.

A: Good for you. You already have some ideas about ways to manage your anger. *[Affirmation, reflection.]*

O: Well, I just know I have to.

A: Tell me about a time when you got angry but were able to calm your-self down. How did you manage those angry feelings? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: (Pause) Well, that counting to 10 stuff doesn't work. I can tell you that. (Pause)

A: OK, it's helpful to be aware of things that don't work for you. But I'm wondering what does work for you. *[Open-ended question.]*

O: I don't know. I guess I just don't get angry.

A: I wonder if you'd be interested in some suggestions about maybe getting some help in this area. *[Request for permission.]*

O: Do you mean a headshrinker? I can't afford that.

A: That may be one solution, but there are also other options. We have some classes here where regular guys like you learn some ways of dealing better with their anger. Or, we have some counselors—not headshrinkers, but just ordinary counselors that talk to people one on one. I could also refer you to a counselor not connected to our agency, or you may have other things you've thought of. *[Menu of options.]*

O: Are any of them free?

A: Not quite, but the group meetings are the lowest priced. *[Information.]*

O: Could I just try it out and if it doesn't help me try something else?

A: Sure. You want a program that really helps you. *[Reflection.]*

O: Yeah, when would I have to start and how often would I have to go? What are they like?

A: (Provides information about the classes.) So, I'm wondering what you'd like to get out of the class. How would you like things to be different when you finish? *[Information, open-ended question.]*

Motivational Interviewing and Routine Meetings

As the offender moves through the supervision process, the agent might be tempted to relax and concentrate his or her attention elsewhere. The agent expects that the meetings will become shorter and more routine. However, it is important for the agent to stay alert to the offender's change process. The action stage may be marked by awkward attempts, difficult situations, and slips. Thus, some of the major tasks for meetings during the middle of the supervision process include encouraging and reinforcing progress, solving problems, and preventing relapses.

Agents not only work with offenders to change their behavior but must also document compliance with the conditions of supervision. This is a lot to manage in a short amount of time. Fortunately, the two tasks frequently overlap. For instance, a condition to pay fees may overlap with the agent's desire to increase the offender's motivation to get a job. The tasks are logically connected and both involve behavior change. True, the case plan is more about long-term changes in behavior and seeks the offender's input, whereas conditions are usually more short-term and dictated by the court or board. Nevertheless, because both seek to change behavior, the skills and techniques of MI are relevant in both instances.

Two documents guide the interview process: the case plan and the conditions of supervision. To structure an interview, some agents prefer to address compliance first, others prefer to address the case plan first, and still others allow the offender to choose. The following dialogue presents a routine interview from start to finish. The agent begins with a few casual comments and then allows the offender to decide which issue they will cover first. The agent uses open-ended questions and reflections to gather information and document compliance with the conditions of supervision. The agent also asks questions about and encourages the offender to use class material. The interview ends with other documentation questions, a summary, and an affirmation.

Agent: Mr. Peterson, thanks for coming in today. I know you had some difficulty with the original time. *[Greeting.]*

Offender: Well, you being willing to change the appointment time really helped a lot.

A: Good, I'm glad it helped. Things do sometimes come up, and I appreciate you letting me know in advance. Go ahead, have a chair. (Both take seats.) So how have you been? *[Affirmation, open-ended question.]*

O: Oh, pretty good, mostly.

A: Good, glad to hear that. Well, as usual, I want to check in today and see how things are going with your supervision. So how are things progressing? *[Setting agenda, open-ended question.]*

O: I'm halfway done with my community service. I'm putting in 8 hours a week at the homeless shelter. I brought in a payment for restitution and costs. I'm up to date on both of those things. And I've been going to my anger management classes. As far as I know I'm doing everything I am supposed to.

A: Good. You're making your supervision a priority. *[Affirmation, reflection.]*

O: Yeah, and that's not easy. You know money is tight, and my wife really gets on me about having to pay $120 a month that we really could use for other things. But I think if it wasn't for my anger management classes, I may have blown up again and done something stupid, so maybe they are doing me some good. I was able to use OPV this week to help me not blow up at her.

A: OPV? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: You don't know what OPV is?

A: Tell me about it. *[Open-ended question.]*

O: It stands for "other people's point of view." It means we've got to listen to other people and try to see things from their point of view.

A: Good principle. So, how do you use that when your wife gets on you about the money? *[Affirmation, open-ended question.]*

O: Well, part of it is a thinking thing. I have to think to myself, "Why is she doing this?" Then I think, "Well, it isn't her fault I got in that argument and busted out the guy's windshield." So I guess seeing it from her point of view helps calm me down a little.

A: Wow, it's nice to see that it's paying off for you. Even though you had mixed feelings about going, you're using it to your advantage. Let me also ask you a question about fees. You said you are up to date on your payments, but my records show you are $150 in arrears. *[Affirmation, reflection, open-ended question, second agenda item.]*

O: Well, I'm up to date on my restitution and fees. On my money order, I always put, "for supervision fees and restitution only," because I am not making payments on the attorney fees.

A: So you're behind on those. *[Reflection.]*

O: Well, I've been practicing in my class for this. I really think that the court tricked me on attorney fees.

A: Tricked you? *[Open-ended question.]*

O: Yeah, when I went to court, we were really behind in our bills and were thinking of declaring bankruptcy. So the judge says that if I can't afford an attorney, he would appoint one. So I told him my situation and he appointed one. Well, then I found out I would probably have gotten the same sentence if I didn't have an attorney, but now I got charged $1,500 for the attorney to go in there and plead me guilty. I never even got a chance to tell my side of the story. The judge didn't tell me I was going to end up having to pay for this attorney until after I got supervision. So I don't think that's fair.

A: That part of the fees was a surprise to you. *[Reflection.]*

O: Well, yeah. I guess I should have figured it out, but still, $1,500 for paperwork? Come on!

A: So, at this point, it's part of your supervision, but you have mixed feelings about it. So what do you want to do about it? *[Reflection, open-ended question.]*

O: Well, we did this exercise in class where I decided that I would like to stand up to the judge and not pay the fees, even if I end up having to sit in jail for it.

A: That is your decision. But I want you to be aware that if that happens, that would be a violation and you would have to answer to the judge. *[Affirmation of choice, information.]*

O: Yeah, I know. But I don't know what's going to happen, because I haven't talked to my wife about this yet. Who knows, in the end I might chicken out and just pay the fees.

A: OK, so you are behind on the payment of the attorney fees. If you like, we can leave that discussion until the next meeting to give you a chance to talk with your wife. So, what else is going on that might affect your supervision? *[Reflection, provision of choice, open-ended question.]*

O: That's about all I can think of. Oh, I might need a travel permit to go to my wife's parents for Thanksgiving.

A: Okay, let me give you this request for travel permit form to fill out if you decide to go. What else? *[Information, open-ended question.]*

O: I think that's it.

A: Okay. As always, I need to know whether you have violated any conditions of your supervision since I last saw you. *[Closed question.]*

O: Nope.

A: And the last thing is the verification of your community service hours from the homeless shelter. *[Closed question.]*

O: Oh, yeah, here it is.

A: It sounds like things are going reasonably well for you. You've been using the material from the classes and really working hard to manage that anger and stay out of trouble. You've been diligent about most of your obligations, which you plan on continuing, but you're not sure yet what you want to do about the attorney fees. Did I miss anything? How about I see you 2 weeks from today at the same time? *[Summary, affirmation.]*

O: Yeah, that's fine.

A: What you're doing in your class is pretty interesting. I look forward to the next meeting. *[Affirmation.]*

O: Sure. See you in 2 weeks.

Motivational Interviewing and the Postviolation Interview

Based on its track record, MI can be expected to reduce violations. However, it is certainly not a panacea; it only increases the probability of change. Supervision orders are sometimes given with an idealized expectation of behavior. The court or board expects the offender to comply with all conditions without any failures or setbacks, but for most people, slips are a normal part of the change process. This more realistic view of change allows agents to take violations in stride. Agents can address lapses and violations without leaving a motivational style.

Chapter 6 gave two examples of ways to maintain this even-keel attitude when addressing different violations. The next dialogue provides an additional example, in which a serious violation has placed the offender in jail. This postviolation interview focuses on providing information, while leaving the door open to future interactions. This agent demonstrates most of the style measures of MI, including empathy, acceptance, and support for autonomy. The agent's goal is to provide information while not taking sides on the issue of guilt or innocence. In this instance, values are irrelevant; the focus is, and must be, on the here and now.

> **Agent:** Hello Mr. Juarez. It's disappointing to be visiting you in jail. *[Empathetic opening.]*
>
> **Offender:** I hope you don't believe that I did anything to that little girl.
>
> **A:** What I believe isn't really important here, so maybe I should define my role. You have been accused of a serious violation, one that requires me to file for a revocation hearing. You started by telling me that you didn't do anything, but unfortunately I'm not in a position to decide whether you did or didn't. As your probation officer, I have to take the allegations at face value. So I need to explain the revocation process to you and let you know about your due process rights. I want you to be treated fairly and I'll do what I can to make sure that happens. So, while I am explaining the procedures, if there is anything you don't understand, please let me know. On the other hand, if there are things you don't agree with, you should know that I don't have any control over these procedures at this point. It's back in the court's hands. Is that clear? *[Definition of role, maintenance of a neutral stance with regard to the facts.]*
>
> **O:** Yeah, I guess, but it doesn't seem fair. You're supposed to be innocent until proven guilty.
>
> **A:** So, you see the process as unfair, but I do want to be fair with you. *[Reflection, avoidance of argument.]*
>
> **O:** (Silence)
>
> **A:** (Explains all of the procedures one at a time and after each one asks:) What questions do you have? *[Information.]*

O: Are you going to testify against me?

A: If you contest, I will probably be called as a witness. I will give a summary of your progress using the reports I am required to file. If you do decide to contest, I'd be glad to go over it with you before the hearing so that you have a chance to correct anything in the report that you don't think is factual. If we end up disagreeing about anything, you can point that out to your attorney and he can cross-examine me about those things. *[Information.]*

O: Can't you help me?

A: Unfortunately, there's nothing I can do at this point. I can say that I care about you getting your life together and I would be glad to continue to work with you if the court allows you to continue your supervision. *[Indication of concern for offender's welfare, information.]*

O: So, you're not hoping I go down?

A: Mr. Juarez, I don't know whether you did or didn't commit the violation because I wasn't there. I do wish that things had turned out differently for you, but I'm not the one to judge you on the violation. *[Maintenance of a neutral stance.]*

O: Thanks, I guess.

A: I'll check with you before your revocation hearing starts if you decide to contest. What other questions do you have for me right now? *[Indication of concern for offender's welfare, open-ended question.]*

Managing Time Constraints

High caseloads and limited resources are real problems in corrections. For years, agents have had to do more and more with less and less. Thus, MI may seem like another imposition on the already limited time that agents have—one more thing to add to the already considerable demands of the job. Certainly, learning MI strategies requires an investment of time. However, if MI delivers on its promises, this investment has a payoff. MI does not require performing new tasks, but rather adopting a new set of strategies for performing old tasks more effectively and efficiently.

Time management requires an additional set of strategies that are beyond the scope of this guide. Effective agents use MI principles to guide their interactions and are efficient in conducting interviews. An efficient interview involves—

1. Setting the agenda at the start.

2. Covering topics one at a time.

3. Keeping the interview progressing in a linear fashion without moving backward or jumping from topic to topic.

4. Ending with a summary of what was discussed, what the offender agrees to do (or what the penalty will be for noncompliance), and the offender's most important reasons for action.

Along the way, effective agents tailor their interactions based on the stage of change. If the offender is ambivalent, the agent uses strategies that target motivation for change. On the other hand, if the offender is ready to take action, an effective agent moves toward action-oriented strategies and only occasionally revisits motivation.

Careful listening takes time, but the effective interviewer saves time by more efficiently steering the conversation toward change. The offender becomes less defensive and more cooperative. The motivationally inclined agent does not spend time debating conditions, arguing, or threatening. This active role relieves the agent of the ultimate responsibility for solving the offender's problems; the offender becomes responsible for his own actions. Finally, as the offender improves his behavior and compliance with the conditions of his supervision, the agent can expect to spend less time on investigations, documenting violations, and writing revocation reports. Offenders who are well prepared for change require less supervision time and use fewer scarce resources. People who are changing for the better are likely to see improvements in their lives, the lives of their families, and lives of their communities.

K E Y   P O I N T S

- Consider structuring a conversation using the importance and confidence rulers and questions discussed in chapter 5.

- Use open-ended questions, affirmations, reflections, and summaries (OARS) to gather information and keep the conversation focused on change.

- Use the first few minutes of an interaction to build rapport with the offender and lay the foundation for what comes later.

- Focus on mandated conditions and other areas of positive behavior change. Consider using the results of a risk/needs assessment to initiate a conversation about specific areas of change.

- Address lapses and violations without leaving a motivational style. Leave the door open to subsequent interactions.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Ray Gingerich is semiretired from 35 years of state service in probation and parole in Wisconsin, where he served as an agent and in various other direct-service positions, and Texas, where he was a full-time trainer of probation officers. Throughout his training career, Mr. Gingerich maintained contact with offenders as a cognitive skills coach and victim/offender mediator. He has been conducting training in evidence-based practices for many years throughout the United States (42 states), Canada, and abroad. Mr. Gingerich currently limits his training practice to motivational interviewing.

Melissa L. Meltzer, M.A., M.P.H., is a doctoral student at the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of several journal articles and, most notably, "Going to the Other Side: An Analysis of Resilience Among Institutionalized Delinquent Youth," in *Child Victimization* (Civic Research Institute, 2005). Ms. Meltzer is presently working on a longitudinal study investigating the resilience of maltreated and incarcerated youth and serves as a member of the board of directors of the Harris County (Texas) STAR Drug Courts.

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Motivational Interviewing (with a Criminal Justice Focus)

Motivational Interviewing Annotated Bibliography

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Contents

Introduction

Motivational Interviewing (MI) was introduced to the field of corrections in the 1990s through the Evidence-based Practices Model as a method for enhancing intrinsic motivation. Since that time, agencies throughout the U.S., in all criminal justice settings, have—to a greater or lesser degree—explored if, when, and how to implement this approach to communicating, building rapport, and tapping into the internal motivation of the clients and staff members they work with.

This annotated bibliography contains the written resources pertaining specifically to the criminal justice field. In addition, certain documents considered seminal to the training, implementation, evaluation, coaching, and quality assurance of MI skills are included.

We are confident you can obtain these resources either through the Internet, the NIC Information Center, the authors, or by ordering them. We invite contributions to this list, as well as additions submitted material to the NIC Library, such as articles and training resources.

Forthcoming compilations:
•   Information about options for coding and coaching MI skills.
•   Audiovisual resources used for training and coaching MI.

Bibliography

Alexander, Melissa A., Scott W. VanBenschoten, and Scott T. Walters. "Motivational Interviewing Training in Criminal Justice: Development of a Model Plan." *Federal Probation* 72, no. 2 (2008): 61-66.
> The utilization of motivational interviewing (MI) by probation officers is explained. MI "is a communication style that involves strategic use of questions and statements to help clients find their own reasons for change" (p. 61). Topics discussed include: evidence-based practice; role of the probation officer; MI in criminal justice; the eight stages of learning motivational interviewing; MI training—a model plan; and future directions.
> *http://nicic.gov/Library/025045*

Allen, Jamie. "National Jail Exchange." *National Institute of Corrections*. May 27, 2011.
> Louisville Metro Department of Corrections (LMDC) recently embarked upon a journey to change its program model to incorporate evidence-based practices and knowledge of "what works" nationally in the field of corrections. For years, our program model has included educational instruction and testing, substance abuse treatment, life skills courses, and spiritual groups. Each of these programs is essential for helping our inmates move beyond a criminal lifestyle, but experience has shown us that curriculum alone isn't enough. The most valuable tool in our toolbox is the ability to plant the seed that changes offenders' behavior and thinking about committing crime. To truly engage offenders in the process of self-change, Louisville Metro is taking advantage of a communications tool known as Motivational Interviewing (MI). [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]
> *http://community.nicic.gov/blogs/national_jail_exchange/archive/2011/05/27/change-talk-using-motivational-interviewing-techniques-in-jail-programs.aspx*

Anstiss, Brendan, Devon L. L. Polaschek, and Marc Wilson. "A Brief Motivational Interviewing Intervention with Prisoners: When You Lead a Horse to Water, Can it Drink for Itself?" *Psychology, Crime & Law* (2011): 1-22.
> This study evaluated the effects of a brief offending-focused motivational interviewing (MI) intervention on reconviction in male prisoners servicing sentences for diverse crimes" in New Zealand (p. 1). Results are given for: effect of MI intervention on recidivism; interactions between the MI intervention and completion of criminogenic programs; validation stage of change ratings; prediction of recidivism outcomes using stage of change and other variables; and stage of change and post-MI referral to criminogenic programs. MI had a considerable impact on recidivism. Those prisoners in the MI intervention hade 21% less reconviction rates and 17% less re-imprisonment rates than non-participants.
> *http://nicic.gov/Library/025183*

Austin, Kevin P., Mei Wah M. Williams, and Glen Kilgour. "The Effectiveness of Motivational Interviewing with Offenders: An Outcome Evaluation." *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* 40, No. 1 (2011): 55-67.

This research evaluated the effectiveness of an adaptation of motivational interviewing (the Short Motivational Programme) to enhance motivation to change in a high risk offender sample. The Short Motivational Programme (SMP) aimed to increase offenders' motivation to change prior to their release from prison. The results provided preliminary evidence for the effectiveness of SMP to increase the motivation to change of high risk offenders. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Clark, Michael D. "Entering the Business of Behavior Change: Motivational Interviewing for Probation Staff." *Perspectives* 30, no. 1 (2006): 38-45. [Part One]
This article begins a two-part series on increasing motivation with involuntary clients, focusing on mandated offenders placed under probation supervision by court orders. In our own field of criminal justice, evidence-based practice as outlined by criminologists has recommended that justice staff be responsive to motivational issues with offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). This series attempts to lend substance to that recommendation with suggestions for direct practice application. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Clark, Michael D., Scott Walters, Ray Gingerich, and Melissa Metzler. "Importance, Confidence and Readiness to Change: Motivational Interviewing for Probation and Parole." *Perspectives* 30, no. 3 (2006): 36-45. [Part Two].
This article completes a two-part series on increasing motivation with involuntary clients, focusing on mandated offenders placed under probation supervision by court orders.

Clark, Michael D. "Influencing Positive Behavior Change: Increasing the Therapeutic Approach of Juvenile Courts." *Federal Probation* 65, no. 1 (2001): 18-27.
This article examines the ingredients for human behavioral change. Four common factors appear to be present in all effective treatment models. These transtheoretical factors are: client factors; relationship factors; hope and expectancy; and model and technique. When these factors are taken into account, the following practice implications arise: all probation staff can increase their therapeutic approach; require balance and sensibility; provide new learning opportunities for the youth; become change-focused; and build an alliance. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]
https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/publications/Abstract.aspx?id=189642

Clark, Michael D. "Motivational Interviewing for Probation Staff: Increasing the Readiness to Change." *Federal Probation* 69, no. 2 (2005): 22-28. [Part One of a Two Part Series].
This article begins a two-part series on increasing motivation with "involuntary clients," focusing on mandated offenders placed under probation supervision by court orders. In our own field of criminal justice, evidence-based practice as outlined by criminologists has recommended that justice staff be responsive to motivational issues with offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). This series demonstrates practical ways to respond to that recommendation. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]
http://www.uscourts.gov/uscourts/FederalCourts/PPS/Fedprob/2005-12/interviewing.html

Clark, Michael D., Walters, Scott T., Gingerich, Ray and Mary Meltzer. "Motivational Interviewing for Probation Officers: Tipping the Balance Towards Change." *Federal Probation* 70, no. 1 (2006): 38-44.

Motivational Interviewing aligns with evidence-based practice. It can help the officer get "back into the game." MI will change who does the talking and will help prepare the client for change. This article will suggest several benefits from the importation of Motivational Interviewing into probation practice. This article gives eight reasons to consider the MI approach to working with justice-involved individuals.
http://www.uscourts.gov/uscourts/FederalCourts/PPS/Fedprob/2006-06/interviewing.html

Doran, Neal, Hohman, Mindy. and Igor Koutsenok. "Linking Basic and Advanced Motivational Interviewing Training Outcomes for Juvenile Correctional Staff in California," *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 43, no. 1 (2011): 19-26.

Motivational interviewing (MI) is an evidence-based communication method that can be effective in engaging incarcerated juveniles in substance abuse programming and other treatment services. However, MI can be difficult to learn and often requires several training exposures for skill change. Few studies have examined MI training outcomes over time. This study reports outcomes for 222 juvenile corrections workers trained in MI in a three-day introductory and two-day advanced training. Those who attended their second training within nine months of the first training were more likely to score in the proficiency range. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2011.601986

Easton, C., Swan, S., and R. Sinha. "Motivation to Change Substance Use Among Offenders of Domestic Violence." *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 19 (July 2000): 1-5.

Substance use alone leads to increased rates of violence, reduction in adherence to treatment regimes, and other negative psychiatric sequelae. Given the high rates of co-occurring substance use and family violence-related problems, substance use was assessed among offenders of domestic violence who were mandated by court to attend anger management classes. Rates of substance dependence diagnoses ranged from 33 to 50%, while rates of substance abuse diagnoses ranged from 60 to 75%. This study evaluated the effectiveness of a motivational enhancement intervention on readiness to change substance use. Results indicate that a motivational enhancement intervention is feasible and effective in increasing readiness to change substance use among domestic violence offenders. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Farrall, M. C "The Use of Motivational Interviewing Techniques in Offending Behaviour Group Work." *Motivational Interviewing Newsletter: Updates, Education and Training (MINUET)* 8, no. 1 (2001): 8-12.

This article covers some of the proposed forensic applications of Motivational Interviewing (MI) with reference to group work contexts. It briefly describes actual techniques, discusses some of the differences between mainstream MI and Forensic MI and speculates upon some of the possible advantages of the latter. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Forsberg, Lars., Denise Ernst, and Carl K. Farbring. "Learning Motivational Interviewing in a Real-Life Setting: A Randomised Controlled Trial in the Swedish Prison Service." *Criminal Behaviour & Mental Health* 21, no. 3 (2011): 177-188.

Motivational interviewing (MI) is a client-centered, directive counselling style for helping people to explore and resolve ambivalence about behaviour change and shown to decrease drug and alcohol use. A five-session semi-structured MI intervention [Beteende, Samtal, Förändring (BSF; Behaviour, Counselling, Change)] was implemented in Swedish prisons. To examine whether, in a real-life implementation of semi-structured MI, staff receiving ongoing MI training, based on audio-recorded feedback in peer groups (BSF+), possess greater MI skill compared with staff receiving workshop-only MI training (BSF), and staff conducting usual prison planning interviews (UPI). Prisoners were randomised to one of the three interventions. Overall, staff were rated as not having achieved beginning proficiency. Our findings suggest that staff delivering motivational interviewing programmes for substance-misusing prisoners in Sweden are not being given sufficient training for the task. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Garland, Randall J. and Michael J. Dougher. "Motivational Intervention in the Treatment of Sex Offenders." In *Motivational Interviewing. Preparing People to Change Addictive Behavior*, edited by William R. Miller and Stephen Rollnick, 303-313. New York: Guilford Press, 1991.

Sex offenders present a difficult treatment challenge, and constitute a group for whom motivational interventions are particularly warranted. Although specific treatment goals differ across offenders, the general goals for all offender include giving up a highly reinforcing and typically long-established pattern of behavior. The offender's motivation for change is the most important determinant of treatment outcome, which means that motivation-enhancing strategies are absolutely critical in working with this population. This chapter has outlined various obstacles and intervention strategies for working with offenders at different stages of treatment. [SECTION FROM CHAPTER CONCLUSION]

Ginsburg, Joel, I. D., Ruth E. Mann, Frederick Rotgers, and John R. Weekes. "Motivational Interviewing with Criminal Justice Populations." In *Motivational interviewing: Preparing People for Change* (2nd ed), edited by William R. Miller and Steven Rollnick, 333-346. New York: Guilford Press, 2002.

The use of motivational interviewing (MI) to keep offenders wanting to be involved in programs that help them to stop their criminal behavior is explained. Sections of this chapter following an introduction are: motivational issues in criminal justice settings—motivation and the criminal justice culture, self-determination theory and the culture, motivation and treatment uptake, and motivation and treatment progress; motivational interviewing with offenders—MI with sexual offenders and MI with offenders with substance abuse problems; MI as a treatment adjunct; possible drawbacks to using motivational interviewing with criminal justice populations; and conclusion. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

http://addiction.persiangig.com/document/Motivational%20Interviewing.pdf

Harper, R., and S. Hardy. "An Evaluation of Motivational Interviewing as a Method of Intervention with Clients in a Probation Setting." *British Journal of Social Work* 30(2000): 393-400.
This article describes the quantitative part of a research project undertaken within Middlesex Probation Service to evaluate the introduction of motivational interviewing as a technique to aid probation officers in their assessment and supervision of offenders who misuse alcohol and drugs. Results suggest that, irrespective of stratification, all offenders indicated an improvement in their questionnaire scores during their contact with the probation service. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Hartzler, B. and E. Espinosa. "Moving Criminal Justice Organizations Toward Adoption of Evidence-Based Practice via Workshop Training in Motivational Interviewing: A Research Note." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 22, no. 2 (2011): 235-253.
The National Institute of Corrections urges use of motivational interviewing (MI) techniques by its workforce, and it is incumbent on criminal justice organizations to find effective methods of personnel training in this evidence-based practice. The current study evaluates impact of a 2-day, advanced MI workshop on personnel skills. Results indicated robust and reliable skill improvements across cohorts and skill domains, with nearly 80% of trainees attaining a proficiency criterion upon leaving the workshop. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Hohman, Melinda, Neal Doran, and Igor Koutsenok. "Motivational Interviewing Training for Juvenile Correctional Staff in California: One Year Initial Study." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 48, no. 7 (2009): 635-48.
This study reports initial results of a program designed to train California corrections staff (n = 576) in motivational interviewing (MI), a method of communication that is based on a client-centered, collaborative style. After three days of training, participants made significant gains in terms of knowledge of MI principles and reflective listening skills. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Kear-Colwell, Jon and Philip Pollock. "Motivation or Confrontation. Which Approach to the Child Sex Offender?" *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 24, no. 1 (1997): 20-33.
Applying Prochaska and DiClimente's stages of change model to understanding the sequence of events necessary for an individual to alter patterns of behavior, this article examines the relative merits and problems of two intervention approaches—confrontational techniques and motivational interventions—to working with child sex offenders. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Mann, Ruth E. and Steven Rollnick. "Motivational Interviewing with a Sex Offender who Believed he was Innocent." *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy* 24 (1996): 127-134.
Motivational Interviewing (Miller, 1983; Miller and Rollnick, 1991) is an approach originally developed for problem drinkers but assumed to have wider applications. This paper describes one such application through the case of Mr. D, an imprisoned sex offender who

was identified under the procedures of the Prison Service Sex Offender Treatment Programme. A full assessment of his offending suggested that he had made cognitive and behavioural errors prior to the act of intercourse and so motivational interviewing was employed to help him decide whether or not to participate in the treatment programme. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Martino, Steve, et al. "Teaching Community Program Clinicians Motivational Interviewing Using Expert Train-the-Trainer Strategies." *Addiction* 106, no. 2 (2011): 428-441.
The effectiveness of expert-led (EX) and train-the-trainer (TT) strategies was compared to a self-study approach (SS) for teaching clinicians motivational interviewing (MI). Twelve community treatment programs were assigned randomly to the three conditions. EX and TT conditions used skill-building workshops and three monthly supervision sessions guided by treatment integrity ratings, performance feedback and coaching techniques. The study found EX and TT, in comparison to SS, improved clinicians' adherence and competence significantly, with higher percentages of clinicians reaching clinical trial standards of MI performance and few differences between EX and TT. This study supports the combined use of workshops and supervision to teach community program clinicians MI and suggests the train-the-trainer approach may be a feasible and effective strategy for disseminating empirically supported treatments. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

McMurran, Mary. "Motivational Interviewing With Offenders: a Systematic Review." *Legal and Criminological Psychology* 14, no. 1 (2009): 83-100.
This article reviews some of the research evaluating the effectiveness of motivational interviewing (MI) as an approach to motivating offenders to change behavior and reduce recidivism. A review of nearly 20 studies showed that MI can lead to better treatment retention, improved motivation to change, and reduced re-offending.

McMurran. Mary (Ed.). *Motivating Offenders to Change: A Guide to Enhancing Engagement in Therapy.* Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2002.
This book discusses the importance of, and ways to, enhance offender motivation and engagement in treatment as a means to help facilitate recidivism reduction. Partial article available at:
http://books.google.com/books?id=HZ8fSSIAJNoC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Motivating+offen ders+to+change:+A+guide+to+enhancing+engagement+in+therapy&source=bl&ots=l1lbtW5Z 5h&sig=_z8oXemHByhMIn08Mb5Ub17EqZ4&hl=en&ei=lsp_Td2JJYv6sAOy6uD6BQ&sa=X&oi=b ook_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CD0Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q&f=false

Miller, William R. "Pros and Cons: Reflections on Motivational Interviewing in Correctional Settings." *Motivational Interviewing Newsletter for Trainers* 6, no. 1 (1999): 2-3.
In this short article, the author comments on the spread of motivational interviewing from the addictions field into corrections, pointing out the perception of 'the clients' in the addictions field was once similar to how "criminals" are regarded today.
http://motivationalinterview.net/clinical/prosandcons.htm

Miller, William R. and Kathy A. Mount. "A Small Study of Training in Motivational Interviewing: Does One Workshop Change Clinician and Client Behavior?" *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy* 29 (2001): 457-471.
Professional training in motivational interviewing, as on many other topics, is often delivered via a one-time clinical workshop. To what extent do practitioners actually acquire skillfulness through such training? Twenty-two counselors participated in training, of whom 15 completed a study of changes in practice behavior up to 4 months after a motivational interviewing workshop. While practice behavior changed to a statistically significant extent, the effect of training was apparently not large enough to make a difference in client response. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Miller, William R. and Theresa Moyers. *Eight Stages of Learning Motivational Interviewing*.
The steps one takes to learn motivational interviewing (MI) are briefly described. This outline is useful for creating a MI training structure and for plotting where the trainee is at in the learning process. Available at:
http://motivationalinterview.org/Documents/8%20Stages.pdf

Miller, William R. and Stephen Rollnick. *Motivational Interviewing: Preparing People for Change*.
New York: Guilford, 2002.
The authors explain current thinking on the process of behavior change, present the principles of MI, and provide detailed guidelines for putting it into practice. Case examples illustrate key points and demonstrate the benefits of MI in addictions treatment and other clinical contexts. [SECTION FROM GOOGLE BOOKS]

Miller, William R. and Stephen Rollnick. "Ten Things that Motivational Interviewing is Not."
Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy 37 no. 2 (2009): 129-140.
The authors try to clean away 26 years of accumulated misgivings from what motivational interviewing entails. The ten things MI is not are: the transtheoretical model of change; a way of tricking people into doing what you want them to do; a techniques; decisional balance; assessment feedback; cognitive-behavioral therapy; client-centered therapy; easy to learn; practice as usual; and a panacea (p. 129).
http://nicic.gov/Library/025182

Miller, William R. Yahne, Carolyn E., Theresa B. Moyers, J. Martinez, and M. Pirritano. "A Randomized Trial of Methods to Help Clinicians Learn Motivational Interviewing." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 72 (2004): 1050-1062.
The Evaluating Methods for Motivational Enhancement Education trial evaluated methods for earning motivational interviewing (MI). Licensed substance abuse professionals (N = 140) were randomized to 5 training conditions: (a) clinical workshop only; (b) workshop plus practice feedback; (c) workshop plus individual coaching sessions; (d) workshop, feedback, and coaching; or (e) a waiting list control group of self-guided training. Relative to

controls, the 4 trained groups showed larger gains in proficiency. Coaching and/or feedback also increased post-training proficiency. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Murphy, Christopher M. and Victoria A. Baxter. "Motivating Batterers to Change in the Treatment Context." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 12, no. 4 (1997): 607-619.
Many treatment programs for domestic abuse perpetrators rely on consistent, direct, and often intense confrontation of defenses. These interventions may unwittingly increase rather than decrease resistance and defensiveness and may reinforce the belief that relationships are based on coercive influence. Supportive strategies are available to increase motivation to change in resistant clients. These techniques rely on a comprehensive model of the change process and match therapist interventions to the client's readiness for change. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Prescott, David S. (forthcoming). *Creating Willing Partners: Meaningful Engagement of Offenders in Change*. Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers, XXIII/1. (Winter), 2011
This article is excerpted and modified from a chapter forthcoming in Calder, M.C. (2011). Contemporary Practice with Young People Who Sexually Abuse. Lyme Regis, Dorset, UK: Russell House Publishing.

Rosengren, David B. *Building Motivational Interviewing Skills: A Practitioner Workbook: Applications of Motivational Interviewing*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2009.
This manual is meant for practitioners across a variety of intervention and professional spectrums. Although I use the conventions of "practitioner" and "client" for convenience, this manual would be equally applicable for corrections workers, paraprofessionals, peer counselors, as well as a host of other working in helping situations…. Each chapter provides an overview of concepts to which a trainee would be exposed to if he or she took" a standard MI workshop. This manual contains numerous worksheets and exercises useful for training, coaching, and applying motivational interviewing. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]
http://books.google.com/books?id=R_TEGNa35eIC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Saunders, Bill, Celia Wilkinson, and Mike Phillips. "The Impact of a Brief Motivational Intervention with Opiate Users Attending a Methadone Programme." *Addiction* 90, (1995): 415-424.
During the 1980s Motivational Interviewing emerged as one of the memes of the addictions field. In this paper findings of a controlled trial of a brief motivational intervention with illicit drug users (n = 122) attending a methadone clinic are reported. Over the 6-month follow-up period the motivational subjects demonstrated a greater, immediate, commitment to abstention, reported more positive expected outcomes for abstention, reported fewer opiate-related problems, were initially more contemplative of change, complied with the methadone programme longer and relapsed less quickly than the control group. There was, however, no difference in terms of the severity of reported opiate dependence and the control group fared better on reported self-efficacy. It was concluded

that motivational interventions of the type investigated are useful adjuncts to methadone programmes. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Stein, L A R, Suzanne M. Colby, Nancy P. Barnett, Peter M. Monti, Charles Golembeske, and Rebecca Lebeau-Craven. "Effects of Motivational Interviewing for Incarcerated Adolescents on Driving Under the Influence After Release." *The American Journal on Addictions / American Academy of Psychiatrists in Alcoholism and Addictions* 15, no. 1 (2006): 50-7.
Motivational Interviewing (MI) to reduce alcohol and marijuana-related driving events among incarcerated adolescents was evaluated. Effects were moderated by levels of depression. At low levels of depression, MI evidenced lower rates of these behaviors; at high levels of depression, effects for MI and RT were equivalent. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Stein, L A R, Rebecca Lebeau, Suzanne M. Colby, Nancy P. Barnett, Charles Golembeske, and Peter M. Monti. "Motivational Interviewing for Incarcerated Adolescents: Effects of Depressive Symptoms on Reducing Alcohol and Marijuana Use after Release." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs* 72, no. 3 (2011): 497-506.
This study evaluates the efficacy of MI [motivational interviewing] versus RT [relaxation training] in reducing substance use outcomes for incarcerated adolescents and examines the role of depressive symptoms in moderating outcomes." While MI is shown to be effective in reducing the use of alcohol in adolescents with low and high levels of depression and marijuana use in individuals with low levels of depression, it appears RT is better suited to marijuana-involved adolescents with high depressive symptoms.
http://nicic.gov/Library/025180

Walker Daniels, Jill and Christopher M. Murphy. "Stages and Processes of Change in Batterers' Treatment." *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 4 (1997): 123-145.
The transtheoretical model of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1984) has been widely researched in the areas of substance abuse and health promotion. This model is applied to the problem of domestic violence, specifically to group treatment for abuse perpetrators. These interventions could benefit by incorporating the transtheoretical model's focus on motivational factors and stage-specific interventions. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]

Walters, Scott T., Matson, S.A., Baer, J.S., and D. M. Ziedonis. "Effectiveness of Workshop Training for Psychosocial Addiction Treatments: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 29, no. 4 (2005.): 283-293.
Workshop training for psychosocial substance abuse treatment has been an important part of the transfer of evidence-based approaches into larger practice. Although they are widely used, training methods such as self-study reading, internet-based courses, and educational workshops have not traditionally been the focus of empirical investigations. Based on electronic and manual searches of the literature, we summarize 17 evaluations of workshop training that describe the training program and the educational outcomes. In general, training tends to improve attendees' knowledge, attitudes, and confidence in working with clients who have substance abuse problems. [JOURNAL ABSTRACT]

Walters, Scott T. et al. "Motivational Interviewing as a Supervision Strategy in Probation: A Randomized Effectiveness Trial." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 49, no. 5 (2010): 309-323.
This study was designed to evaluate the effect of a modest MI [motivational interviewing] training program on probation officer skill, on client outcome, and the overall relationship between officer skill and client outcome" (p. 318). This training program increased some MI skills that were maintained over six months, had no effect on some key probationer outcomes, and had little relationship between MI practice and offender outcome. *http://nicic.gov/Library/025181*

Walters, Scott T., R. Ogle, and J. E. Martin. "Perils and Possibilities of Group-Based Motivational Interviewing." In *Motivational interviewing: Preparing People for Change* (2nd ed), edited by William R. Miller and Steven Rollnick. New York: Guilford Press, 2002.
This chapter addresses the perils and possibilities of a group-based motivational interviewing (GMI) through four sections. We begin with a review and analysis of the early empirical findings of group-based motivational applications. This review is followed by a discussion of evidence that one might be able to conduct motivational interviewing in the context of a group with minimal loss of fidelity. We then turn to the process itself, as well as the questions that inevitably arise when structuring the motivational group. [AUTHOR ABSTRACT]
http://addiction.persiangig.com/document/Motivational%20Interviewing.pdf

Walters, Scott T., Michael D. Clark, Ray Gingerich, and Melissa L. Meltzer. *Motivating Offenders to Change: A Guide for Probation and Parole*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections, 2007.
This publication "provides probation and parole officers and other correctional professionals with both a solid grounding in the principles behind MI [motivational interviewing] and a practical guide for applying these principles in their everyday dealings with offenders" (p.2). Seven chapters are contained in this guide: how MI fits in with evidence-based practice; how and why people change; the motivational interviewing style; preparing for change; building motivation for change; navigating through tough times--working with deception, violations, and sanctions; and from start to finish--putting MI into practice. *http://nicic.gov/Library/022253*

Motivational Interviewing Basics

Common Strategies

► **F**eedback

► **R**esponsibility

► **A**dvice

► **M**enu of options

► **E**mpathy

► **S**elf-efficacy

Principles of MI:

► **E**xpress empathy

► **A**mplify ambivalence

► **R**oll with resistance

► **S**upport self-efficacy

Backbone of MI:

► **O**pen-ended questions

► **A**ffirmations

► **R**eflective listening

► **S**ummarize

Change Talk Model

► **D**esire to change

► **A**bility to change

► **R**eason to change

► **N**eed to change

► **C**OMMITMENT to change

Resources: Dr. Stephen Phillippi @ sphill2@lsuhsc.edu,
Motivationalinterview.org, MI Guide for Probation & Parole @ NIC/U.S. DOJ

Motivational Interviewing
Desk Reference

Foundation of Motivational Interviewing (MI): *OARS* **- The Basics**

Motivational Interviewing is an **"A directive, client-centered counseling style for helping clients explore and resolve ambivalence about behavior change."** *William R. Miller, 1991*

Open-ended Questions, Affirmations, Reflective Listening, and summarizing (OARS)

OARS are the foundation of the MI skills and techniques that are used regularly and consistently, and will become a comfortable way of communicating with clients, colleagues and family alike. OARS, an acquired MI skill, will eventually become a natural interpersonal communication skill observable in all interactions.

Open-ended Questions

Open-ended questions allows the client to speak more than the Intensive Supervision Officer (ISO), they allows the client to share information, in their own words, without input from their ISO. ISOs must listen to what the client is saying which will assist the ISO in asking any follow up questions. Open-ended questions while used often in an exchange in dialogue are not exclusive, closed questions (yes or no responses) and will be used as follow up tools to expand on the subject or provide clarification.

Here are some samples of open questions:
☐ Who is the most important person in your life? And why are important to you?
☐ How does being on probation affect your home/work life?
☐ Who are the 5 most important people in your life?
☐ How can I help you with ___?
☐ Help me understand ___?
☐ What was the best 5 minutes of your day?
☐ What was the worst 5 minutes of your day?
☐ How would you like things to be different?
☐ What are the good things about ___ and what are the less good things about it?
☐ When would you be most likely to___?

- What do you think you will lose if you give up ___?
- What have you tried before to make a change?
- Who in your life support you changing this behavior?
- What do you want to do next?
- How does your (behavior) affect your family?
- "What do you know about the risks of (drinking/drugs)?"
- How will getting off probation affect your home/work life?

☐

OARS: Affirmations

Affirmations are positive reinforcements, statements of a client's behavior that deserve recognition. When a behavior is acknowledged,
the pride the client feels from the recognition, can lead them client to continue the positive behavior. Affirmations can encourage and
support the client through the change process. Affirmations build self-confidence in the client's belief that he or she can change,
supporting their self-efficacy. For affirmations to be meaningful it must be genuine and appropriate to the positive behavior.

Examples of affirming responses:
- I appreciate that you are willing to meet with me today.
- You are clearly a very resourceful person.
- You handled yourself really well in that situation.
- That's a good suggestion.
- Congratulation on your successful completion from drug treatment (or GED, class)
- Your counselor informed me you participate well in her group…that is nice to hear.
- If I were in your shoes, I don't know if I could have managed nearly so well.
- I've enjoyed talking with you today.
- "You are very courageous to be so revealing about this."
- "You've accomplished a lot in a short time."
- "You've tried very hard to quit."

OARS: Reflective Listening

Reflective listening is significant in building a rapport. Reflective listening is a skill that engages others with an authentic communication

exchange that builds trust, relationship and impacts the desire to change. Reflective listening seems simple, but quite tricky; it involves repeating, rephrasing and/or paraphrasing, as well as, reflecting on feeling statements, at times, reflective listening can be misconstrued as summarizing. In order to master the skills of reflective listening consistent practice is necessary. to It requires really listening to what the client is saying, responding back to the client to ensure understanding of what the client just said and/or to clarify.

Using some standard phrases may help until the skill feels comfortable:

☐ **So you feel...**
☐ **It sounds like you...**
☐ **You're wondering if...**
☐ **So what I hear you saying is...**
☐ **This is what I am hearing, please correct me if I am wrong ...**

There are three types or degrees of reflective listening that can effect and impact the rapport building process. In general, the depth should match the situation.

Examples of the three levels include:
☐ **Repeating or rephrasing**: Listener repeats or substitutes synonyms or phrases, and stays close to what the speaker has said
☐ **Paraphrasing**: Listener makes a restatement in which the speaker's meaning is inferred
☐ **Reflection of feeling**: Listener emphasizes emotional aspects of communication through feeling statements.
This is the sincere and genuine form of listening. Varying the degree of reflection is effective in listening. Also, at times there are benefits to over-stating or under-stating a reflection. An overstated reflection may cause a person to back away from their position or belief. An understated reflection may help a person to explore a deeper commitment to the position or belief.

OARS: Summarizing
Summaries can be used throughout a conversation but are particularly helpful at transition points, for example, If you are in a lengthy conversation with a client, you may summarize at some point to ensure you are on track with where the client is going, then continue

with the conversation. Summarizing is also done at the ending of the conversations as well.

Example of Summaries: Begin with a statement indicating you are making a summary

- **Let me see if I understand so far...**
- **Here is what I've heard. Tell me if I've missed anything.**
- **"What you've said is important."**
- **"I value what you say."**
- **"Here are the salient points."**
- **"Did I hear you correctly?"**
- **"We covered that well. Now let's talk about ..."**
- **In summarizing**

Change Statements

During all conversations with a client pay special attention to **Change Statements**. These are statements made by the client that point towards a willingness to change. Miller and Rollnick (2002) have identified four types of change statements, all of which overlap significantly:

- **Problem recognition**: "My use has gotten a little out of hand at times."
- **Concern**: "If I don't stop, something bad is going to happen."
- **Intent to change**: "I'm going to do something; I'm just not sure what it is yet."
- **Optimism**: "I know I can get a handle on this problem."

1) If the person expresses ambivalence, it is useful to include both sides in the summary statement. For example: **"On the one hand you feel... on the other hand you want to..."**
2) It can be useful to include information in summary statements from other sources to offer a full picture (e.g., your own professional knowledge, treatment, research, courts, or family).
3) Be clear & concise.
4) End with an invitation. For example:
- **Did I miss anything?**
- **If that's accurate, what other points are there to consider?**
- **Anything you want to add or correct?**

5) Depending on the client's response to your summary statement, it may lead naturally to change talk and/or show client's ambivalence.

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Eight Stages in Learning Motivational Interviewing

William R. Miller, PhD
Theresa B. Moyers, PhD

ABSTRACT. Motivational interviewing (MI) is a clinical method for helping people to resolve ambivalence about change by evoking intrinsic motivation and commitment. Based on our research and experience in providing training on MI, practitioners acquire expertise in this method through a sequence of eight stages: (1) openness to collaboration with clients' own expertise, (2) proficiency in client-centered counseling, including accurate empathy, (3) recognition of key aspects of client speech that guide the practice of MI, (4) eliciting and strengthening client change talk, (5) rolling with resistance, (6) negotiating change plans, (7) consolidating client commitment, and (8) switching flexibly between MI and other intervention styles. These key skills are acquired roughly

in order, with earlier steps representing logical prerequisites for later stages of skill acquisition. doi:10.1300/J188v05n01_02 *[Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <http://www.HaworthPress.com> © 2006 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]*

Motivational interviewing (MI) is a client-centered, yet goal-directed counseling method for helping people to resolve ambivalence about health behavior change by building intrinsic motivation and strengthening commitment (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). More than 80 randomized clinical trials of MI have been published, generally supporting its efficacy in promoting health behavior change, particularly reduction in alcohol and other drug use (Burke, Arkowitz, & Menchola, 2003; Dunn, Deroo, & Rivara, 2001; Hettema, Steele, & Miller, in press; Miller, 2004). Adoption of this clinical approach has been increasing, with the number of publications on MI doubling every 2-3 years over the past two decades. Despite its widespread dissemination, relatively little is known about optimal strategies for teaching and supervising this complex clinical method. Are there particular learning stages or methods that facilitate competence in MI?

Miller and Mount (2001) found that a familiar method of continuing professional education–a 2-day clinical workshop–did not significantly increase counselors' proficiency in MI. Comparing audiotaped samples of trainees' counseling sessions before and after training, they observed some statistically significant increases in MI-consistent behaviors, but not large enough to make a difference in clients' outcomes. The counselors' basic style, which often included methods antithetical to MI, remained unchanged, as did their clients' responses.

This led us to explore other approaches for helping practitioners learn the clinical style of MI. We revised our training approach to place emphasis on the underlying assumptions and spirit of MI (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Rollnick & Miller, 1995) and focused on how to learn MI from one's clients, rather than assuming that skills would be acquired during the workshop. An evaluation of this revised learning-to-learn approach showed much better acquisition of MI expertise after a 2-day practitioner workshop, with practice proficiency maintained or increasing over the year after training. Audiotaped samples of trainees' substance

abuse counseling sessions also showed substantial changes in clients' responses during treatment, a pattern predictive of long-term behavior change (Amrhein, Miller, Yahne, Palmer, & Fulcher, 2003). Individual coaching and/or performance feedback further improved clinicians' skillfulness in MI (Miller, Yahne, Moyers, Martinez, & Pirritano, 2004).

In the course of revising our training approach, we clarified a set of eight logical steps required to develop expertise in the clinical method of MI. These also represent eight points at which counselors get stuck in learning MI. Each of these skills is a prerequisite to acquiring the next. In this way, these eight stages of proficiency can be used to structure the course of training for MI and the evaluation of interviewer expertise. They provide guidelines for assessing each trainee's current level of skill development and determining the next steps on which to focus further training and supervision. This article provides the first description of these eight hypothesized stages of skill acquisition.

STAGE 1:
THE SPIRIT OF MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING

Miller and Rollnick have described an underlying spirit that epitomizes the clinical method of MI, characterizing it as a clinical approach that is collaborative, evocative, and respectful of client autonomy (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Rollnick & Miller, 1995). At a deeper level, it shares with client-centered counseling (Rogers, 1980) and positive psychology (Snyder & Lopez, 2002) a set of assumptions about human nature: that people possess substantial personal expertise and wisdom regarding themselves and tend to develop in a positive direction if given proper conditions of support. Our own process research indicates that the therapist's ability to convey this spirit is a powerful predictor of using other behaviors central to MI as well as a predictor of increased client responsiveness during MI sessions (Moyers, Miller, & Hendrickson, in press).

We do not regard attainment or even endorsement of this underlying spirit to be a prerequisite for the beginning MI therapist. Indeed, we have found that this spirit is less a precondition than a result of practicing MI. What does seem to be important as a starting point in learning MI is an openness to this way of thinking about clients and consultation, at least a willing suspension of disbelief and active curiosity about the client's perspective. We have found that the extent to which therapists practice such a perspective is a good indicator of how readily they will acquire expertise when learning MI.

This point is best illustrated, perhaps, by the difficulty of learning or practicing MI if one is guided by conceptually opposite assumptions. When clients are viewed primarily from a deficit perspective (e.g., being in denial; lacking insight, knowledge, and skills), it makes little sense to spend time eliciting their own wisdom. Instead, the counselor would be inclined to confront denial, explain reality, provide information, and teach skills. Within this perspective, consultation is clinician-centered, and it revolves around the counselor providing what the client lacks: "I have what you need." It can be quite a cognitive jump from this expert stance to MI, wherein the counselor instead communicates a respect for the client's own perspectives and autonomy. The MI counselor seeks to evoke the client's own motivations for change ("You have what you need") rather than installing them. A willingness to entertain this client-centered perspective is a starting point in learning MI.

STAGE 2:
OARS–CLIENT-CENTERED COUNSELING SKILLS

The second stage of skill development is not unique to MI. It involves acquiring proficiency in the use of classic client-centered counseling skills (Egan, 2002; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Particularly crucial, we believe, is the skill of accurate empathy, which is sometimes misunderstood or caricatured as simply repeating what clients say. In fact, accurate empathy is quite a complex clinical skill that can be continually strengthened and deepened across decades of practice. Skillful empathic listening includes accurate reflection of what a client has said as well as what the client is experiencing but has not yet verbalized (Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Furthermore, reflections can promote any of the foundational principles of MI. For example, a single reflection might not only express empathy but also serve the purpose of enhancing client confidence for change or pointing out a discrepancy that increases the felt need for change. Ideally, clients surprise themselves by things they say and think when counselor reflections are accurate and complex.

Along with reflective listening, three other counseling micro-skills are particularly emphasized in MI, using the mnemonic acronym OARS: asking open questions (O), affirming (A), reflecting (R), and summarizing (S). These skills in client-centered counseling form a foundation for the next steps in MI (Miller & Rollnick, 2002).

STAGE 3:
RECOGNIZING AND REINFORCING CHANGE TALK

MI departs from client-centered counseling in being consciously and strategically goal-directed. Originally developed to help people change addictive behaviors (Miller, 1983; Miller & Rollnick, 1991) MI is directed toward particular behavior change goals. A key process is to help clients resolve ambivalence by evoking their own intrinsic motivations for change. When MI is done well, therefore, it is the client rather than the counselor who voices the arguments for change. Particular attention is given to client "change talk," verbalizations that signal desire, ability, reasons, need, or commitment to change (Amrhein et al., 2003; Miller & Rollnick, 2002). From an operant perspective, the MI counselor responds to client speech in a way that differentially reinforces change talk and minimizes verbal commitment to status quo while minimizing resistance that may block the opportunity for change talk to occur. The first two decades of MI research have generated reasonable support for attending to client language as a mediator of client outcome. With random assignment to treatment approaches, MI substantially increases change talk and reduces resistance, relative to other approaches (Miller, Benefield, & Tonigan, 1993), a finding consistent with prior psychotherapy process findings (Patterson & Forgatch, 1985). The level of client resistance during an MI session, in turn, is inversely related to subsequent behavior change (Miller Benefield, & Tonigan, 1993). More recently, psycholinguistic analyses of MI session transcripts have emphasized the importance of client change talk and its relationship to behavior change (Amrhein et al., 2003). Amrhein differentiated motivational speech into natural language components of desire, ability, reasons, need, and commitment to change. Of these five forms of self-motivational speech, only one predicted behavior change. Abstinence from illicit drugs was predicted by the strength of client commitment language during a single MI session. More specifically, client abstinence was predicted by a pattern of increasing strength of commitment to abstinence across the course of the MI session. This converges with cognitive psychology findings that the verbalization of specific implementation intentions predicts subsequent behavior change (Chiasson, Park, & Schwarz, 2001; Gollwitzer, 1999).

However, the remaining four categories were not irrelevant. All four of them (desire, ability, reasons, and need) predicted the emergence of commitment language which, in turn, presaged behavior change (Amrhein et al., 2003). In other words, clients who will eventually be successful in

changing their behavior first speak about their desire to change, need for change, their ability and/or reasons to change. This change talk is associated with an increasing strength of commitment language. Amrhein's data suggest that behavior change occurs if and only if change talk (desire, ability, reasons, need) is followed by expressed commitment.

This empirically derived pattern of natural language during MI sessions converges with the original conceptualization of MI as occurring in two phases (Miller & Rollnick, 1991): in Phase 1, the counselor focuses on enhancing motivation for change by evoking the client's own intrinsic motives (e.g., desire, ability, reasons, need); then in Phase 2, the counselor shifts to strengthen and consolidate commitment to change. All of this indicates a need for the MI counselor to be able to accurately identify and differentiate change talk as it naturally occurs in the context of the client's ambivalence. If unable to recognize change talk when it occurs, the counselor cannot reinforce and shape it toward commitment. Similarly, without being able to recognize commitment language and differentiate it from change talk, the counselor is missing key cues of readiness for change.

STAGE 4:
ELICITING AND STRENGTHENING CHANGE TALK

Once able to recognize change talk, the counselor is then in a position to learn how to elicit and reinforce it. This intentional effort to elicit client change talk, rather than simply waiting for it to occur, is a strategic skill that differentiates MI from other therapeutic approaches. It is our experience that counselors first learn to recognize and reinforce naturally occurring change talk, and then develop skill in eliciting it.

Miller and Rollnick (1991, 2002) described a variety of strategies for evoking client change talk, and for responding in a way that strengthens it once it has been elicited. For example, the MI counselor asks open questions the answer to which is change talk (e.g., "In what ways might this change be a good thing?"), and is cautious with questions the answer to which is resistance (e.g., "Why haven't you changed?"). When change talk occurs, the counselor may reflect it, affirm it, or ask for elaboration or examples–all of which are likely to elicit more change talk. Knowing how and when to ask such questions so that change talk will occur requires complex decisions and purposiveness on the part of the counselor. In our process research with MI, we have been unable to code reliably the counselor responses that would evoke change talk.

There are many different ways to do it and the crucial (but unobservable) characteristic is the therapist's intent, making it particularly difficult for raters to reach a consensus about observable behavior. What can be coded reliably, however, is the occurrence (pattern, strength) of client change talk, and that becomes the clinical criterion for whether the counselor is "doing it right." In essence, once the counselor can recognize change talk and commitment language, the client's language shapes the therapist's behavior, and becomes a principal source of immediate performance feedback in increasing MI skillfulness. With attention to client language, MI counselors have a proximal indicator of their success in practicing this method, as well as an empirical predictor of subsequent client change (Amrhein et al., 2003).

STAGE 5:
ROLLING WITH RESISTANCE

It is one thing to evoke and reinforce change talk, but how does one respond when resistance emerges? Miller and Rollnick described the MI response as "rolling with" resistance rather than opposing it. Direct refutation of clients' arguments against change tends to reinforce them. In this case, the counselor and client are acting out the client's internal ambivalence, with the counselor taking the pro-change side and the client arguing against change. This is counter-therapeutic, in that client verbalization of counter-change arguments ("resistance") decreases the likelihood of behavior change. Here is a point of departure of MI from forms of cognitive therapy that rely upon verbal refutation of clients' "irrational" beliefs.

Various strategies have been described as MI-consistent ways for rolling with resistance (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). Most common of these are simple, amplified, or double-sided reflection of the client's resistance.

> *Client*: Well, I overdo it sometimes, but I don't have a problem with drinking.
>
> *Simple reflection*: You don't think of yourself as a problem drinker.
>
> *Amplified reflection*: Your drinking has never really caused any problems or unpleasant effects in your life.
>
> *Double-sided reflection*: You think you drink too much at times, and also you don't think of yourself as a problem drinker.

Other strategies include emphasizing the client's personal choice and control, reframing, and joining with the resistance ("coming alongside"). Some strategies may involve introspection on the part of the therapist regarding the meaning of client resistance and the consequences if it is not confronted directly (Moyers & Yahne, 1998). In essence, the key is not to oppose, and thereby inadvertently reinforce resistance. Learning how to avoid provoking resistance and how to defuse and diffuse it when it occurs is a fifth stage in the acquisition of MI proficiency.

STAGE 6: DEVELOPING A CHANGE PLAN

As Phase 1 of MI proceeds, most clients verbalize progressively stronger statements of their desire, ability, reasons, and need for change, which in turn increases the likelihood that commitment language will emerge (Amrhein et al., 2003). Miller and Rollnick described therapeutic skillfulness in timing, in knowing when to move on to the development of a change plan. The usual procedure is to offer a transitional summary of change talk (desire, ability, reasons, need) that the client has offered for making a change, and then to ask a key open question, the essence of which is "What next?" If the counselor times this correctly, the client proceeds to discuss how (not just why) change will occur. If the transition has been attempted prematurely, the client signals with resistance and the counselor returns to Phase 1 strategies to further enhance motivation for change.

Part of the skill here, then, is knowing when to attempt the transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Once a client is ready to discuss change, it can be counter-productive to continue exploring motivation for change. It is now time to be curious about how the client envisions change happening, and what unique contributions the client can make to that change. A key component of Stage 6 skill is proficiency in developing a specific change plan (not necessarily treatment plan) without evoking resistance. Clients often need some time to prepare for change without committing to it (Prochaska, 1994). There is a temptation for the counselor to take over the process at this point, but in MI one maintains a client-centered focus. It is the client who decides what is needed, and when and how to proceed. The counselor, of course, does offer expertise at this stage when asked, or with the client's permission. It is worth noting, though, that a successful change plan may emerge with very little substantive input from the counselor.

STAGE 7: CONSOLIDATING CLIENT COMMITMENT

Once a change plan has been developed, a crucial step remains, which is for the client to commit to it. Amrhein's psycholinguistic findings (Amrhein et al., 2003) as well as studies of verbalized implementation intentions indicate that behavior change is unlikely to occur unless and until the client expresses commitment to change. This is not a reason to push immediately for commitment, because doing so prematurely can undermine behavior change. It is unlikely that having a client chant, "I will change, I will change" would make much difference. In one clinical trial, we apparently undermined change in ambivalent clients by pressing too soon for a change plan (Amrhein et al., 2003; Miller, Yahne, & Tonigan, 2003). Skills for Stage 7 are very much like those of Stage 4 in that the counselor is listening and pulling for a specific pattern of speech from the client. This time, however, the specific type of speech is not change talk but commitment language, a naturally occurring set of speech acts that are present when, for example, people enter into a verbal agreement ("I will . . ."). Public commitment language is required when witnesses taking the stand during a trial are asked if they will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Similarly, when exchanging wedding vows a bride and groom ideally respond with commitment language ("I do") rather than just change talk ("I hope so," "I could," "I have good reason to," or "I need to"). It this type of emphatic language implying a decision or contract that we call commitment language and attempt to strengthen once a plan has been made. Learning to consolidate commitment language in the service of a specific change plan is a seventh stage of developing clinical skillfulness in MI.

STAGE 8: SWITCHING BETWEEN MI AND OTHER COUNSELING METHODS

Finally, MI was never meant to be the only tool in a clinician's repertoire. It was developed primarily to help clients through motivational obstacles to change. Within the language of the transtheoretical stages of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1984), MI was originally conceptualized for helping people move from precontemplation and contemplation, through preparation and on to action. Clients who are truly

ready for action when they present for treatment are unlikely to need MI. Indeed, it can be frustrating or countertherapeutic for a client who is ready for change to meet with a counselor whose focus is on contemplating change (Waldron, Miller, & Tonigan, 2001). This can be as much a mismatch as the ambivalent client whose therapist is pressing for immediate action.

There appears to be a synergistic effect when MI is joined to other evidence-based counseling methods (Burke, Arkowitz, & Menchola, 2003). For example, clients randomly assigned to receive MI at the outset of treatment have shown significantly better retention in substance abuse and dual diagnosis treatment and a doubling of abstinence rates after outpatient- (Aubrey, 1998; Bien, Miller, & Boroughs, 1993) or inpatient-treatment (Brown & Miller, 1993). The synergistic effects of adding MI to other treatment also seem to endure for at least a year after treatment (Hettema et al., in press).

When MI is done successfully, an initially ambivalent client advances in motivational readiness, develops a change plan, and commits to it. At this point, if treatment is to continue, the counselor would normally shift to a style that facilitates action (Miller, 2004). This, too, can be a challenge. We have observed therapists who provide highly competent MI while the client is preparing for change, but then have difficulty shifting into a more directive and action-oriented style. Some counselors who are successful using MI come to view it as the only therapeutic method needed, a view that we do not share. The eighth stage of learning MI involves knowing how to combine it flexibly with other methods or even put it away entirely to use another approach.

This is not to say that one must discontinue the collaborative, empathic, respectful counseling style of MI in order to deliver an intervention such as cognitive-behavior therapy or twelve-step facilitation. In an ongoing multisite clinical trial, MI has been used as the underlying counseling style throughout a largely cognitive-behavioral outpatient treatment program (Miller, 2004). An empathic counseling style rich in reflective listening has been found to differentiate highly effective from less effective substance abuse counselors delivering traditional (Valle, 1981) or behavioral treatment (Miller & Baca, 1983; Miller, Taylor, & West, 1980), whereas an authoritarian confrontive counseling approach is strongly linked to poorer treatment outcomes (Miller Benefield, & Tonigan, 1993; Miller & Wilbourne, 2002; Najavits & Weiss, 1994). The client-centered style of MI may therefore be a good foundation for other interventions.

Nevertheless, the delivery of other substance abuse treatment methods generally involves a shift in style from pure MI. Within Project MATCH, a multisite trial of treatments for alcohol dependence, the therapeutic style of MI was highly discriminable from that of cognitive-behavioral or twelve-step facilitation therapies (Carroll et al., 1998). In order to deliver other evidence-supported interventions such as the community reinforcement approach (Meyers & Smith, 1995), social skills training (Monti, Abrams, Kadden, & Cooney, 1989), or twelve-step facilitation (Nowinski, Baker, & Carroll, 1992), one necessarily moves beyond MI. Furthermore, as every clinician knows, motivational obstacles often continue to arise in the course of cognitive-behavioral, twelve-step, or any other treatment approach. Client ambivalence or resistance can serve as a signal to switch back into an MI style until the obstacle is resolved and counseling can move forward again. Thus, effective practice may be facilitated by flexible shifting between clinical styles.

DISCUSSION

MI is an evidence-based and theory-grounded method of psychotherapy that overlaps significantly with client-centered counseling. It is not a behavior therapy in the usual sense. It involves no behavioral skill training, no shaping of successive approximations of behavioral response, no systematic desensitization or counterconditioning. It does overlap with radical behaviorism, however, in the conscious use of operant principles applied to speech, and in its strong emphasis on acceptance and commitment as interpersonal transactions (Hayes, Jacobson, Follette, & Dougher, 1994). MI also shares with behavior therapy an historical grounding in testable theory and a commitment to empirically supported intervention approaches. MI has received reasonable empirical support both from efficacy trials and from process research testing its hypothesized mechanisms of action. There is also sound evidence that clinicians can develop strong proficiency in MI through combinations of training experiences (Miller et al., 2004; Moyers et al., in press).

Although our proposed developmental sequence of MI skills is logical, it arises from our experience in teaching MI, and remains to be validated empirically. It would be useful to develop reliable measures of each of the eight skills, and to demonstrate that they can be differentiated among clinicians in training. For some of the skills (e.g., accurate empathy) there are already well-developed and tested measures. Others, such as eliciting change talk, have proved elusive when defined in terms of coun-

selor behaviors, and thus far can only be inferred from their impact on client speech. For still others, there has been very little progress toward skill-specific measures.

Also testable is our assertion that the eight skills emerge in a manner that approximates a Guttman scale wherein each step is a prerequisite for the next, so that achievement of expertise in a specific stage of skills is dependent upon the establishment of at least reasonable proficiency in all of the skills that precede it within the model. For some pairs this seems highly likely. For example, it would be difficult to evoke and respond differentially to change talk (Stage 4) unless one can first recognize change talk and differentiate it from other client responses (Stage 3). Similarly, one must first develop reasonable proficiency in reflective listening (Stage 2) before being able to use reflections directively as differential reinforcement (Stage 4). On the other hand, the recognition of change talk (stage 3) does not logically require prior proficiency in client-centered counseling. Indeed, we have trained student coders to reliably recognize and categorize the occurrence of change talk from MI session tape recordings, without first teaching them clinical skillfulness in client-centered methods. Similarly, it may be possible to learn how to roll with resistance (Stage 5) based primarily on client-centered counseling skills (Stage 2) before developing skill in eliciting change talk (Stage 4).

If these stages of learning MI can be empirically supported, it would be useful to know what counselor characteristics might be associated with ease of learning for each of them. Are there particular experiences or attributes of counselors that make reflective listening easier or harder to acquire? Is there an ideal learning trajectory for these stages? Can we identify predictable detours or trouble spots for counselors and perhaps methods for overcoming them to facilitate efficiency in training? Answering these and similar questions could clarify the processes of acquiring therapeutic expertise in motivational interviewing, and perhaps have more general applications in the training of counselors.

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Motivational Interviewing for Probation Staff: Increasing the Readiness to Change

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"Motivational Interviewing makes a lot of sense to me— I mean, it seems to be a lot like banking. We've got to make a deposit before we can expect to make a withdrawal." (Training participant, 2005)

THIS ARTICLE BEGINS a two-part series on increasing motivation with "involuntary clients," focusing on mandated offenders placed under probation supervision by court orders. Motivational Interviewing (Miller & Rollnick, 1991) is an approach that was first developed and applied in the field of addictions but has broadened and become a favored approach for use with numerous populations across a variety of settings (Burke, Arkowitz & Dunn, 2002). In our own field of criminal justice, evidence-based practice as outlined by criminologists has recommended that justice staff be responsive to motivational issues with offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). This series demonstrates practical ways to respond to that recommendation.

Probation staff clamor for "how to's" and seek knowledge as they work hard to manage high-volume caseloads. The second article of this series will address such strategies and techniques for the line officer. But patience is necessary; Motivational Interviewing (MI) is not just a collection of techniques to apply *on* an offender. Raising motivation levels and increasing an offender's readiness to change requires a certain "climate"—a helpful attitude and a supportive approach that one takes *with* an offender. This climate becomes hospitable to developing a helping relationship—and this relationship must occur between agent and probationer for

enduring change to take place. This article will examine this type of climate across the criminal justice field (the macro perspective), within probation departments (the mezzo perspective), and within the individual pairing of any officer and offender (the micro perspective).

Across the Criminal Justice Field (macro): What Business Are We In?

Duncan, Miller and Sparks (2004), promoting outcome-informed efforts, recall a landmark article by Theodore Levitt, a Harvard business professor. Levitt (1975) recounted the rise of the railroad industry throughout much of the 1800s and into the next century. The railroad industry vaulted to tremendous success as it laid track from city to city, crisscrossing and connecting our continent. Millions of dollars were pocketed by those laying the track and building this nation's rail infrastructure. The pace of life quickened and demand rose for speedy travel.

However, as the first baby-boomers began to leave their nests in the1960s, the railroads were in trouble—actually in serious decline. Why? Railroad executives would answer that it was due to the need for speedier transportation and faster communication that was being filled in other ways (i.e., cars, trucking industry, telecommunications, etc.). That reasoning made no sense to Levitt. To this business professor it begged a question. Duncan, Miller & Sparks (2002: 80) note the irony:

> The railroad industry, Levitt (1975) argued, was not in trouble "because the need was being filled by others...but because it was

not filled by the railroads themselves" (p. 19). Why did the industry *not* diversify when it had the chance? Because, as it turns out, railroad executives had come to believe they were in the train rather than the *transportation* business.

Due to this limiting conception, trucking and air freight industries prospered while locomotive engines fell into disrepair, parked on rusted track in the back of neglected railroad yards. The railroad industry had come to believe they were in the railroad business instead of the transportation business.

It would seem that probation, as a criminal justice entity, is much like the railroad industry of our past century—for it has come to believe that it is in the *probation business* rather than the *behavior change business.* Our field seems primarily concerned with the process of probation—insuring adequate supervision, compliance with probation orders and the completion of mounds of attendant paperwork. Process takes center stage rather than a principal focus on strategies and techniques that will encourage positive behavior change (outcomes).

The problem lies in the mindset that pervades the probation and parole field that allows outcomes to take a back seat to process. Consider a recent lament by a deputy director who manages a fairly large community corrections division. He offered his state's "probation officer of the year award" as an example of the "business of probation." This annual contest awards much more than a certificate or a new wristwatch—the prize is a week-long vacation in the Caribbean! As can be imagined, staff work hard to win the prize. However, this deputy director noted

that the field is so process-oriented that the agents who win this trip do so because of timely paperwork completion, more face-to-face meetings than required, comprehensive report writing and punctual court appearances. Yet if *outcomes* were considered, this same officer, enjoying the sun and waves from a relaxing beach-side cabana, might be embarrassed to know that his or her caseload detailed a 30 percent absconding rate or a 60 percent recidivism rate. Sadly, this situation is not one-of-a-kind. Another state's "officer of the year" award is even easier to determine: it is awarded to the staff member who has the highest rate of collection of *court fees.* Process is king. The business of probation occupies the limelight.

For those who might bristle at this implication, a quick inventory is telling: If your department requires new-agent training, how much of this orientation curriculum involves motivational enhancement training or strategies/techniques to encourage positive behavior change? Consider any continuing education training recently conducted by your department. More often than not, training titles would have included phrases such as, "Managing the...," "Supervising the...," "Officer Safety," "Computer Training," "Risk Assessment" or the ubiquitous phrase, "How To Deal With the...(sex offender, dually-diagnosed, hostile client, etc.)" This is not to imply that these training topics are unimportant, but rather to point out the sheer absence of any tactical curiosity regarding positive behavior change. The business of probation proliferates. Managing trumps motivating. Supervision obscures relationships. Intimidation overshadows encouragement. Compliance remains in ascendancy.

Looking to our past may help us to understand the present. The correctional world we operate in has always known tension between the ideals of punishment and treatment. Our field seems unable to extricate itself from a seemingly hypnotic hold of a "tough-as-nails" approach. To try and understand how the probation field became mesmerized is to appreciate two swings of the crime-control pendulum that have occurred over the last 50 years. Psychological and sociological theories of criminal behavior gained prominence in the 1940s and helped the principle of rehabilitation of offenders (offender treatment) to flourish throughout the 1950s and 1960s. (Gendreau & Ross, 1987) However, evidence to support the treatment paradigm did not keep pace by tracking outcomes and

building supportive evidence, so the pendulum swing of correctional policy started to move back to the punishment and "just desserts" approach. Rehabilitation lost favor by the late 1970s and began to recede during the 1980s.

One swing followed another as the ideal of punishment lost ground. Clive Hollin (2000) notes, "If the 1980s saw the fall of the rehabilitation ideal, then the early 1990s witnessed a spectacular resurrection... (this) resurrection of treatment can be directly traced to the impact of a string of meta-analytic studies of the effects of offender treatment published towards the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s." The predominance of punishment had not demonstrated effectiveness, and in many instances, was shown to increase recidivism. With the advent of the 1990s, supervision and treatment has enjoyed more certainty of success (Andrew & Bonta, 2003; Bernfield et al., 2001).

With the current pendulum swing back to treatment comes a call for motivational enhancement of offenders. With the rise of evidence-based practice, Andrews, et al. (1990) details "three principles of effective intervention": 1) risk assessment, 2) targeting criminogenic needs, and 3) responsivity. The rubric of "responsivity" is defined as an effort that will "Insure that individuals are suited to the treatment intervention. Be responsive to temperament, learning style, motivation, culture and gender of offenders undergoing treatment when assigning and delivering programs" (emphasis added - pps. 374-375).

How then, can probation staff respond to motivational issues and work to enhance offender readiness to change, when a good portion of our criminal justice culture (macro) remains stuck in an adversarial "get-tough" atmosphere? Anthropology may offer an explanation. Steven Pinker, in his 1997 landmark book, *How the Mind Works,* notes there are parts of the human brain and body that once served a survival purpose in our primordial cave-dwelling past—yet today these same body parts no longer serve any real function. These anthropological remnants become an appropriate analogy for the "tough-as-nails" stance that many embrace within our probation field. What "worked" for the sole emphasis on punishment and penalty (stopping negative behavior), endures only as an obstacle for increasing motivation and assisting change (starting positive behavior).

A Second Pendulum Swing?

We've witnessed the pendulum swing between the punishment and treatment camps in our field, yet could there actually be *two* pendulums? I propose that there is one research-based pendulum and another practice-based pendulum. The research pendulum swings in the foreground, set in motion by criminologists who suggest what course-of-action will reduce crime. However, I believe there is a second pendulum, moving in the background, much more slowly and shadowing the first. This pendulum swing involves the atmosphere and attitudes of those who work within the probation field. This article calls attention to this "practice pendulum" that is created by—but not always in sync with—the research pendulum. To understand this second pendulum is to understand that our field seems shackled by a lag-effect; out-of-date attitudes held by many in the field who seek not only compliance from offenders but dominance and primacy over them as well. This hold-over from the "just desserts"/punishment era remains alive, suppressing behavior change as it limits an offender's involvement to passive and submissive roles. The brain is dead, but the body continues.

An example of how shackled our field has become can be seen in a recent discussion I had with a training participant following a Motivational Interviewing session. The probation agent approached my podium at the conclusion of a session:

Agent: Interesting training session, but now you've got me thinking.

MC: What's on your mind?

Agent: Well, I'm thinking that I should probably shake hands with my probationers.

MC: You don't?

Agent: No. I was hired out of the prison. There's a "no touch" policy inside facilities. We [staff] can't touch, they [inmates] can't touch. Nothing's allowed, not even hand-shaking.

MC: But... [pause] you're working probation now, you're not working in the prison any longer.

Agent: Yea. That's why this training's got me thinking. I mean, yesterday I was walking a new case to the lobby door and he stuck out his hand to shake with me. I got a little angry and said, "I don't shake hands! When you get dismissed, maybe then I'll shake your hand."

MC: Wow. Pretty hard to make the kinds of connections we've been talking about

in this training session if you won't even shake hands.

Agent: Yea. That's what's got me thinking.

MC: Must be hard to make the transition over from prison. But, hey, don't be too hard on yourself. How long have you been in this job [community-based probation]?

Agent: Four years.

Four years! I was left speechless. I understood—at that moment—that I had been wrong to assume even the most basic conditions of a helping relationship might be in place across our field. Allow me to draw an analogy to this agent's response. This interchange could well be akin to hiking many miles into a barren desert only to cross paths with someone who was sweltering in a thick winter jacket. Incredulous, you might ask, why would one wear such bizarre attire in the blazing heat of the day? You would be shocked to hear the nonsensical answer, "Four years ago I use to hike in the cold northern latitudes!"

The Center for Strength-Based Strategies began an inquiry to assess other probation departments, only to find that this practice of refusing to shake an offered hand is not uncommon. A basic act of respect like returning an overture to shake hands can be denied. How has this "business of probation" become an enterprise so belligerent to behavior change? There are two facts about those we work with: 1) offenders are human, and 2) offenders have committed a crime. It is of grave concern that some officer attitudes and behaviors might seem contentious to the first of these two immutable facts.

Within Probation Departments (mezzo): The Obstacle of the "Either/Or"

Despite such obstacles, what about this recent pendulum swing that is refocusing our field toward treatment? How does this business of behavior change occur? And more important to our field, how can department policy and a probation officer's efforts increase an offender's readiness to change? These questions can guide our departments toward a fundamental alteration in both attitude and objectives.

Change often takes time. Though it can occur by sudden insight or dramatic shifts (i.e., epiphanies, "wake up calls"), the vast majority of changes take place slowly and incrementally. The Stages of Change theory (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983) has even

mapped out these incremental steps, lending support to the idea that change is a "process" rather than a point-in-time event. When working with probationers new to our system (or those returning) who may pose harm to themselves or others, initial objectives must begin with offender stabilization. Those who are out-of-control must be brought into control; hence, compliance becomes an all-important first step in offender supervision. If we skipped that step, we would be neglecting our primary mission of social control at the community's peril.

It's time to expose a form of "either/or" conceptualization by probation staff as a stumbling block for improved outcomes. This block is analogous to brewing tea. To enjoy a cup of tea, we need not hot water alone or tea leaves alone, but rather hot water *and tea* leaves, the key combination that allows the brew to be served. However, some would strip this sensibility from our own field of probation. They would have us believe that we *either* secure compliance *or* increase the readiness to change; *either* impose sanctions or establish a helping relationship. This contrast is so pervasive that it is seldom noticed or examined. Motivational Interviewing contends that objectives of control and motivation can exist side-by-side. This "both/and" inclusiveness will be sketched-out later in this article.

Those who show little respect to offenders and adopt an adversarial style only succeed in imposing (once again) another type of unproductive either/or contrast: Either one is tough or soft. A tough, unyielding approach could be characterized as "holding the line." Those who take it justify their harsh attitudes and abrasive conduct towards offenders as a necessity for control. To do otherwise would constitute a soft approach that is merely "wanting to be liked" or "trying to be friends." While heavy-handed advocates may not achieve acceptable levels of success, they feel relief that (at least) they will never be accused of acting indulgently or pandering to the offender. It has long been a reaction in our field to merely blame the offender when change does not occur (Clark, 1995). Rather than examine our own efforts, we explain away a lack of improvement as more evidence of the intractable nature of probationers.

The "us vs. them" mindset hampers the officer/probationer relationship, department objectives, offender improvement, and ultimately the safety of our communities. Space

prohibits a comprehensive review of the multitude of studies (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Hubble, Duncan & Miller, 1999) that find a confrontational counseling style limits its effectiveness. One such review (Miller, Benefield and Tonnigan, 1993) is telling. This study found that a directive-confrontational counselor style produced twice the resistance, and only half as many "positive" client behaviors, as did a supportive, client-centered approach. The researchers concluded that *the more staff confronted, the more the clients drank at twelve-month follow* up. Problems are compounded as a confrontational style not only pushes success away, but can make matters worse.

It is at this juncture that many probation staff may protest, "We're not counselors!—our job is to enforce the orders of the court." This claim only underscores our field's, fixation on the business of probation—not the business of behavior change.

Staff who do not adopt this abrasive style must work around those who do. These department colleagues and supervisors witness the insensitive attitudes and disrespectful treatment of offenders; however, much like a crowd that shrinks back in a bully's presence, they fall silent and fail to challenge this callous conduct. In a recent discussion with a deputy chief of a large probation department, this manager bemoaned that his department was rife with those who refused to shake hands with probationers—yet defended this beleaguered tolerance as proof that he was *progressive* in allowing diversity of officer styles (!).

It is understandable why many are reluctant to confront, because they realize they are likely to be labeled as "soft"—and staff thought to be soft lack authority and substance with those favoring a "tough" approach. The criticism, or the person criticizing, would be dismissed—a priori—as lacking integrity.

I am reminded of a probation supervisor who tried to confront a staff member known for intimidation tactics and for bragging in back-office chatter about his ill-treatment of probationers. When the supervisor argued that his use of intimidation was both unethical and ineffective, the officer retorted, "So, what you're saying is that I should mollycoddle them [probationers]?" "No," the supervisor answered, "But you can't use the stick all the time, there are times to use the carrot as well." The officer retorted sarcastically, "So, I'm supposed to be their friend,

right?" "No," the supervisor replied again, "But I speak of basic respect." "Respect?" cried the officer, "Respect *these* people after what they've done?" "Look," the supervisor pleaded, "it's just not effective to constantly go after them." The officer rejoined with a rhetorical question, "So, you're telling me that hugging them is more effective?" After several go-rounds the exasperated supervisor finally stated, "I guess what I'm trying to say is that you just need to be a little more `touchy-feely' with those you supervise." The probation officer finished the exchange with the mocking statement, "That's right! When I *touch* them, I want them to *feel* it!" Frustrated by the officer's closed-mindedness, the supervisor withdrew.

A clarification is necessary. MI considers "confrontation to be the goal, not the counselor style." That is, the goal of all helping is to create a "self-confrontation" that prompts offenders to "see and accept an uncomfortable reality" (Miller & Rollnick, 1991, pg. 13). This awareness, of coming face-to-face with a disquieting image of oneself, is often a prerequisite for intentional change. However, one would not try to force this awareness upon someone through a confrontational *style.* To do so often makes matters worse. Multiple research studies (Rolinick, Mason & Butler, 1999, Tomlin & Richardson, 2004) repeatedly demonstrate that a harsh, coercive style often prompts a "paradoxical response" -the more one is directive and presses, the more the other person backs away. Rather than evoking change it causes an offender to become more entrenched in the problem, arguing and defending his or her current negative behavior. Probation agents are familiar with this "backing away." It can take the active form, of arguing and tense opposition, or the passive form of shutting down, as with passive-aggressive silence—a "Who cares?" dismissal.

How probation officers can help offenders to see and examine their situation clearly and change accordingly—all while avoiding the active or passive forms of this paradoxical response—will be outlined in the next article.

Finding the Middle Ground

To understand and further behavior change is to understand the interpersonal climate between officer and probationer that encourages change. Motivational enhancement steers clear of both the hard and soft approach. The "hard' approach is overly-

directive and places offenders in passive, recipient roles. A "soft" approach correspondingly places the officer in a role that is too passive. A soft approach is also vulnerable to a condition characterized as "professional dangerousness" (Turnell & Edwards, 1999), where an officer, in attempting to keep a hard-won relationship at all costs, refuses to bring violations to the court's attention when he or she should ("I won't tell this time—but don't do it again"). Here the officer has swung too far to the opposite extreme and is not directive enough. The hope and belief that the officer can build an alliance and work together with an offender to make things better is not the same as ignoring violations. Believing that offenders are worth doing business with is not at all the same thing as adopting the easiest way of doing business with them.

Neither side wins this debate, because both approaches reduce offender outcomes—each for a different reason.' An emerging motivational approach finds middle ground by those who understand the "both/and" inclusion. Using Motivational Interviewing, probation officers are taught to cooperate with the offender, not with the criminal behavior. Probation staff can examine how to impose sanctions *and* build helpful relationships, and with training, agents can build the skills to supervise for compliance *and* increase the offender's readiness for change.

This is not new to our field. Start your own single-subject research by asking any probation supervisor to offer a frank (but discreet) evaluation of department staff they supervise. Many supervisors can easily walk down their department hallways and point to the offices of agents who are able to build helpful alliances with offenders while not compromising probation orders. These staff seem to understand that compliance and behavior change are not mutually exclusive efforts. What traits and skills make these agents so different? With an eye to encouraging the effective relationships that are so essential for change, why are not more probation departments hiring with these inclusive (therapeutic) abilities as criteria for employment?

As noted, an abundance of research has established that a confrontational approach repels those we work with and becomes an obstacle to change. Probation departments must speed-up this "practice pendulum swing" by finding their voice; labeling the "tough" approach for what it is—an

obstacle. Departments must become empowered to establish a climate that will both ensure compliance and foster hoped-for behavior change.

Into the Individual Pairing of Officer and Offender (micro): A Helpful Mix

There is room for optimism as movements are occurring both outside our field and within our own ranks help that second pendulum swing of officer attitudes to keep pace. Efforts are underway to sketch how to "hold the line" with offenders, while at the same time encouraging positive behavior change in probation work (Clark, 1997; Mann et al., 2002).

A further contribution involves a critical look at the power attributed to a probation agent and how that power is used. I have argued elsewhere (Clark, 2001) and repeat my contention that a therapeutic relationship in probation work can be established through 1) perspective, 2) role-taking by the officer and 3) skillful negotiations with the probationer.

Perspective

To utilize MI, probation staff must adopt a "lens" or a way of viewing the offender that is consistent with the Strengths Perspective (Clark, 1997, 1998). The Strengths Perspective in the justice field is first and foremost a belief in the offender's ability to change. Although it would be naive and disingenuous to deny the reality of the harm inflicted by those we work with, Saleebey (1992) cautions:

> If there are genuinely evil people, beyond grace and hope, it is best not to make that assumption about any individual first...even if we are to work with someone whose actions are beyond our capacity to understand and accept, we must ask ourselves if they have useful skills and behaviors, even motivations and aspirations that can be tapped in the service of change and to a less-destructive way of life? (pg. 238)

This Strengths perspective embraces the science of "getting up." For the previous 40 years, criminal justice has focused on the science and classification of "falling down," as evidenced by our sole focus on deficits, disorders and failure. [2] The Strengths perspective pays attention to what strengths, resources, and assets probationers might turn to as they attempt to manage and overcome their troubles. Any probation officer could easily bemoan, "But so many offenders

don't care to overcome, they don't believe change is important—they don't seem ready or willing to change." The reader will *see* in the next installment in this series the techniques that can prompt an offender into taking steps towards positive behavior change—seeing change as something they should do and can do.

Role-taking

There is great power attached to a court. When used appropriately, it can help change the trajectory of someone's life, bringing health and improvements that radiate throughout a family (and across the larger community). But when this power is abused or misapplied, the resulting trauma and pain can continue long after court documents yellow with age. Who wields this power that holds such potential for benefit or harm? A helpful motivational perspective answers, "Not the officer!" The locus of power is actually centered in the judicial bench rather than on any individual officer. To locate this in the officer is not only incorrect but can limit or stifle the very relationship that becomes the conveyor of positive behavior change. Take for example a short passage included in a chapter entitled "Ethical Considerations," found within the latest edition of Miller and Rollnick's text on Motivational Interviewing (2002: 166):

> ...consider a counselor who works with offenders on parole and probation and who has the power at any time to revoke that status and order incarceration. (emphasis added)

Although this excerpt speaks to the power of "counselors" who work with offenders, it could be argued that the power attributed to the supervising probation officer would be even greater. However, accurately stated, no officer is truly vested with the power to jail an offender, apply new consequences, or increase consequences by personal decision or whim. This is not a case of "splitting hairs" with a play on words. An agent must petition the court. The court then works to substantiate the alleged violations of probation in a formal hearing and *it is the court* that determines guilt or innocence and imposes additional sanctions where appropriate.

This is not an attempt to disparage those who may not understand the judicial process, only to point out how pervasive this misperception has become across our culture. The statement that the probation officer "...has the power at any time to revoke that status and order incarceration..." demonstrates something akin to an unfounded

"urban legend" that gains credibility only through the endless retelling. This mistaken attribution of power is not only limiting for the motivational-inclined officer, but an incorrect understanding of probation jurisprudence.

Skillful Negotiation

Misperceptions are understandable and easy to overlook when proffered from outside the criminal justice field, but far more troublesome when furthered by criminologists within the field. Consider this short treatise from criminal justice academician Robert Mills (1980: 46)

> The distinguishing feature of corrections that differentiates it from other helping professions is the large amount of socially sanctioned authority, both actual and delegated, carried by the corrections official...The officer must learn to become comfortable with his authority, and to use it with restraint in the service of the officer and client's objectives.
>
> The reaction of some inexperienced officers is to banish the "big stick," and go hide it in the judge's chambers or in the warden's office. Such officers seem to believe that social casework and counseling can proceed in corrections in the same basis *as in an* outpatient clinic, that their "good guy in the white hat" image is somehow tarnished by the possession of so much power over their clients. Officers who conduct investigations and counseling while denying their own authority are usually perceived as being weak, and are subject to easy manipulation by their clients.

With all due respect, my suggestion is that officers do exactly what Mills cautions against! Motivational Interviewing, as utilized within the field of probation, is determined not to personally assume the "big stick." It furthers an officer's ability to influence change when they place the "stick" with the judge, their supervisor, or even "agency policy." Motivationally-inclined officers lament to the probationer who might be considering a violation of probation orders, "You can certainly ignore that order (refuse to obey, avoid this mandate), but my (supervisor, judge, responsibilities, policy, position) will force me to assess a consequence. It's your choice, but is there anything we can do to help you avoid those consequences?" Many find that *not* exerting force at this juncture improves the likelihood that a decision for compliance will eventually overtake the emotions of the moment.

This role-taking becomes not a "weakness," as purported by Mills, but rather a strength. When using MI with mandated

clients, I am mindful of the distinction of "power versus force." Force, for all its bluster, can often make a situation worse, compelling an offender to defiance where skillful negotiation could well de-escalate the situation. MI-inclined officers choose power over force to increase readiness to change and improve outcomes by establishing "fit" with a probationer ("How can we come together on this?"), rather than using adversarial force from the "me vs. you" nexus of dominance (you have no choice, you *will* do this!). I believe the ability to create and maintain a helping relationship—so essential to the spirit of Motivational Interviewing—can only be realized by placing the "big stick" with others.

Miller and Rollnick (2002: 173-174) detailed a helpful example of this skillful negotiation with probationers. It begins with an honest explanation of the duality of an officer's roles: certainly to supervise and report compliance to probation orders but also to act as a helper and lend assistance:

> I have two different roles here, and it is sometimes tricky for me to put them together. One of them is as a representative of the court, to ensure that you keep the conditions of probation that the judge set for you, and I have to honor this role. The other is to be your counselor, to help you make changes in your life that we agree would be beneficial. There are also likely to be some areas we'll discover, where I am hoping to see a change that you're not sure you want to make. What I hope is that by talking together here (when you report), we can resolve some of those differences and are able to find areas of change we can agree on. I'm sure I'll be asking you to consider some changes that right now don't sound very good to you, and that's normal. We'll keep exploring those issues during our time together, and see if we can come to some agreement. How does that sound to you?

Should compliance become an issue, the officer negotiates "How do we (you, significant others and myself) keep them (the judge, the court, agency policy) off your back?"

In training, I find staff new to Motivational Interviewing have a hard time negotiating these dual roles. Concrete thinking of either/or tends to dominate. "I either supervise or seek compliance (applying sanctions for failure to comply) or I practice Motivational Interviewing and try to motivate and establish a therapeutic alliance." It's not "tea leaves *or water,*" it's a good-enough blend that creates the brew. Helping staff to adopt a both/and conception is central to the business of behavior change.

Our field's ambivalence regarding intimidation and heavy confrontation must be systemically addressed. If behavior change is truly paramount, then intimidation and heavy-handed treatment is inappropriate and must be openly denounced across our field and within our departments. Only then will we stop the false dichotomy of "tough/soft" which continues to drain our field of its effectiveness. Only then will probation departments be populated with staff that can enforce orders and increase the readiness to change. Only then will a true decision be made as to whether we're in the business of probation or whether we're in the business of changing behavior.

Postscript

Ward and Brown (2004) note a probation officer's attitudes towards an offender will emanate from their conception of the nature and value of probationers as human beings—and to what extent engaging in harmful actions diminishes that value. There is a question that looms for all probation departments that may want to embrace a change focus: Is an offender entitled to be treated with basic respect for no other reason than that he or she holds intrinsic value as a person? This issue is not as straightforward as it might seem. Some officers feel the need to act out society's anger towards those they are assigned to, believing anything less would condone their wrongdoing—motivated, one might suspect, by the idea that at least they've "done something" by conveying their disgust for illegal behaviors. It would not be far-fetched to assume that if the process of arrest, court appearances, and conviction did not instill a sense of shame or deviance, then any disgust shown by a supervising officer could be pointless. Viets, Walker & Miller (2002) note, "People do not respond warmly to being shamed, coerced, berated, or deprived of choice. There is little evidence for the belief that 'if you can make them feel *bad* enough, they will change.' (emphasis in original). Confrontation and disrespectful behavior pushes change further away. These behaviors are staff-focused (engaged in to make the probation officer feel better) rather than change-focused (creating a climate that will assist change).

With overwhelming research in hand that a confrontational style inhibits outcomes, allowing the voice of those who say the world is flat to coexist with those who know it to be

round brings assurance and honor to no one. Will our field intervene? Will departments continue to allow a hostile, confrontational style to be tolerated as an acceptable way of "doing business?"

For those who conceptualize our "business" of probation as the sole mission of enforcing the court's orders, the debilitating answer is "yes." Turnell and Edwards (1999) caution, "Very few people will listen to or allow themselves to be influenced by someone who seems unresponsive to them and is simply forcing them to conform." Externally-imposed compliance is the least enduring type of change, with negative behavior returning once the coercive force is withdrawn. Could the sole focus on compliance and the ensuing "business of probation" actually create more "business"—via the revolving door of repeat offenders?

It is appealing to excuse our field any goals beyond the status quo of compliance. The higher ambition to increase an offender's readiness to change could be considered an unattainable ideal. Research (Clark, 2004) notes that there is a wide disparity of caseload numbers, which allows some staff the luxury of over thirty (plus) minutes for an offender "check-in" while some are afforded only seven minutes (on average) to gather information. Just how practical can embracing a motivational style be when one considers such short time frames? The depressing fact is that pushing change aside does not take long—an officer can easily *decrease the likelihood of offender change*—choking hoped-for goals all in brief office visits.

To borrow a phrase from quantum physics, there is an "alternate universe" emerging within our field. Progressive departments are importing training to teach officers the strategies and techniques for increasing the likelihood of change, even in constrained and limited time frames. "Making the most" of what one has conveys the relevancy of Motivational Interviewing for probation staff and convenes the next article in this two-part series.

Endnotes

This is similar to Bazemore & Terry's (1997) treatise on viewing offenders in a dichotomy as either villains or victims. Those adopting a "tough" approach may well be influenced by the villain view while those adopting a "soft" approach

may do so if they view offenders through only a victim lens. A villain lens would reduce outcomes as villains "don't care" and "don't want to change." A victim lens would hold progress back since as victims, they're not responsible and since they didn't cause the trouble, they shouldn't be involved in the resolution. These authors suggest adopting a third view (or lens). Since offenders will come to us as villains or victims, we need to move beyond these limiting views to see offenders with a third lens—as capable and as a resource in the process of change. This "third lens" as proposed by Bazemore & Terry corresponds with a motivational approach (middle ground) that lies between the extremes of "tough" and "soft."

[2] A good example of this sole focus is evidenced by our field's skewed use of "risk" factors. The terms "Risk and Protective factors" came from resiliency research, started in the 1950s. Risk and protective factors were thought to be indivisible, much like the natural pairing of two eyes or two ears—they came as a pair, inseparable from each other yet complimentary to each other. One could not speak of risk factors without noting protective factors as well. However, as evidenced in our field, "risk factors" came to the forefront and now exclusively dominate, while "protective factors" are seldom mentioned—much less assessed and integrated in probation plans.

[3] This contrast of power vs. force, so pertinent to which type of influence should be applied by probation staff, can also be found as a book title by David Hawkins (2002) *Power vs. Force: The Hidden Determinants of Human Behavior.* In this book Hawkins states, "Whereas power always results in a win-win solution, force produces win-lose situations...the way to finesse a (solution) is to seek the answer which will make all sides happy and still be practical. ...Successful solutions are based on the powerful principle that resolution occurs not by attacking the negative, but by fostering the positive." Hawkins concludes, "Only the childish proceed from the assumption that human behavior can be explained in black and white terms." (pps. 138-139) I would contend the "either/or" conception is similar to the "black and white terms" as noted by Hawkins.

Credits

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Motivational Interviewing for Probation Officers: Tipping the Balance Toward Change*

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MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING (Miller & Rollnick, 1991) is a way of talking with people about change that was first developed for the field of addictions but has broadened and become a favored approach for use with populations in a variety of settings (Burke, Arkowitz & Dunn, 2002). It has been introduced to criminal justice in general (Birgden, 2004; McMurran, 2002; Farrall, 2002) and probation efforts specifically (Walters, Clark, Gingerich, Meltzer, forthcoming, In Press; Clark, 2005; Ginsburg et.al., 2002; Harper & Hardy, 2000; Miller, 1999). It represents a turn to moving probation departments into the "business of behavior change" (Clark, 2006). This article will suggest several benefits from the importation of Motivational Interviewing into probation practice.

This article posits eight reasons to consider the Motivational Interviewing approach:

Why would probation officers want to use Motivational Interviewing in their day-to-day work?

1. Motivational interviewing aligns with evidence-based practice.
2. It can help the officer get "back into the game" of behavior change.
3. It suggests effective tools for handling resistance and can keep difficult situations from getting worse.

4. It keeps the officer from doing all the work, and makes interactions more change-focused.
   - Interactions are more change-focused when the officer understands where change comes from.
   - Change-focused interactions place the responsibility for behavior change on the offender.
   - Motivational interactions create an appetite for change in offenders by amplifying their ambivalence.
5. Motivational Interviewing changes who does the talking.
6. It helps prepare offenders for change.
   - Ask questions that raise interest
7. Motivational Interviewing changes what is talked about.
   - Eliciting "change talk" (self-motivational speech).
8. It allows officers to enforce probation orders and deliver sanctions without leaving a motivational style.
   - Addressing lying and deception
   - Addressing violations and sanctions

1. Motivational Interviewing Aligns With Evidence-Based Practice

Go back beyond the last two decades and you'll find that criminal justice suffered from a lack of proven methods for reducing offender recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). Today, it is almost unimaginable that our field ever operated without practice methods being studied and empirically validated through rigorous science. Science-based methods for probation work continue through the National Institute of Corrections "Evidence-Based Policy and Practice" initiative (NIC, 2004). This article discusses Motivational Interviewing, a practice included among the eight principles of effective interventions to reduce the risk of recidivism. Within these eight principles, the second principle of evidence-based practice cites:

> 2. Enhance Intrinsic Motivation— Research strongly suggests that "motivational interviewing" techniques, rather than persuasion tactics, effectively enhance motivation for initiating and maintaining behavior change. (p.1)

This article attempts to lend substance to that recommendation by reviewing possible benefits offered to probation staff from the integration of motivational strategies into community corrections.

2. It Can Help The Officer Get "Back Into The Game" of Behavior Change

Historically, motivation has been viewed as a more-or-less fixed characteristic of offenders. That is, an offender usually presented with a certain motivational "profile" and until he was ready to make changes, there was not much you could do to influence his chances on probation. Under this model, the probation officer becomes an enforcer of the

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court's orders, but not necessarily an active participant in the behavior change of the offender. One officer described his role:

> The defendant, in consultation with his lawyer, negotiates for the consideration of probation supervision (and conditions) in lieu of jail time. In our initial meeting, and throughout our work together, I tell the probationer what is expected of him and make it clear what the penalties will be should he fail to comply. We have regular meetings to verify that he is making progress on his conditions and I answer any questions he might have. If he breaks the law or shows poor progress on his conditions, I see to it that appropriate sanctions are assessed. Throughout the process, the probationer is well aware of the behavior that might send him to jail, and if he ends up there, it's his own behavior that gets him there.

Reflected in this statement is an officer who is essentially cut out of the change process, except as an observer. However, recent evidence suggests there may be quite a lot that an officer can do to influence probationer's chances of successfully completing probation. Motivational Interviewing places staff "back in the game" of behavior change.

3. It Suggests Effective Tools For Handling Resistance And Can Keep Difficult Situations From Getting Worse

Since motivation has been viewed more like a fixed offender trait, it has been thought that if offenders enter probation departments displaying little motivation, then the best strategy is to attempt to break through the probationer's denial, rationalization, and excuses.

- You've got a problem.
- You have to change.
- You better change or else!

Space prohibits a review of the many studies (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Hubble, Duncan & Miller, 1999) that find a confrontational counseling style limits effectiveness. One such study (Miller, Benefield and Tonnigan, 1993) is telling. This study found that a directive-confrontational counselor style produced twice the resistance and only half as many "positive" client behaviors as did a supportive, client-centered approach. The researchers concluded that *the more staff confronted, the more the clients drank at twelve-month follow up*. Problems are compounded as a confrontational style not

only pushes success away, but can actually make matters *worse*. Although many probation staff rightly object, "We're not counselors!—our job is to enforce the orders of the court," this claim only serves to highlight the need for strategies to help staff get back in the game of behavior change.

Other staff shy away from a heavy-handed approach, using instead a logical approach that employs advice or reasoning.

- Why don't you just...
- Do you know what this behavior is doing to you?
- Here's how you should go about this...

Unfortunately, both of these approaches can end up decreasing motivation. When these methods fail to begin behavior change, officers will ramp up their energy and begin to push—only to find the offender pushes back. Staff escalates the confrontation or reasoning, only to find the offender has escalated as well. Locking horns creates a downward spiral that satisfies neither. Research finds that when we push for change, the typical offender response is to defend the problem behavior.

- "You've got a problem"/"No, I don't"
- "Why don't you...."/"That won't work for me"
- "You better change or else!"/"Take your best shot!"

We clearly don't want to create a situation where the offender is only defending the "don't change" side of the equation. Part of the equation involves using known techniques to draw out more positive talk, while the other part of the equation is having a collaborative style where offenders feel more comfortable talking about change. For instance, research suggests that characteristics of the staff person—even in a brief interaction—can determine the motivation, and subsequent outcome, of the offender.

4. It Keeps The Officer From Doing All The Work, And Makes Interactions More Change-Focused

Interactions are more change-focused when the officer understands where change comes from.

Staff trained in Motivational Interviewing can turn away from a confrontational style or logic-based approaches as they become knowledgeable of the process of behavior change. Many in probation believe that the catalysts for change are the services provided

to the offender, whether these involve treatment, the threat of punishment, advice, education or "watching them" and monitoring their activities. These conditions and services represent only part of the picture—and not necessarily the most important part. Research finds that long-term change is more likely to occur for *intrinsic* reasons (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Often the things that we assume would be motivating to the offender simply aren't. Thus, motivation is, in part, a process of finding out what things are valued and reinforcing to the individual probationer.

Change-focused interactions place the responsibility for behavior change on the offender.

We use an attractive (and accurate) phrase when training the Motivational Interviewing approach, "When Motivational Interviewing is done correctly it is the offender who voices the arguments for change." So, how does the officer do this? The first step in getting the offender thinking and talking about change is establishing an empathic and collaborative relationship. Staff can watch and listen to find out what the person values and if their current behavior is in conflict with these deeply-held values. Motivational Interviewing calls our attention to this key idea:

> It is discrepancy that underlies the perceived importance of change: no discrepancy, no motivation. The discrepancy is generally between present status and a desired goal, between what is happening and how one would want things to be (one's goals).

If there is a rift between what one values and current behavior, this gap is called "discrepancy." It is within this gap that the material will be found for amplifying *the offender's own reasons for change*. When working with offenders who see no problem with their illegal behavior, it is essential that an officer have the skills to create an "appetite" for change. Creating this appetite for change involves creating ambivalence.

Motivational interactions create an appetite for change in offenders by amplifying their ambivalence.

Motivational Interviewing assumes a certain degree of offender ambivalence (I should change, but I don't want to). They literally feel two ways about the problem. To consider the Stage of Change theory (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983) some probationers will enter our courts in the precontemplation

stage, seeing their problem behavior as "no problem at all." A few more enter probation supervision in the preparation or action stage, having acknowledged the problem during the first appointment and needing only minimal assistance to begin change efforts. Throughout this process, ambivalence is an internal battle between "I want to do this very much, but I know that I really shouldn't." This pull in two directions generally lies at the heart of compulsive, excessive behavior. The majority of probationers already have both arguments within them—a side that wants to be rid of the problem (pro change), and a side that doesn't believe change is possible or beneficial (stay the same).

Staff have long been taught to see ambivalence as a classic form of "denial," yet for the motivationally-inclined officer it demonstrates a reason for optimism! Rather than being a sign that a person is moving away from change, ambivalence is a signal that change may be on the horizon. *Ambivalence makes change possible— it is the precursor to positive behavior change.*

Offenders can change if they can successfully negotiate their ambivalence. The challenge therefore, is to first identify and increase this ambivalence, and then try to resolve it by creating discrepancy between the actual present and the desired future. The larger the discrepancy, the greater the desire to change. There will be a very small percentage of offenders who have no discrepancy or ambivalence over their current behavior—and no amount of strategies can create it where there is none to start with. However, the good news for probation staff is that a large majority of offenders will enter our departments with a certain amount of concern regarding their behavior. Whether the discrepancy can be harnessed for change depends on whether an officer understands how to recognize it—and use it—to elicit self-motivational speech.

5. Motivational Interviewing Will Change Who Does the Talking

Training in Motivational Interviewing teaches techniques to strategically steer a conversation in a particular direction—yet steering in itself is worthless without the ability to move the conversation forward. Consider how probation officers often work much harder than their probationers. As part of a qualitative research project, Clark (2005a) videotaped actual office appoint-

FIGURE 1.
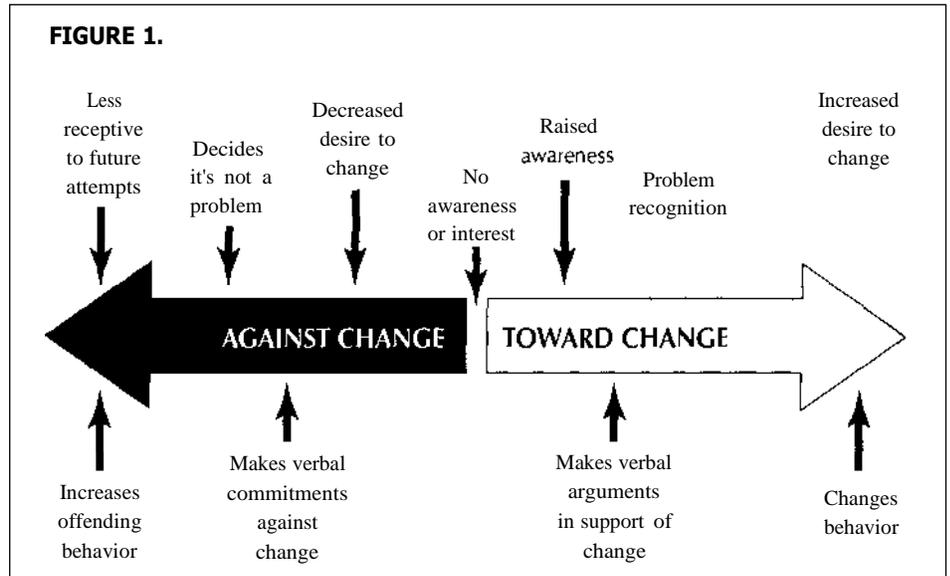
ments between offenders and their assigned probation officers. The finding was that, in office visits averaging 15 minutes in length, officers "out-talk" offenders by a large margin. For instance, in one session, 2,768 words were spoken between officer and offender. The breakdown? The officer spoke a hefty 2,087 words out of this total while the probationer was allowed only 681 words. Another example demonstrates slightly less talking overall but the ratio of "talk-time" remained similar. Total number of words spoken in this interview was 1,740. The word count found the officer spoke a robust 1,236 words while the offender was relegated to 504. Although listening by itself is no guarantee of behavior change, using strategies to get the offender talking is a prerequisite to being an effective motivational interviewer.

In interactions like this, officers are literally talking themselves out of effectiveness. The problem is not so much that the officer is doing all the talking, but rather that *the offender is not.* It stands to reason that the more the officer is talking, the less opportunity there is for the probationer to talk and think about change.

Compliance can occur *without* the officer listening and the probationer feeling understood—the same cannot be said if one wants to induce behavior change.

6. This Approach Will Help You Prepare Offenders for Change

When you get the offender talking, officers are taught to strategically focus on encouraging productive talk. Frequently, officers want to jump straight to problem solving. However, this approach ignores the fact that

most people need to be prepared for change. Getting offenders to do most of the talking is the first step, followed by preparing people to think about change. Motivational Interviewing trains staff in basic listening and speaking strategies:

- Ask Open Questions
- Affirm Positive Talk and Behavior
- Reflect What You are Hearing or Seeing
- Summarize What has Been Said

These four techniques (sometimes referred to by the "OARS" acronym, for Open Questions, Affirm, Reflect, and Summarize) will help an offender think about change, and help to gather better quality information so we can assist the person in planning. In some instances, we don't need offenders to talk much, especially when officers are simply gathering information or documenting compliance. But in other instances, when staff are focused on behavior change, the use of OARS will increase the probability that the probationer will speak more—and think more—in a more productive direction. These techniques become a "gas pedal" for conversations.

Figure 1 illustrates some of the markers that help to determine whether the interaction is a good one, that is, whether the probationer is moving closer towards change.

Ask Questions that Raise Interest

Open questions can help a person resolve their ambivalence in a more positive direction. They help tip the balance toward change. For instance, here are some questions that ask specifically about the offender's reasons for change:

Drawbacks of Current Behavior

- What concerns do you have about your drug use?
- What concerns does your wife have about your drug use?
- What has your drug use cost you?

Benefits of Change

- If you went ahead and took care of that class, how would that make things better for you?
- You talk a lot about your family. How would finding a job benefit your family?
- How would that make things better for your kids?

Here are some questions that ask about desire to change:

- How badly do you want that?
- How does that make you feel?
- How would that make you feel differently?

Here are some questions that ask about perceived ability to change

- How would you do that if you wanted to?
- What would that take?
- If you did decide to change, what makes you think you could do it?

Finally, here are some questions that ask about specific commitments the offender will make to change:

- How are you going to do that?
- What will that look like?
- How are you going to make sure that happens?

Since our questions partially determine the offender's responses, we pick questions that encourage more productive talk. When talking about matters of fact, this might be considered leading, but when talking about motivation we assume that every offender has some mixed feelings. The outcome is not fixed, and so we provide every opportunity for offenders to talk and think about positive behavior change. Ideally, this becomes a reinforcing process: We ask questions to evoke change talk, the offender responds with positive statements, we reflect and reinforce what the offender has said, and the probationer continues to elaborate. With Motivational Interviewing, change talk stays front and center through amplification and reflection.

Another benefit from the use of OARS is evident in how it can move troublesome conversations back to productive ends. Unfortunately, a great majority of the responses typically used in probation tend to make bad situations worse. Initially listening to

and trying to understand an offender's anger will lower frustration levels and make future conversations more productive. Understanding an offender's point of view is not the same as agreeing with it. As any argument must involve two people, the motivationally-inclined officer—using OARS—simply takes him or herself out of the mix. It takes t wo people to argue—it *is impossible to fight alone.* An angry and a combative attitude can often be reduced by simply reflecting back to the offender what they are feeling or thinking. The focus should not rest between the officer and the probationer (force and coercion) but rather between the probationer and *his or her own issues* (discrepancy and ambivalence).

7. Motivational Interviewing Changes What Is Talked About

There is good evidence to suggest that people can literally "talk themselves in and out of change" (Walters, et al., 2002). For instance, there are linguistic studies that suggest that the speech of the provider sets the tone for the speech of the client, which in turn, influences the ultimate outcome (Amrhein, et al., 2003). In short, certain statements and questions—and especially a certain provider style—seem to predict whether people decide to change during brief conversations. Offenders may come in with a certain range of readiness, but what the officer says from that point on makes a difference in how the probationer speaks and thinks, and ultimately in how he or she chooses to behave.

Eliciting "change talk" (self-motivational speech)

There has been an increasing interest in short Motivational Interviewing sessions that have been able to match the improvement of several months of outpatient work. As a result, linguists (Amrhein, et al., 2003) began to study the speech content of these motivational sessions—the actual words spoken between a staff person and client—looking for what speech content proved to determine positive behavior change. What they found were five categories of motivational speech—desire, ability, reason, need and commitment language. These conditions have been placed in an easy-to-remember acronym of "DARN-C":

D esire (I Want to, prefer, wish)
A bility (I Can, able, could, possible)
R easons (I Should, why do it?)
N eed (I Must, importance, got to)
C ommittment (I Will, I'm going to...)

The researchers were quick to point out that not every dimension had to be voiced for behavior change to start. Simply getting the offender to verbalize one of the four constructs (DARN) might be enough. However, the same could not be said for Commitment. It was Commitment talk that actually predicted behavior change. For this reason, staff should be aware of techniques to help increase motivational talk in a general sense—especially navigating conversations towards commitment language.

Figure 2.
Motivational Continuum

1 10

Not ready   **Unsure**   **Very ready**
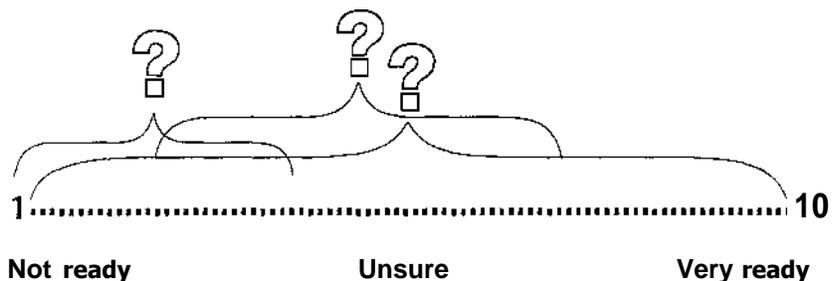
People come in with a certain range.
What you say makes a difference from there.

8. It Allows Officers to Enforce Probation Orders And Deliver Sanctions Without Leaving A Motivational Style.

Addressing Lying and Deception

One troublesome feature of criminal justice is the presence of deception, whether by deliberate lies, half-truths or "holding back" of information. In response to violations or lack of progress, offenders sometimes lie ("I didn't do it!") or make excuses for behavior ("I did it but it's not so bad"). The range seems endless: "Everybody does it" (consensus), "It's not that bad" (minimization), "I needed the money" (justification), or "I didn't mean to" (intention). With the coercion inherent in court jurisdiction, it is reasonable to expect deception from a certain percentage of those with whom we work. At the same time, it is important to understand that most offenders don't routinely lie. In contrast to the stereotype of offenders as "deviants" who habitually manipulate others, most offenders bend the truth for pretty ordinary reasons. In fact, to some extent, lying, deception and falsehood—the hiding of our inner selves or outer behavior—is simply part of our social world. As with honesty, lying is one more natural continuum of human behavior. No different from other human conditions, it is not so much the presence or absence of dishonesty but the degree or amount that becomes a concern.

Why do people lie? Research (Saarni & Lewis, 1993) suggests that people make two assumptions about their own actions. The first involves the belief "I'm a good person" while the second assumes "I am in control most of the time." Believing in these two assumptions is critical for maintaining a healthy psyche—these beliefs both protect and enhance our mental health. These assumptions also mean that we may guard ourselves or speak in a way that protects these assumptions. For instance:

1. A person will lie to "save face."
   To save face is to protect a positive self-image—the beliefs that "I am a good person" and "I'm in control."
2. A person will lie to save face for someone he or she cares about.
   Relationships are powerful motivators. This explains why abused children may lie to a protective services worker to protect their parent(s) and why one spouse cannot be compelled to testify against the other in a court of law. It creates a conflict to have to provide damaging information

about someone with whom you have a close relationship.
3. A person will lie to protect a perceived loss of freedom or resources.
   There are penalties for admitting law-breaking behavior, and so offenders must weigh the immediate penalties of telling the truth against the possibly worse, but less certain, penalties that might occur if they told a lie.

Any or all of these influences might be present—at any time—as a case progresses through a court system. Offenders constantly weigh their obligations to personal pride, important relationships, or the threat of a loss of freedom—all of this against what is expected of them.

What can be done about it?

First, the adage, "Don't take it personal" is appropriate here. Taking full responsibility for poor outcomes can conflict with anyone's self-perceptions as a "good" person and "in control." Many offenders will deceive, not so much to con staff as to defend these assumptions within themselves—it involves a need for *self-deception.*

Second, a person will bend information in response to who is asking and how the question is being asked. The way an officer asks a question partially determines what kind of answer the offender gives. Said more strongly, some officers can actually encourage lies through their use of questions. Some officers believe that a confrontational style sends a message to the offender that he or she can't be "taken in" by offenders, but research suggests it's more the opposite. A harsh, coercive style can prompt a paradoxical response, where the harder the officer confronts, the more an offender feels like he has to lie to stay in control or save face. Lying becomes justified based on the personal style of the officer. Rather than evoking change, a confrontive personal style can leave an offender more entrenched in the problem, because it causes him to defend and make excuses for negative behavior.

Third, the probation field has long valued the ability to recognize deception and force the truth from offenders. As with any other profession, no one wants to be played upon, suckered or conned. Yet, trying to force people to admit their faults is exhausting work. In contrast, officers who have a positive, collaborative relationship with their probationers find that they are less likely to be lied to. A mutual working style makes honesty

more likely. A motivational approach doesn't handle deception by ignoring it, nor by getting agitated by it, but rather by taking a step back from the debate.

Addressing Violations and Sanctions

One thing that makes probation officers unique is their conspicuously dual role. We help the probationer to plan, but dispense sanctions if he fails; we ask for honesty, but also report to the court. Indeed, it is understandable why some officers have a hard time navigating this dual role. The tendency is to move to one side—to become too harsh or too friendly—when a more middle-of-the-road approach is called for. In reality, probation officers are more like consultants, in that we manage the relationship between court and probationer. This is not as far-fetched as some would believe. In truth, we neither make decisions for the probationer nor for the court. If we treat the position from the perspective of a consultant, we can avoid some of the pitfalls inherent in this dual role. Adopting this middle-of-the-road stance makes us not only effective advocates for the court, but also allows us greater power to influence the actions of the probationer.

Motivational Interviewing can make change more likely, but it is by no means a magic bullet. When violations occur, there are a couple of strategies for keeping a motivational edge.

1. *Explain your dual roles* (Become *the* "go-between")

Motivational Interviewing encourages officers to be honest with offenders about all aspects of their probation, including conditions, incentives, and sanctions. Officers should fully explain up front to the probationer about their dual role—yet do so as someone who represents "both sides." For instance:

> I want to make you aware that I have a couple of roles here. One of them is to be the court's representative, and to report on your progress on the conditions that the court has set. At the same time, I act as a representative for you, to help keep the court off your back and manage these conditions, while possibly making some other positive steps along the way. I'll act as a "go-between"—that is, between you and the court, but ultimately you're the one who makes the choices. How does that sound? Is there anything I need to know before proceeding?

2. Address Behavior with an "Even Keel" Attitude

Adopting a new approach like Motivational Interviewing is clearly a process. Even after an initial training, there is a common pitfall for many officers when compliance problems occur. At some point, if a probationer remains ambivalent (e.g., lack of progress), the officer believes it makes sense to move out of a motivational style and switch over to more coercive and demanding strategies. Staff who initially found the benefits of motivational work will justify heavy-handed tactics—perceiving them to be a natural response to resistance, even remarking that difficult offenders seem to be "asking for it." A critical idea is missed—there is *a difference between enforcing sanctions based on lack of progress, and switching styles to a more heavy-handed approach.* One can enforce court orders and assess sanctions as appropriate, without leaving motivational strategies behind.

Force, for all its bluster, can often make a situation worse. This is especially true when addressing violations. Offenders may already be on the defensive about their progress, and an agitated officer can make the offender's attitude worse. For this reason, *we* suggest that officers address violations with an "even keel" attitude, addressing the behavior, dispensing the appropriate sanction, but not getting agitated or taking the violation personally.

Motivationally-inclined officers offer their support—and their regrets—to the probationer who might be considering a violation of probation orders:

PO: "We've talked about this before. In another two weeks, you will be in violation of this court order. We have also talked about how it is up to you. You can certainly ignore this order but sanctions will be assessed."

Probationer: "Darn right I can ignore it—this is so stupid!"

PO: "It seems unfair that you're required to complete this condition. It feels to you like it might be a waste of your time."

Probationer: "Yeah. I can't believe I have to do this!"

PO: "It's important that I tell you that my (supervisor, judge, responsibilities, policy, position) will demand that I assess a consequence if it's not completed before the next two weeks."

Probationer: "You don't have to report this."

PO: "Unfortunately, that's part of my job. I have to follow orders here. So, this will be something I'll have to do."

Probationer: "You mean you can't just let it go?"

PO: "No, I don't have a choice. But—you have a choice, even if I don't. Is there anything we can do to help you avoid these consequences before the end of the month (next meeting, court deadline)?"

Probationer: "I'll think about it, it just seems unfair."

A confrontational approach is always an option, but at this point simply recognizing the offender's reluctance, and fairly informing him or her about what is likely to happen, can improves the likelihood that a decision for compliance will eventually overtake the emotions of the moment.

In this example, the officer refuses to leave the middle, neither defending the court's order, nor siding with the offender to stop the sanction. When it comes to the specific sanction, the officer defers to the court, and re-emphasizes a collaborative relationship: "How do we (you, significant others and myself) keep them (the judge, the court, agency policy) off your back?" Finally, the officer emphasizes the offender's personal responsibility. Offenders don't have to complete their conditions; they always have the option of taking the sanction.

Motivational Interviewing steers clear of both the hard and soft approaches. The "hard" approach is overly-directive and defends the court's authority ("You better do this!," "Drop the attitude, you're the one who broke the law," "Don't blame the court"). Less examined is the "soft" approach. This approach leaves the officer defending the probationer, ("I won't tell this time—but don't do it again," "Do you know what the court would do if I brought this to their attention?"). A positive alliance is not the same as ignoring violations to keep a good relationship at any cost ("You better get it together or I'll have to do something"), nor is it the same as allowing the situation to become personal and attempting to "out-tough" the offender ("I'll lock you up!"). Both approaches miss the mark as they prevent the officer from occupying the "middle ground."

A motivational approach is about finding the middle ground of a consultant who works with both sides (the court and the offender). Officers can work in partnership with the offender, while still being true to their court roles. Officers can respect personal choice, but not always approve of the offender's behavior. By their skills and strategies, agents can supervise for compliance and, at the same time, increase readiness for change.

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Motivational Interviewing: Behavior Count Coding Form

INTERVIEWER: _____

CODER: _____

DARN-C

D – Desire to change
What is their focus?

A – Ability to change
Do they have the ability to change?

R – Reason to change
Why change?

N – Need to change
What is the need?

C – Commitment to change
Will they desire the change? Do they want it?

KEY:

OQ	Open Question
CQ	Closed Question
A	Affirmation
R	Reflection
S	Summary
ECT	Eliciting Change Talk
T	Teaching
C	Confrontation

BEHAVIOR COUNTS:

OQ	
CQ	
A R	
S	
ECT	
T	
C	

MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING CODING & FEEDBACK FORM   (Page 1)

Probation Officer: Rater:

Date of Session: Length of time coded: minutes

BEHAVIOR COUNTS:

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KEY:

Qo - Open-ended Question

Qc - Closed-ended Question

A   - Affirmation

R   - Reflection

S   - Summary

ECT - Eliciting Change Talk
        (any question or statement that does this)

T   - Teaching/Advising/Information-giving

C   - Confrontation/Arguing/Lecturing/
                Persuasion

O   - Other/indeterminate utterances

TOTALS:

# Open-ended Questions	
# Closed-ended Questions	
# Affirmations	
# Reflections	
# Summaries	
# Eliciting Change Talk	
# Teach/Advise/Information-giving	
# Confrontation/Arguing/Lecturing/Persuasion	
TOTAL INTERACTIONS	

SUMMARY SCORES:

% Open-ended questions = **Qo/Total Interactions**   =

% Closed-ended questions = **Qc/Total Interactions** =

% Affirmations = **A/Total Interactions** =

% Reflections = **R/Total Interactions** =

% Summaries = **S/Total Interactions** =

% Eliciting Change Talk = **ECT/Total Interactions** =

% Teaching/Advising/Information-giving =
                T/Total Interactions =

% Confronting/Arguing/Lecturing/Persuasion =
                C/Total Interactions =

<u>GLOBAL MEASURES</u>: Global Measures are intended to capture the rater's overall impression of how well the probation officer meets the intent of each scale (**Collaboration**, **Evocation**, and **Autonomy Supportive** represent the *Spirit of M.I.*; **Non-Judgmental/Accepting**, **Empathy**, **Promoting Self-Efficacy** assess important principles of M.I.).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O.'s insistence on maintaining the expert role appears *intentionally* disparaging to the offender.	P.O.'s insistence on maintaining the expert role appears *inadvertently* disparaging to the offender.	P.O. assumes expert role for majority of interaction, minimizes offender's ideas, dominates conversation, argues w/offender's approaches, and/or is disconnected.	P.O. discourages collaboration or responds to opportunities superficially; difficulties surrendering expert role; superficial requests for offender's input; impatient w/offender.	P.O. incorporates offender goals, ideas, values now and then, missing opportunities to deepen offender contribution; doesn't structure interaction toward offender input; sacrifices some mutual problem-solving in favor of 'expertise'.	P.O. fosters power sharing so offender's ideas impact the session; some structuring to insure offender input; engages offender in problem-solving; doesn't insist on resolution until offender is ready.	Officer actively fosters power sharing so offender's ideas substantially influence the session; asks for offender's ideas; identifies offender as an expert; incorporates offender's ideas; tailors advice-giving depending on offender input.

Collaboration (Partnering with client toward change)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Collaboration**:
Rater comments:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O.'s insistence on informing & educating to argue the offender into change appears *intentionally* disparaging to the offender.	P.O.'s insistence on information & educating to argue the offender into change appears inadvertently disparaging to offender.	P.O. tries to talk to offender into change without exploring client knowledge ideas, or efforts; provides education despite offender's indication of knowledge; uses questions not tailored to offender's responses; does not show curiosity @offender's circumstances.	P.O. discourages offender's perception of choice; dismissive of topic of choice even when offender brings it up; not genuine in discussion of offender choice	P.O. is neutral re: offender autonomy or choice; doesn't deny choice but makes little effort to support or elaborate upon it; doesn't bring up topic of choice.	P.O. is accepting and supportive of offender autonomy; explores offender's options genuinely; agrees when offender indicates they can't be forced to change.	P.O. significantly augments offender's expressions of autonomy in a way that notably expands offender's experience of personal control; proactively elicits comments that lead to greater perceived choice; explores options non-passively, non-sarcastically; gives credence to offender's option to not change &/or to offender's ideas about change.

Evocation (Eliciting offender's motivation for change)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Evocation**

Rater comments:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O.'s insistence that offender does not have a choice appears to intentionally disparage the offender.	P.O.'s insistence that offender does not have a choice appears to inadvertently disparage the offender.	P.O. actively detracts from offender's perception of choice; indicates that external factors remove choice; explores choices pessimistically or sarcastically; rigid about change options.	P.O. discourages offender's perception of choice; dismissive of topic of choice even when offender brings it up; not genuine in discussion of offender choice	P.O. is neutral re: offender autonomy or choice; doesn't deny choice but makes little effort to support or elaborate upon it; doesn't bring up topic of choice.	P.O. is accepting and supportive of offender autonomy; explores offender's options genuinely; agrees when offender indicates they can't be forced to change.	P.O. significantly augments offender's expressions of autonomy in a way that notably expands offender's experience of personal control; proactively elicits comments that lead to greater perceived choice; explores options non-passively, non-sarcastically; gives credence to offender's option to not change &/or to offender's ideas about change.

Autonomy Supportive (Emphasizes offender's ability to choose)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Autonomy Supportive**:

Rater comments:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O. is perceived as intentionally judgmental, harsh, disrespectful, labeling, or condescending	P.O. is perceived as inadvertently judgmental, harsh, disrespectful, labeling, or condescending.	P.O. demonstrates little acceptance & respect for offender. Officer confuses acceptance with approval of offender's behavior	P.O. communicates sporadic acceptance & respect for offender. Acceptance is person-focused and not confused with approval of offender's behavior. Few confrontational interactions.	P.O. generally communicates acceptance & respect for offender, and acceptance is not confused with approval. One or more affirmations are made, no confrontational interactions.	P.O. clearly communicates acceptance & respect for offender, not confusing this w/ approval of behavior. Several affirmations are made, no confrontational interactions.	P.O. proactively and consistently demonstrates acceptance and respect for offender. Many affirmations are made, no confrontational interactions.

Non-judgmental/Accepting (Non-judgmental manner and accepting of client resistance, ambivalence, discrepancies.)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Non-judgmental/Accepting**:

Rater comments:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O.'s failure to show interest in offender's perspective appears intentionally disparaging to the offender.	P.O.'s failure to show interest in offender's perspective appears inadvertently disparaging to the offender.	P.O. has no apparent interest in offender's view; little to no attention given to offender's perspective and questions asked only for factual information; little or no attempt to make reflections	P.O. makes sporadic efforts to explore offender's perspective, achieving inaccurate understanding or detracting from offender's true meaning. Mostly ineffective reflections made.	P.O. actively tries to under-stand offender's perspective w/ modest success. Offers a few accurate reflections attempting to grasp the offender's meaning w/ mild success.	P.O. shows evidence of accurate understanding of offender's worldview through repeated efforts to understand offender's point of view; offers accurate reflections.	P.O. shows evidence of significant understanding of offender's perspective; makes regular accurate & meaningful reflections; encourages offender to elaborate further.

Empathy (Working to more fully understand offender's perspective)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Empathy**:

Rater comments:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P.O. indicates no understanding of or belief in client's ability to make meaningful change, and even communicates that change is improbable or impossible.	P.O. ignores, downplays, or otherwise disparages client's implications that change could happen or is desired by the client, making no attempt to pursue and emphasize client's hints about abilities and how change is desirable.	P.O. gives little attention to evidence of client's abilities re: change, nor to what is likely to be the benefits of such change for the client, focusing instead on pre-prescribed "shoulds" and not pursuing how client could use abilities and what change could look and feel like for the client.	P.O. makes periodic efforts to look for and highlight client's past & present successes, strengths, abilities, etc... Inconsistent attempts made to have client elaborate on these, and little or no pursuit through questioning or reflection as to how these could lead to meaningful change.	P.O. makes regular attempts to look for & highlight client's past & present successes, strengths, abilities, etc., and some effective attempts at helping client explore how these could lead to meaningful change.	P.O. demonstrates readiness and willingness to search for and emphasize client past & present successes, strengths, abilities, etc., makes attempts to have client recognize how these could be put to use to create meaningful change.	P.O. proactively and consistently searches for and emphasizes client past & present successes, strengths, abilities, etc. and encourages client to elaborate on these and on how utilizing these will create change that is meaningful to the client.

Promoting Self-Efficacy (Promoting client's ability to make meaningful change)

Officer's self-evaluation of **Promoting Self-Efficacy**

Rater comments

GLOBAL MEASURES CALCULATION:

Collaboration Score: +   Non-Judgmental Score: +

Evocation Score: +   Empathy Score: +

Autonomy Score: +   Self-Efficacy Score: +

                                    Cumulative Score: ***divided by 42 =***

Observed areas of strength

Observed areas needing improvement

Collaborative plan to address areas needing improvement

Date:
Rater/Supervisor
Probation Officer

MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING CODING & FEEDBACK FORM   (Page 1)

Probation Officer/Staffer: _____   Rater: _____
Date of Session: _____   Length of time coded: _____ minutes

BEHAVIOR COUNTS:

KEY:

Qo - Open-ended Question
Qc - Closed-ended Question
A - Affirmation
R - Reflection
S - Summary
ECT - Eliciting Change Talk
    (any question or statement that does this)
T - Teaching/Advising/Information-giving
C - Confrontation/Arguing/Lecturing/
        Persuasion
O - Other/indeterminate utterances

TOTAL # INTERACTIONS: _____

# Open-ended Questions	
# Closed-ended Questions	
# Affirmations	
# Reflections	
# Summaries	
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# Teach/Advise/Information-giving	
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# Other/indeterminate	

SUMMARY SCORES:

% Open-ended questions = **Qo/Total Interactions** = _____

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% Affirmations = **A/Total Interactions** = _____

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% Confronting/Arguing/Lecturing/Persuasion =
        C/Total Interactions = _____

% Other/indeterminate utterances = **O/Total Interactions** = _____

Context notes: _____

_____

GLOBAL MEASURES: Global Measures are intended to capture the rater's overall impression of how well the PO/Professional meets the intent of each scale.

Ratings: **ENI** - Expectation needs improvement, **EA**- Expectation achieved, **EE -** Expectation exceeded

Collaboration - partnering with the client toward change; working together and supportive.			**Evocation** - eliciting client's motivation for change; listening for and acting upon change talk.		

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

Autonomy Supportive - emphasizes client's ability to choose; validating one's decision making; empowerment of choice.

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

Non-judgmental/Accepting - nonjudgmental and accepting of client resistance, ambivalence and discrepancies; rolling with resistance.

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

Empathy - working to more fully understand client's perspective; concern for, understanding of; "walking in one's shoes".

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

Promoting Self-Efficacy - promoting client's ability to make meaningful change; encouraging client to acknowledge past/present successes and benefit from them.

ENI	EA	EE

COMMENTS:

COMMENTS (areas of strength/areas in need of improvement):

If necessary, indicate meeting context: