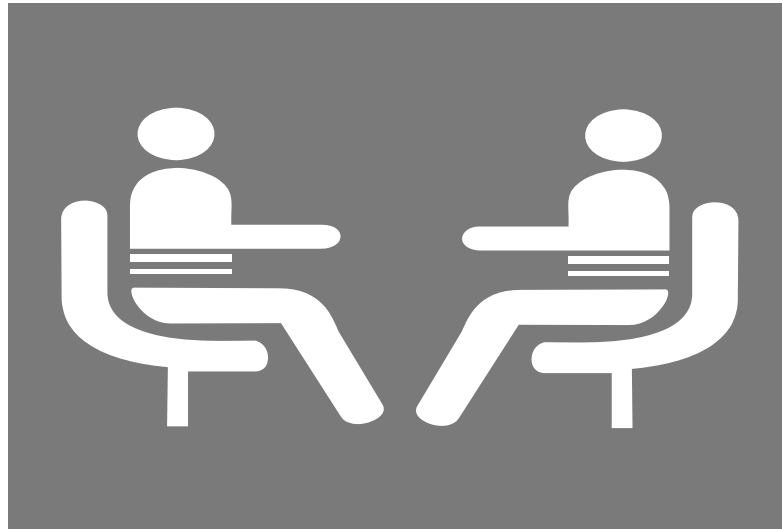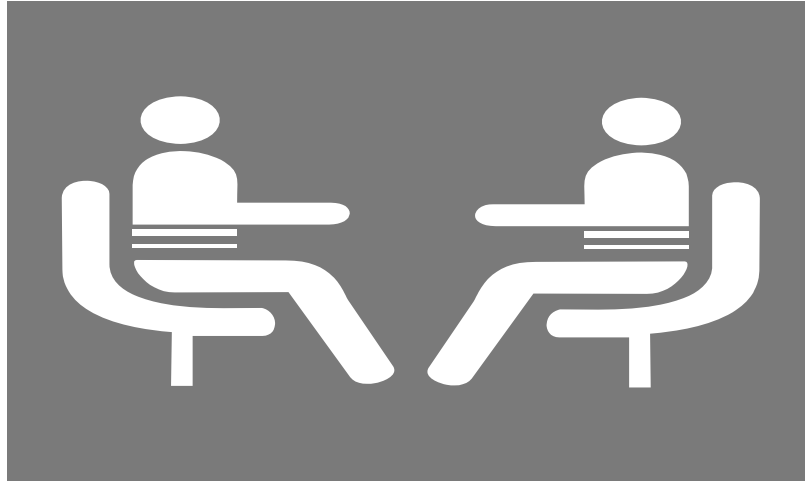# LSI-R:
Level of Service Inventory-Revised

Introductory training course:

Level of Services Inventory-Revised

Participant Manual

Much of the material contained within this manual has been adapted from the work of William R. Miller, PH.D. and Stephen Rollnick, Ph.D Motivational Interviewing (1999, 2002); Dr. Don Andrews and Dr. James Bonta, Psychology of Criminal Conduct, Second Edition; Kathy Gibbs, Sally Kraemer and Kim McIrwin, Iowa Department of Corrections, LSI-R training manual 2000, Jason Anderson, Minnesota Dept of Corrections, LSI-R training manual 2012.

Introductory LSI-R Training Objectives

By the end of the training the participants will be able to:

1. Understand the basic principles and theories underlying the LSI-R.

2. Identify three principles of effective interventions for correctional practice.

3. Identify the 4 biggest risk factors for future criminal activity.

4. Have basic understanding of LSI-R scores and how to respond to those scores.

Introductory LSI-R Training

Agenda

INTRODUCTIONS:
- Introduction of the trainers and participants
- Agenda
- Housekeeping

CAR BUYING ACTIVITY

SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY
- Cost vs. Rewards
- Additive vs. Subtractive
- Density
- Cost and Rewards Activity

IMPORTANCE OF ASSESSEMENTS

WHAT IS THE LSI-R
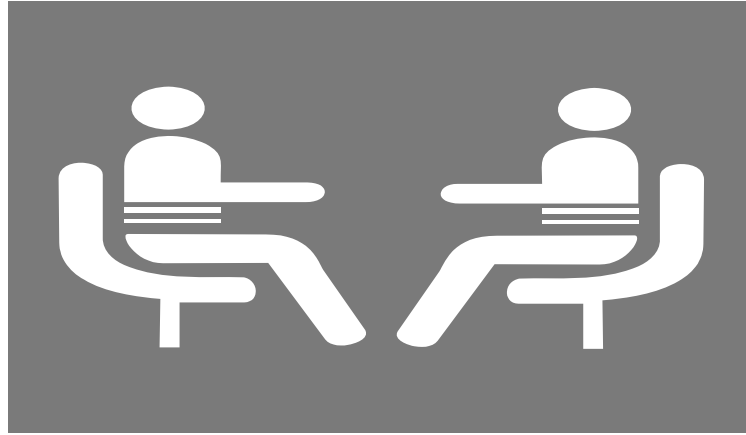- Uses of LSI-R
- Sources of information
- What does it mean/how can it be used?

FUNDEMENTALS OF EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION
- Big 4 and Central 8 risk factors
- R-N-R principle

QUESTION/ANSWER

EVALUATION: WRAP UP

Effective Correctional Intervention

- Principles and Predictors

- Promising Targets for Change

- Predictors of Criminal Conduct

- The Big Four

- Social Learning Theory

Principles of Effective Correctional Intervention

◘ Risk

◘ Need

◘ Responsivity

- Cognitive Behavioral
- Special Consideration

◘ Professional Override

The Risk Principle

◘ Offender risk should be matched to level of service.

◘ Higher levels of service should be reserved for high risk cases.

Treatment Effectiveness

	Minimal Treatment (Regular Supervision)	Augmented Treatment
High Risk Probationers	75% Recidivated	33% Recidivated
Low Risk Probationers	7% Recidivated	14% Recidivated

The Need Principle

When dynamic risk factors (criminogenic needs) are changed, there is a subsequent decrease in the likelihood of further criminal behavior.

The Responsivity Principle

Match officer style and mode of intervention
to special offender characteristics

More on the Responsivity Principle:

Client Factors:

- Motivation (as a barrier)
- Engages in Denial and/or Minimization
- Interpersonally Anxious
- Cultural / Ethnicity Issues
- Communication Barriers
- Low Intelligence
- Leaning Disabled or Brain Injured

Predictors of Criminal Conduct

Lower Class Origins
- Socioeconomic Characteristics of Neighborhood
- Signs of Parental Education / Occupation / Income

Family of Origin
- <u>Long Term</u> Reliance on Welfare
- Emotional Criminality in Close Relatives
- Multiple Psychological Handicaps
- Antisocial Attitudes
- Low levels of affection / cohesiveness in home
- Low levels of supervision / poor discipline in home
- Neglect / abuse

Personal Temperament and Early Behavioral History
- Restlessly energetic
- Impulsive
- Adventurous pleasure-seeking
- Taste for risk
- Below average verbal intelligence
- Response to frustration more likely to involve anger and resentment
- Lack of conscientiousness
- Egocentrism
- Callousness
- Moral immaturity
- Poor problem solving / coping skills
- Childhood diagnosis of conduct disorder
- Early and generalized misconduct

School-Based Risk Factors

- Below average effort
- Lack of interest / being bored
- Not worrying about occupational future
- Conduct problems
- Poor schools (low caring, low structure)

Educational / Vocational / Socioeconomic Achievement
- Low level of achieved education
- Long periods of unemployment
- <u>Reliance</u> on welfare

Interpersonal Relationships
- Generalized indifference to the opinions of others
- Unstable marital history
- Rejected / rejecting

Social Support for Crime
- Association with antisocial / drug using others
- Isolation from non-criminal others

Personal Attitudes/Values/Beliefs Supportive of Crime
- High tolerance for deviance in general
- Rejection of the validity of the law
- Rationalizes law violations of a wide variety
- Interprets a wide range of stimuli as reasons for anger, resentment and/or defiance
- Generally, thinking style and content is antisocial

Behavioral History

- Criminal history – Juvenile and Adult
- Alcohol and drug abuse
- Aimless use of leisure time
- Disorganized lifestyle

Personal Distress / Psychopathology

- High scores on measures of antisocial personality / psychopathy
- Active Psychosis with delusions
- Psychological signs of anxiety, worry, depression, low self-esteem and sociological signs of anomie, alienation, normlessness, powerlessness and isolation.

Other Risk Factors

- Being male
- Being young
- Being a member of some minority groups

Andrews and Bonta (1994): UNB/CU (Gendreau, Coggin, Chanteloupe)		
1. Lower Class Origins	.06	(97)
2. Personal Distress / Psychopathology	.08	(226)
3. Personal Educational achievement	.12	(129)
4. Personal / Family Factors	.18	(334)
5. Temperament/Misconduct/personality	.21	(621)
6. Antisocial Attitudes/Associates	.22	(168)

Mean Correlation between Different Types of Potential Correlates of Criminal Conduct by Gender

Risk Factor	Male	Female
Lower Class Origins	.04 (58)	.03 (12)
Personal Distress / Psychopathology	.09 (157)	.08 (19)
Personal Education / Vocational Achievement	.11 (96)	.13 (7)
Parental / Family Factors	.16 (180)	.16 (43)
Temperamental / Misconduct / Personality	.18 (461)	.23 (38)
Antisocial Attitudes / Associates	.21 (113)	.23 (12)
Overall	.16 (1065)	.16 (131)

UNB: Adult Offender Record
T. Little and P. Gendreau (1995)

1. Lower Class Origins   .06 (24)

2. Personal Distress   .05 (64)

3. Lower Intelligence   .07 (31)

4. Family of Origin   .11 (76)

5. Parenting Factors   .15 (27)

6. Personal Educational Achievement   .15 (154)

7. Criminogenic Need   .16 (175)

8. History of Antisocial Behavior   .16 (245)

9. Antisocial Personality   .18 (62)

10. Antisocial Companions   .18 (27)

11. Antisocial Attitudes   .19 (29)

12. Composite Risk Scales   .30 (123)

13. Age / Race / Gender   .14 (94)

The "BIG FOUR"

►   History of Antisocial Behavior

►   Antisocial Attitudes

►   Antisocial Associates

►   Antisocial Personality Pattern

14 Promising Targets for Change

1. Changing antisocial attitudes.

2. Changing/managing antisocial feelings.

3. Reducing antisocial peer associations.

4. Promoting familial affection/communication.

5. Promoting familial monitoring and supervision.

6. Promoting child protection (preventing abuse).

7. Promoting identification/association with anti-criminal role models.

8. Increasing self-control, self-management, and problem solving skills.

9. Replacing the skills of lying, stealing and aggression with pro-social alternatives.

10. Reducing chemical dependencies and substance abuse

11. Shifting the density of personal, interpersonal and other rewards and costs for criminal and non-criminal activities in familial, academic, vocational, recreational, and other behavioral settings so that the non-criminal alternatives are favored.

12. Providing the chronically mentally ill with low pressure, sheltered living arrangements and/or effective medication.

13. Insuring the Client is able to recognize risky situations and has a concrete, well-rehearsed plan for dealing with them.

14. Confronting the personal and circumstantial barriers to service (i.e., motivation).

7 Less Promising Targets for Change

1.   Increasing self-esteem (without simultaneously reducing antisocial thinking, feelings, and peer association).

2.   Focusing on vague Emotional/Personal complaints that are not linked with criminal conduct.

3.   Increasing cohesiveness of antisocial peer groups.

4.   Improving neighborhood-wide living conditions without touching the criminogenic needs of higher risk individuals and families.

5.   Showing respect for antisocial thinking on the grounds that the values of one culture are as equally valid as the values of another culture (when a culture holds criminal values that harm others.)

6.   Increasing conventional ambition in areas of school and work without concrete assistance in realizing these ambitions.

7.   Attempting to turn the client into a "better person" when the standards for being a "better person" are not linked with recidivism.

Components of the LSI-R

1. Criminal History   10 Items

2. Education / Employment   10 Items

3. Financial   2 Items

4. Family / Marital   2 Items

5. Accommodation   3 Items

6. Leisure / Recreation   2 Items

7. Companions   5 Items

8. Alcohol / Drug Problems   9 Items

9. Emotional / Personal   5 Items

10. Attitude / Orientation   4 Items

Information is collected through:

1) An interview with the client
2) Collateral verification
3) Review of case records

Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory

An Individual will behave according to the cost and benefits associated with the particular behavior they choose to engage in. For example, a criminal act will be committed when the person believes the rewards for the action will outweigh the costs.

The central causal variable of criminality is the *"variation in signaled rewards and costs for criminal and non-criminal behavior"*. Strategies such as modeling, graduated practice, reinforcement, extinction, etc are tied to the "cost/reward" model. This is why employing behavioral social learning and cognitive behavioral strategies are much more effective in reducing criminal behavior than sanctions.

Types of Rewards & Costs

Costs and rewards may be additive or subtractive. Additive outcomes or events involve something being added to the environment, while subtractive outcomes or events involve something being withdrawn from the environment.

- An *Additive Reward* would typically be described as: **Pleasure**.

- A *Subtractive Reward* would typically be described as: **Relief**.

- An *Additive Cost* would typically be described as: **Pain***.*

- A *Subtractive Cost* would typically be described as: **Disappointment or frustration.**

Where rewards and costs come from:

- **Personal** – This consists of self-talk, imaginings and visualizations. Content of these thought processes can be supportive or non-supportive of criminal behavior based on the attitudes, values, beliefs and cognitions of the individual.

- **Interpersonal** – The modeling of others and the reactions of others to particular acts. The major indicator of whether interpersonally mediated influences will be favorable or unfavorable to crime is in an assessment of what we call "antisocial associates" and the degree of isolation from pro-social associates.

- **Non-mediated** – Automatic outcomes that result in a reward or cost without personal or interpersonal mediation. For example, the buzz from alcohol or the removal of an obstacle by being aggressive, especially if there is a history of engagement in these activities.

➜Density of Rewards or Costs:

The number, strength, and variety of consequences as well as the immediacy, regularity, and frequency with which rewards or costs are delivered.

To Decrease Chances of Crime

	Rewards	Costs
Criminal	(-)	(+)
Anti-Criminal	(+)	(-)

	REWARDS		COSTS	
	Additive (Pleasure)	Subtractive (Relief)	Additive (Pain)	Subtractive (Disappoint-ment)
Personal				
Inter-personal				
Non-mediated (Community Reinforcement)				

Highlights of the

Advantages of the LSI

1. <u>Relatively simple to use.</u> The scoring follows a simple 0-1 format and collects much of the same information already collected in most offender interviews.

2. <u>LSI appears to "work".</u> Research based upon different types of offenders from different settings repeatedly show that the instrument can differentiate offender risk level. Changes in LSI scores have been associated with changes in recidivism supporting the use of the LSI for rehabilitation programming.

3. <u>Comprehensive.</u> The LSI includes both historical criminal history and offender needs information. Most of the major areas found related to criminal conduct are covered.

4. <u>Empirically rational.</u> The basis for making supervision and treatment decision are objective and readily observable. At the same time, there is room for professional judgment through the inclusion of an over-ride factor.

5. <u>Staff professionalism.</u> Conducting good LSI assessments require training and a professional commitment to get to know and try to help the offender. Social interaction and as sound professional judgment in developing a program for the offender. The use of the LSI commits the correctional work to reach beyond the traditional role of monitoring the offender and to become a correctional "interventionist".

Appendix
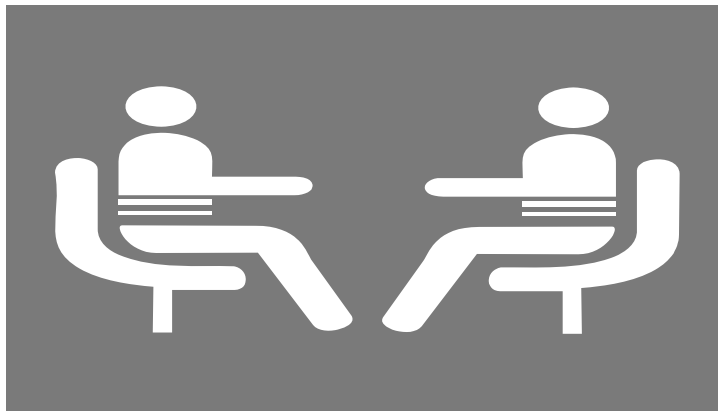
LSI-R and Probation Outcome (%)

LSI Score	Terminations		Supervising Rating		Recidivism		
	Early	Regular	Success	Fail	New Convictions	Multiple	Prison
24+	0.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	75.0	66.7	58.3
12 – 23	29.4	70.6	65.5	34.5	48.5	37.5	50.0
8 – 11	45.0	55.0	85.0	15.0	16.7	12.5	25.0
0 – 7	56.4	43.6	93.3	6.7	7.8	0.0	0.0

(From Andrews, 1982)

Percent Success in Halfway Houses by LSI-R Scores

Group	LSI-R Score			
	0 – 7	8 – 11	12 – 23	24+
First Sample (75)	94.4 (18)	78.6 (14)	67.6 (37)	33.3 (6)
Second Sample (89)	95.0 (19)	100.0 (19)	75.0 (40)	70.0 (10)

Note: Number of subjects in parentheses

(from Bonta & Motiuk, 1985)

Percent Reincarcerated by LSI-R Scores (Halfway House Residents)

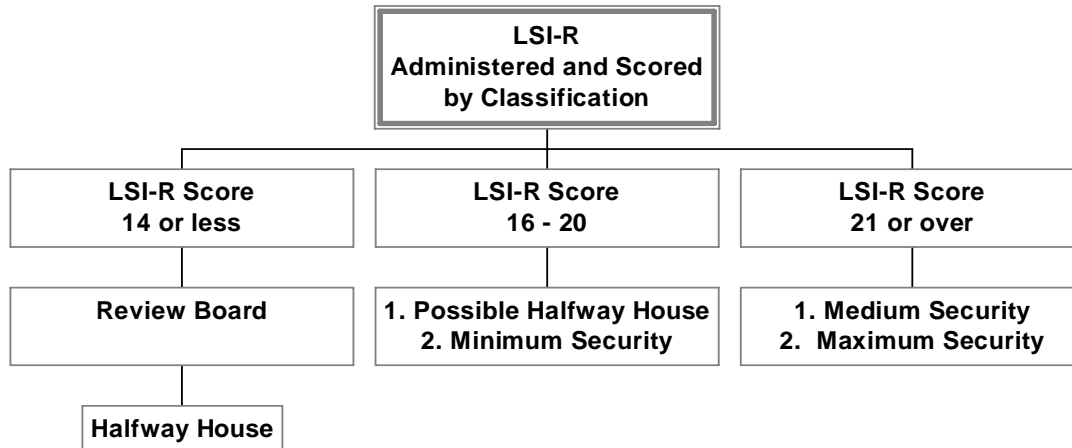|	LSI-R Score			
Group	**0 – 7**	**8 – 11**	**12 – 23**	**24+**
First Sample (72)	11.1 (18)	8.3 (12)	33.3 (36)	66.7 (6)
Second Sample (76)	0.0 (16)	12.5 (16)	23.5 (34)	40.0 (10)

Note: Number of subjects in parentheses

(from Bonta & Motiuk, 1985)

LSI-R and Halfway House Outcome

	Successful (%)	
LSI-R Score	**Study 1**	**Study 2**
21 +	52.8	62.5
15 – 20	77.8	81.8
0 – 14	92.3	92.5
All Residents	73.3	84.1

Diversion of Inmates to Halfway Houses

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │         LSI-R           │
                    │  Administered and Scored │
                    │     by Classification   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
           ┌─────────────────┼─────────────────┐
┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
│   LSI-R Score    │ │   LSI-R Score    │ │   LSI-R Score    │
│   14 or less     │ │     16 - 20      │ │    21 or over    │
└──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
┌──────────────────┐ ┌────────────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────┐
│   Review Board   │ │ 1. Possible Halfway House│ │ 1. Medium Security   │
│                  │ │ 2. Minimum Security     │ │ 2.  Maximum Security │
└──────────────────┘ └────────────────────────┘ └──────────────────────┘
┌──────────────────┐
│  Halfway House   │
└──────────────────┘
```

Diversion of Inmates to Halfway House

Comparison of LSI-R Identified Halfway House Placements with Non-Identified Placements

	LSI-R Identified (24)	Non-Identified (18)
Days in House	1,975	671
Mean Days*	82.3	39.5
# Serving > 90 Days*	8 (33/3%)	2 (11.0%)
Successful Residents	22 (91.7%)	17 (94.4%)

*Successful Residents Only

Outcome for
Low-Scoring Inmates (%)

Institution	Halfway House		Parole Rate	
	Placement	Success	House	Prison
Jail 1	64.7	100	86	80
Jail 2	41.7	100	100	70
Jail 3	16.4	100	80	88
Total	30.4	100	89	83

Note: LSI-R score 14 or less   (from Bonta & Motiuk, 1990)

Summary of Success Rates for Halfway House
Residents with LSI Scores of 14 or Less

Study	N	f	Success Rate
Bonta & Motiuk (1982)	115	106	92.2%
Bonta & Motiuk (1987)			
Sample 1	12	12	100.0%
Sample 2	24	22	91.75%
Bonta & Motiuk (1990)	31	31	100.0%
TOTAL	182	171	94.0%

Violent Behavior and LSI-R Risk Level (Institution Only)

LSI-R Score

	0 – 7	8 – 11	12 – 23	24+
% Misconduct	4.5	3.0	34.8	57.6
% Assault	0.0	3.4	37.9	58.6

Total Sample Size = 123
(from Bonta, Motiuk, and Ker, 1985)

LSI-R and Institutional Security Placement

Security Level

LSI-R Score	Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Total (%)
37 + (Max.)	5	29	13	47 (11.1)
25 – 36 (Med.)	42	117	31	190 (44.8)
0 – 24 (Min.)	59	108	20	187 (44.1)
Total (%)	106 (25)	254 (59.9)	64 (15.1)	424

(from Bonta & Motuik, 1992)

Changes in LSI-R Risk Levels and Recidivism

Retest Risk Level

Intake Risk Level	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Overall	N
Very High	--	--	50%	100%	75%	(4)
High (12-23)	--	0%	27%	100%	41%	(22)
Moderate (8-11)	0%	33%	40%	--	27%	(11)
Low (0-7)	0%	0%	0%	100%	5%	(20)
N	(19)	(10)	(14)	(9)	(57)	

(from Andrews & Robinson, 1984)

Recidivism Rates and Changes in LSI-R Risk Level

Retest Risk Level

Intake Risk Level	Low	High	Overall
Low	18.2 (4/22)	25.0 (1/4)	19.2
High	20.0 (1/5)	52.2 (12/23)	46.4
Overall	18.5 (5/27)	48.1 (13/27)	33.3

(from Motiuk, 1993)

LSI-R and Recidivism
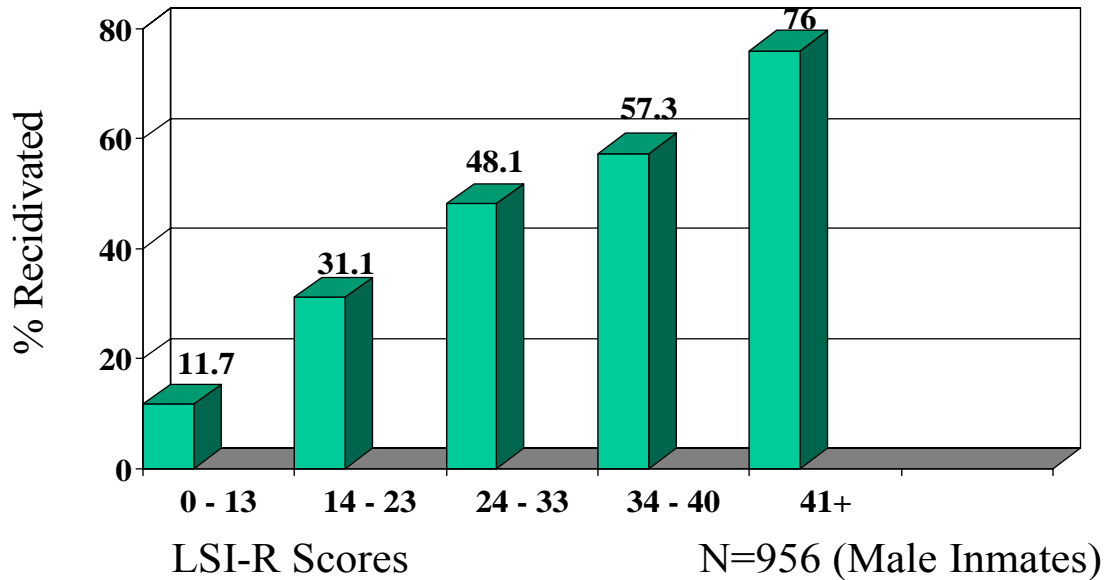
Success in Halfway Houses: Comparing Classification Systems

System	% CC	% CIF	% RIOC
Dynamic			
LSI-R	65.7	87.0	73.4
Wisconsin	56.9	65.2	30.4
Static			
SIR (Canada)	62.7	82.6	63.8
SFS (U.S.)	56.9	826.6	58.7
Illinois	61.8	82.6	63.0
Pennsylvania	58.8	76.9	45.7

Note:
CC = Correctly Classified
CIF = Correctly Classified Failures
RIOC = Relative Improvement Over Chance   (from Motiuk, 1993)

LSI-R and Female Recidivism (Female Provincial)

% Re-arrested vs LSI-R Scores (0-7, 8-13, 14-20, 21-28, 29+)

(from Coulson, 1993)
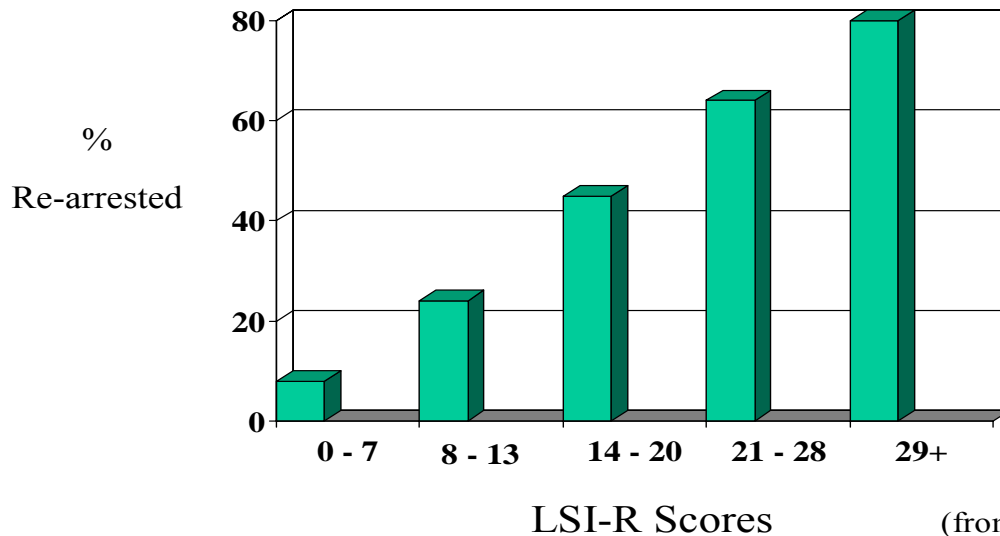
Predictive Validity of LSI-R by Race

	Outcome					
LSI-R	Misconduct		PV		Incarceration	
	N	N-N	N	N-N	N	N-N
A. Criminal History	.26*	.25*	.69***	.42**	.41**	.53***
B. Education/Empl.	.26*	.22*	.36	.35*	.28*	.39***
C. Financial	.03	.18	.16	.40**	.17	.26**
D. Family Marital	.25*	.22*	.05	.15	.06	.02
E. Accommodation	.25*	.11	.29	.29*	.12	.21*
F. Leisure	.12	.09	.08	.02	.04	.16
G. Companions	.03	.07	.18	.19	.09	.25*
H. Alcohol./Drugs	.05	.20**	.58**	.20	.38**	.24*
I. Emotional/Pers.	.01	.03	.03	.36*	.04	.12
J. Attitude/Orient.	.08	.28**	.29	.17	.14	.24*
Total LSI-R Score	.26*	.31**	.51**	.46**	.35**	.50**

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
Notes: PV = Parole Violation
N = Native, N-N = Non-Native

(from Bonta, 1989)

Other Uses for the LSI-R

- Developing treatment plans
- Monitoring offender risk
- Identifying offenders for the least restrictive sanction
  - Halfway house
  - Minimum probation supervision
  - Parole release
  - Less secure institution placement

Second District Day Program Center Unsuccessful Completion and Follow-up LSI-R Scores

Percent Program Failures

LSI-R Follow-up Scores	Green	Blue
0 - 13	9.1	3.8
14 - 23	19.1	17.9
24 - 33	33	30.3
34 - 40	53.2	45.5
41+	65	50

LSI-R Follow-up Scores
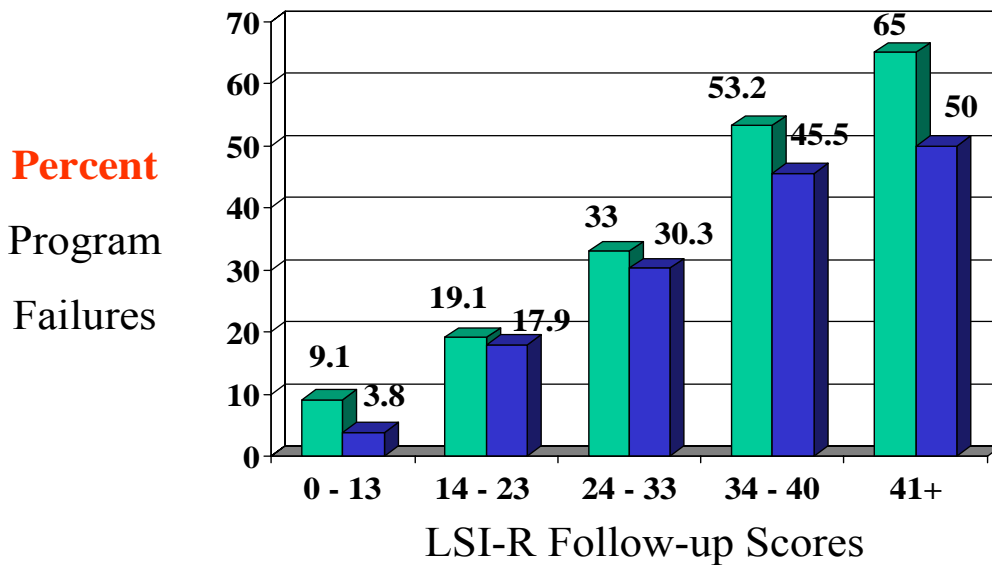
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE LSI

James Bonta

October 1993

This paper provides only a summary of the research on the LSI. Detailed descriptions of the methodology and results can be found in the original research publication. Copies of these reports are available by writing:

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A Summary of Research Findings on the LSI

Research on the LSI spans nearly 15 years of study and has involved thousands of offenders. Originally developed for use with probationers in the province of Ontario, subsequent studies have found the LSI relevant for other types of offenders in different criminal justice settings. Investigators have reported similar findings with adult male and female inmates (Bonta & Motiuk, 1992; Coulson, 1993), correctional halfway house placements (Bonta & Motiuk, 1990), aboriginal inmates (Bonta, 1989) and using a modification of the LSI, with child welfare cases (Andrews, Robinson & Balla, 1986) and young offenders (Shields, 1993). In addition, recent research from U.S. jurisdictions (Colorado) has also shown the LSI to predict future offending behavior.

The present paper provides a general introduction to the research dealing with the LSI. This paper follows the studies beginning with the development of the instrument in a probation and parole setting to the use of the LSI in the selection of inmates for halfway house placement and finally to its use in institutions. The presentation is non-technical and gives only the approach taken in a study and the major findings. For those interested in the actual technical reports, a bibliography is attached t\at the end of the paper.

What is the LSI?

The Level of Supervision Inventory (LSI) is a way of systematically bringing together risk and needs information important to offender treatment planning and for assigning levels of freedom and supervision. Many times, people working with offenders are guided by their "intuition", "gut feeling" and professional judgment based on their knowledge and experience with offenders. The use of professional judgment is important and should not be dismissed. However, objective risk-needs offender assessment instruments have some advantages over professional judgment approaches to offender assessment which will soon become apparent.

First, a few general comments about the way the LSI is set up or structured. By examining the record form we can make the following general observations:

1) The LSI collects 54 pieces of information ranging from criminal history to attitudes toward supervision. This information is gathered on everyone interviewed. By tapping on a wide range of variables, the LSI recognizes that there are many possible factors associated with criminal behavior. Collecting a more limited set of information is naturally going to miss factors important to the individual. In addition, because each offender is assessed on the same variables and these variables are scored the same way (i.e., objective assessment), favoritism of bias about what questions are asked and how the answers are scored is minimized. Such a broad survey of factors not only benefits the offender by considering the person "in total" but also serves to promote sound case management since the case worker can show his or her manager, or anyone else, that a comprehensive assessment of the offender was undertaken.

2) The items of the LSI are scores fairly simple. There are no fancy weighting formulas that run the risk of making computational errors. Further, research comparing simple scoring methods like the 0-1 format with more statistically complex methods show the simple approach is as valid as the more complex procedures.

3) The items are grouped into categories or what we refer to as "subcomponents". The subcomponents help the case worker identify especially problematic areas in the offender's life that require attention.

4) Many of the subcomponents consist of items that are changeable or "dynamic". This is a very important concept if the role of case worker is to do more than "supervise" an offender but also to bring about a change. These dynamic factors are actually _risk_ factors and by reducing the number of dynamic risk variables we are more likely to see a reduction in the probability of future criminal activity. In this way, many of the LSI items and subcomponents act as treatment targets.

5) There is a professional over-ride section. Although the LSI is fairly comprehensive, the correctional worker is likely to meet some offenders who do not seem to quite fit or have some feature out of

the ordinary. Here the interviewer can write the reasons why a particular offender should be placed in either a higher or lower risk category then designated by the LSI.

6) Finally, and not really seen on the LSI record form, is a reminder that completing the form does not depend only on what the offender tells the interviewer. Many offenders may misrepresent their situation either on purpose or unintentionally (e.g., poor memory for an event). Interviewers are required to confirm as much as possible the information provided by the offender by reviewing official records and/or interviewing others familiar with the offender in order to confirm the offender's representations.

The Development of the LSI

The LSI was developed through numerous consultations around what information should be collected, exactly how it would be done, and how the results of this information would be presented. Prior to the LSI, probation officers interviewed probationers and family members, reviewed police reports, phoned employers and others who knew the offender. What questions were asked and what information was recorded was guided by general procedural manuals and legal requirements. After collecting the information, the probation officer usually wrote a narrative report describing the offender, his or her social situation and the circumstances surrounding the offence with recommendations for supervision and treatment.

Probation workers and managers recognized that this traditional approach to offender assessment had two basic weaknesses. First, it was an uneven approach. The same offender could be treated quite differently by different probation officers. There was too much discretion on what information was to be collected and how it was reported. Second, it was unclear as to how the recommendation for the level of supervision was actually derived. That is, on what basis was a probationer assigned a high or low supervision status?

Don Andrews, a professor at Carleton University, led discussions with probation officers and managers in designing a new classification instrument that was objective, comprehensive, simple to use and reflected the offender's treatment needs and risk level.

Probation services in Ontario were based upon a rehabilitation model and the probation officer's role was to provide treatment services to the offender. The consultation exercises were guided by both a social learning perspective of criminal behaviour and the research literature on criminal behaviour. It was important that the information to be collected made sense (i.e., theoretically relevant) and that it was empirically supported. There was no room for unsubstantiated hunches and notions about what information was truly relevant to case management.

The result of the consultations was the LSI but the first version was over 50 pages long! Subsequent revisions reduced the LSI to the present two page format. An interview/scoring guide was also written to give some structure to collections and scoring the information. The LSI was now ready to be tested.

The Research Studies

Probation

In 1979, the LSI was routinely administered to 598 probationers in the Ottawa area. The research examined inter-rater reliability (i.e., how well LSI classifications matched when they were completed by different officers), officer satisfaction with the results, and whether the LSI scores were related to the types of outcomes important to correctional management (e.g., continued criminal activity). The major findings were as follows:

1. The systematic and structured approach to collecting and scoring the information produced good agreements among probation officers. This means, for example, that two correctional workers who assess the offender independently from each other are going to record the same types of information and reach the same general conclusions about risk level and treatment needs.

2. Probation officers agreed with the LSI assigned risk level in 90% of the cases. That is, the LSI was a fairly accurate reflection of the professional judgment of probation officers.

3. Failure on probation was significantly related to LSI scores. The higher the LSI score, the greater the probability of failure on probation. For example, only 7.8% of probationers with LSI scores of seven or less were reconvicted of a new offence; probationers with scores of 24 or more had a reconviction rate of 75%.

4. LSI scores predicted the number and seriousness of new offenses. No probationer with a score of seven or less was convicted of multiple offenses. However, at the other extreme, 66.7% of probationers with scores of 24 or more had multiple reconvictions. Similarly, the higher the score the more likely the courts would give a sentence of incarceration reflecting the seriousness of the new offenses.

By all accounts, the LSI appeared to perform well. Well enough that the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services adopted the LSI as the classification instrument for probation and parole services. Today it is used in the Province to assess over 20,000 probationers each year.

Re-assessments of the LSI

We noted earlier that one of the features of the LSI was the inclusion of items and subcomponents. For the correctional worker, this is an important feature of the instrument. It means that some of the areas that are measured by the LSI can serve as rehabilitation goals. These rehabilitation goals are not just treatment targets in the traditional sense of helping people feel better about themselves and others. The treatment targets suggested by the LSI are the need areas that are related to criminal behaviour.

From a research perspective, the importance of the LSI in directing services would be demonstrated if links can be shown between *changes* in LSI scores and *changes* in criminal behaviour. Such a demonstration was provided in a study by Andrews and Robinson (1984). Intake LSI's and one year reassessments were available for a sample of 57 probationers. At reassessment, 32 probationers remained in the same risk category that they were assigned at intake. Essentially, nothing much appeared to have changed in the lives of these people over a one year period. However things had changed for 25 probationers (at least as measured by the LSI). For 15 probationers, the situation appeared worse; LSI risk level increased as reassessment. For the remaining 10 probationers, risk level decreased.

The information just provided can be interpreted in many different ways. For example, do the changes in LSI scores simply reflect measurement instability in the LSI? Are the reassessments more accurate because the probation officer knows the client better? We would probably answer "yes" to these questions. Any measurement instrument will have some instability inherent in it; no measure is perfect. Also, of course, knowing more about the offender will lead to better assessments.

However, this study also collected reconviction information at least six months after the reassessment. Andrews and Robinson found that the changes in LSI scores went hand-in-hand with changes in reconviction rates. Where LSI scores decreased at reassessment, so did the reconviction rate. In other words, a reduction in the dynamic needs measured by the LSI was associated with less criminal activity. Likewise, increases in LSI scores were found associated with increases in recidivism. No change in scores showed no up or down movement in the recidivism of probationers. This study provides support for the "dynamic validity" of the LSI and the importance of identifying the criminogenic needs of offenders and providing effective programs to deal with these needs.

The Halfway House Studies

Many North American prison systems are plagued with overcrowding. Reducing overcrowding has both humanitarian and economic benefits and although most would agree that reducing prison use is worthwhile, achieving this goal is

difficult. One general approach in reducing incarcerated populations begins with asking the question: "is imprisonment necessary for everybody who is in prison?" Another way of posing this question is to say: "Are all prisoners high risk offenders needing a prison setting to control them?"

In a series of studies conducted in the 1980's we used the LSI to answer these questions. Two early studies, one replicating the other, involved administering the LSI to inmates who were transferred to halfway houses. These inmates fell across a wide range of LSI scores. Some were in the medium and high risk ranges, which we expected because they came form a maximum security setting, but some inmates were in the minimum risk category. When the inmates placed in the halfway houses were followed-up, it was clear that LSI scores were related to success in the houses. In fact, offenders with low scores (0-14) had success rates in the 92-94% range. These two early studies showed that there were low risk offenders in prison that could safely be placed in halfway houses and the studies also demonstrated that the usefulness and validity of the LSI was not limited to probation samples.

In another study, the LSI was administered to a representative sample of inmates in a Detention Centre and approximately 34% had scores between 0 and 14. We expected that many of these inmates would be identified by the normal classification process and selected for placement into a halfway house. However, only a third were classified for community placement. The other two-thirds remained in prison until the expiry of their sentences or until they were paroled. Obviously, the existing classification system failed to identify "good bets" for halfway house placement.

Recognizing an opportunity to improve the classification process to yield a fairer system and increase the use of community placements, a subsequent study added the LSI to the standard classification procedure. Over a one year period, classification staff in a Detention Centre completed their classification interview, as they have always done, and also scored the LSI. Reports from classification staff were that doing the LSI only added another five minutes to their workload. Much of the information usually collected in the classification interview was the same information required to complete an LSI. The only major difference with the LSI was the information was organized in an objective and quantifiable manner. Classification staff was also asked to refer all inmates with LSI scores of 0 to 14 to the halfway house review board. That's all – the Board was under no obligation to place these inmates into a halfway house. However, each low scoring inmate now had a chance to be reviewed and not passed over by the more traditional classification interview.

This study found that of the 270 inmates tested, 41 or approximately 15% of the sentenced, prison population in a Detention Centre scored in the 0 to 14 range on the LSI. Nearly 60% of them were placed into a community residence and 92% were successful. Although the number of transfers of low risk offenders to halfway houses did not increase, the amount of time spent in the community more than doubled. That is, using the LSI identified low risk offenders earlier in their sentences so that they could be quickly placed in the community.

Perhaps the best example of using the LSI to produce a real change in identifying lower risk inmates of community placement is a study directly comparing traditional classification procedures with LSI classification over a six month period, two Detention Centres scored LSI's at the end of the classification interview and referred low scoring inmates (0 to 14) to the halfway house review board. The researchers also checked to see if there were any differences in the characteristics of the inmates from the three Detention Centres. After reviewing approximately 150 variables such as criminal history, offence type, substance abuse, employment, etc., no systematic differences in the types of offenders form the different institutions were found.

This is an important point. It means that if we observe any differences in how the inmates from the three institutions are classified, the differences cannot be explained by the type of offender; it has to be how they are classified. And, since the only difference in classification procedure was whether or not they used the LSI, the results could be attributed to the different classification procedures.

The main result from this study was as follows:

- For the institutions using the LSI, 51% of low scoring inmates were transferred to a halfway house

- For the institution not using the LSI, only 16% of low scoring inmates were transferred.

The results clearly showed that the use of the LSI for identification of low risk inmates was enough to make a real difference. The institutions using the LSI had a community placement rate more than three times greater than the rate for the institution using more traditional classification.

Further Applications

The LSI is based upon a social learning theory of criminal behaviour which means it tries to explain criminal conduct regardless of the setting (e.g., prisoners, probationers), the offence (e.g., violent offender, white collar criminals) and the person (e.g., male offenders, juveniles, females). Therefore, we would expect the LSI, or derivatives of the LSI, to function in much the same way regardless of setting, offence type, and person.

It takes a great many studies to confirm the validity of the LSI across so many situations and people. Chances are that we will come across some cases or situations that do not fit very well. At that point modifications to the instrument and/or the theory will be necessary. However, the research so far has been encouraging.

We have seen that the LSI, first developed and tested in probation, applies equally well with inmates placed into halfway houses. That is, the LSI predicted outcomes in probation and in halfway houses. Other studies have also shown LSI scores to predict outcomes important to prison management. In three separate studies LSI scores predicted institutional misconducts and assaults. This knowledge is useful for identifying inmates who may need maximum security and inmates who may be placed in minimum and medium security settings. Bonta and Motiuk (1992) found that almost 38% of inmates were <u>over</u> classified. Considering the fact that much of prison overcrowding is found in maximum security settings, the LSI can be used to help place people in less secure prison settings.

Finally, the major findings reported in this paper have now been replicated among a number of different offender groups extending the generality of the classification instrument. These groups include:

- young offenders between the ages 12-15 (male and female)
- young offenders between the ages 16-18 (male and female)
- Aboriginal offenders (male)
- Mentally disordered offenders (male)
- Adult female offenders
- Serious federally sentenced offenders

Hopefully, further research will add to this list.

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Responsivity: The Key to Understanding & Maximizing Offender Change

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One of the challenges of working with offenders is effectively managing or intervening with an unmotivated individual who is in denial and would rather fight than switch. Maybe most of the offenders you manage are not like that, but for the rest of us it is a tough proposition. Even those offenders, who seem to be motivated and want to change, end up failing. Do you ever get tired of seeing the same individual over and over again? Have you ever failed at a diet or starting an exercise program? Change follows the same process whether it involves criminal behavior or changing your eating habits. What follows will give the correctional worker some new ideas about how to think about and manage change.

This paper shall provide a brief outline of the presentation given at the 1999 ICCA Conference. It will provide an overview of how people change. All change is governed by principals that are active, regardless of the problem. Within that overview, issues of Responsivity will be addressed. Responsivity represents adjustments in the management or treatment of the offender based on offender characteristics. Finally, there shall be a brief discussion of Motivational Interviewing, which is an approach and a series of techniques that can be used as a general strategy to manage Responsivity issues to maximize offender change.

At its most basic level, change takes place when a person is: Ready, Willing, And Able to change. If anyone of these elements is missing, change cannot take place, in intervening with offenders, each one of these areas can be stumbling blocks. Readiness to change involves a process of understanding that you have a problem and beginning to deal with the ambivalence around the problem. Willingness is the choosing part – I choose to change. Ableness is having the resources, either internal (skills) or external (i.e., friends, support or treatment) to take action to change.

Ambivalence is a normal part of life. The feeling of ambivalence is a mild, moderate, or severe conflict about an individual's: life, job, friends, relationships, God, spouse, or the spouse he/she doesn't have, or health, and so on. Ambivalence can be summarized as "part of me want to, part of me doesn't". For example, part of me wants to use drugs, part of me doesn't. Offenders also feel ambivalence. Not only do they have the normal ambivalences that we all feel, but they have ambivalence, s it relates to their Parole Officer, their Case Manager, the interview process, the legal system, their criminal behavior, the courts, the police, their lawyers, and their

treatment. Understanding that an offender can feel two ways about something provides many new avenues to helping an offender change. Resolving ambivalence is working on the problem. It removes roadblocks that hinder change. Once ambivalence is resolved, internally motivated change can take place. This is the Willingness part. I choose to make a change. Motivational Interviewing (Miller and Rollnick, 1991) involves the management of ambivalence.

There are three rules that govern ambivalence. Rule one: the nature of ambivalence is such that, if you argue for one side of the conflict, the offender will express its opposite.

Rule two: all communications take place on two levels – the overt and the covert. The overt involves what the offender said. The covert level is not what was said but what the offender may be thinking. The covert area is one that is guarded because the offender is not sure it is safe to reveal those things. The covert elements hold the information for motivating healthy change. If the correctional officer or treatment provider cannot get beyond the overt communication level, then the only interventions available are sanctions, mandates and controls, the traditional criminal justice approaches. These can and do work, however the offender needs time, intensity and has to comply with the program for changes to occur.

Rule three: the ambivalence changes based on where the offender is in the Stages of Change cycle. When people change, they follow a natural series of progressions or stages. It does not matter what the problem is. Whether it is starting an exercise program or changing criminal behavior, the process is the same.

Many offenders are stuck at stage one, pre-contemplation or contemplation (stage two). It is only at stage three, (preparation/determination), and especially stage four (action), that an offender is "willing" to make changes. Often, an offender may have many problems and each problem may be at a different Stage of Change. Positive gains and benefits can be achieved by working on a problem that the offender admits to. Then the offender may be more willing to work on a problem that he/she is not admitting.

The "being able" to change is a critical area of deficit for offenders. The "being able" is influenced by the principles of Social Learning Theory. Basically, from a social learning perspective, behavior is a combination of past learning, cognitive beliefs (thoughts and attitudes), social interactions, and actions within the environment. For example, if I'm trying to get clean and still hang around with friends who are using, then they will encourage me to use (example of environmental and social influences). Also, an offender's beliefs about their ability to go straight or be a successful criminal, profoundly influence the Able part of change. This is called self-efficacy. These are beliefs that an individual has about the likelihood of completing a specific behavior and getting a predictable outcome or effect (Bandura, 1971, 1977). If an offender has high pro-criminal self-efficacy (He/she believes: I am a successful criminal; I've made lots of money; I can continue to make lots of money), versus having low pro-social self-efficacy (I've never been able to make it

going straight), he/she will not change. Efficacy expectations are rooted in an individual's sense of mastery. This is developed by either successful experiences, which create high expectations for success, or failure experiences, which tend to generate low expectations.

We have briefly reviewed the larger context of the change process. Responsivity issues are a sub-set of elements involved in the change process. Andrews and Bonta (1998, p245) state, "The Responsivity principle refers to delivering treatment programs in a style and mode that is consistent with the ability and learning style of the offender." My working definition encompasses their s but is broader. It states, "Responsivity issues are some characteristics of the offender that require special management or adjustment to maximize the possibility of change." Issues of Responsivity are not ell researched. While there has been much needed and well-validated research on criminogenic needs, responsivity issues have not yet received the attention and focus that is required. At times, the distinction between criminogenic and responsivity is not clear. For example, personality is a criminogenic target, particularly those with the narcissistic and anti-social types. However, in terms of managing or delivering services, there are some ways that are more effective with these personality styles a responsivity issue. Too much inter-personal connectedness with narcissistic and antisocial types allows them to manipulate you and keeps the correctional worker off target. It is not what they need to make changes. However, an individual that has a dependent personality style needs inter-personal connectedness to make changes. What follows is a list of responsivity issues and the correlations with recidivism.

1. Denial .12
2. Personality .21 - .38
3. Authority/Reactance Problems ?
4. Motivation .14
5. Interpersonal Anxiety ?
6. Intelligence .07
7. Ethnicity / Cultural .00- .23
8. Maturity (Age) -.16
9. Learning Style ?
10. Gender .10
11. Other ?

Correlations taken from Gendreau, Goggin and Little (1996) and Hanson and Bussiere (1996).

Responsivity issues do not matter when: 1) you are dealing with a psychopathic offender; 2) the offender hates your guts; 3) you hate the offender's guts.

Responsivity does matter when: 1) the correctional worker or treatment provider and the offender can have constructive, inter-personal interaction. This occurs when the material at the covert level can be discussed; 2) you are willing to adjust delivery (not mandates) based on the offender responsivity needs; 3) the correctional worker is willing to try to do something that may increase the likelihood of retraining and changing the offender.

Responsivity Issues

1. <u>**Denial**</u>

   Denial, as a concept, is not very functional. By its very nature, it implies that nothing can be done. In actuality, denial represents one of five behaviors in which steps may be taken to resolve the "denial." These five behaviors are lying, perceptual bias, unawareness, resistance, and ambivalence (Miller * Rollnick, 1991).

   a. Lying

   Lying behavior is based on an expectation that there will be bad consequences for telling the truth. Possible solutions would be to clarify the consequences. Ask the offender what their intentions are. Are they going to continue playing the game, lying is a part of the game, or are they gong to be responsible for themselves and work towards their own long term good?

   b. Perceptual Bias

   People normally have a way that maintains a positive self-image, and they intend to interpret negative information in a defensive, face-saving way. So often this negative information is ignored. Use an analogy of warning lights in a car. Negative information can be warning lights. It can allow the offender to catch problems before they become too big.

c.   Unawareness

Because we are so involved with ourselves, it is difficult to see our own behavior causing the problems and it is quite normal to see problems caused by external forces. Talk about how many times this has happened. Have the offender talk about teach instance. Help the offender look for common themes or patterns.

d.   Resistance

Resistance can be based on the stage of change. It's a normal process for a pre-contemplator/contemplator to be resistant. Motivational Interviewing provides tools for managing the resistance process. Go around resistance, not through it.

e.   Ambivalence

Chances are, rule one of ambivalence has been violated. The correctional officer/treatment provider has argued that there is a problem, but the offender, even if he/she knows there is, argues that there is not a problem. This is the classic resistance bind.

If an offender is in "denial," try to identify the specific behavior that it is involved and you will be able to address the "covert" levels and expectations of what the offender is telling you.

2.   **Personality**

Personality affects peoples' perceptions and behaviors. Based on our own data of assessing 2276 offenders, both male and female, 58.1% have some level of narcissistic personality style; 34.8% have some sort of anti-social personality style; 26.6% have some sort of dependent personality style; an additional 25.4% have some sort of paranoid personality style. These were the top four personality styles. Clearly, in dealing with offenders, the narcissistic, anti-social styles are over represented. Due to the shortness of this summary, few specifics can be given on how to manage these styles. Here are a few grief guidelines.

With the narcissistic/antisocial type of offender, talk can often substitute for behavior; it is important to emphasize, it is what they do, not what they say. This type of individual may have a difficult time perceiving reality accurately. A way around this is asking them what other people have told them. Or ask them to "Suppose or pretend this is a problem, then what would you do?" instead of, "You have a problem." It makes it less threatening and they may be able to engage their resources to address the

particular issue. It is bet to be direct and clear with your expectations. For a dependent personality style, the most important guideline is never doing for the client what they can do for themselves. You cannot eliminate their need for inter-personal connections. Instead, focus on helping the dependent personality style learn how to differentiate between helpful and harmful relationships. The paranoid type of offender will not trust you and will look for real or imagined proofs validating the idea that you are untrustworthy. Then they can be justified in doing whatever they have to do. Address the issue directly: "At some point during your supervision you may feel that I have betrayed you. Instead of assuming I'm out to get you, which I wouldn't intentionally do, ask me. Can you agree to do that?"

3.   **Authority/Reactance Problems**

Reactance is based on a theory by Brehm and Brehm (1981), which says that perceived threats to personal freedom and choice will illicit or cause behaviors designed to demonstrate and restore that freedom. When behavioral freedom and autonomy are threatened, there will be an increase in the perceived desirability of the lost (forbidden) behavior. For example, you tell an offender that they cannot use while under supervision. One of two things may happen: 1) They may say, "I will show you who is in control," and sue: and/or 2) There will be an increased desirability of the behavior to use "I can't live without it," and use. The easiest way around the authority/reactance problem is to constantly remind the offender, it is their choice, which is true. Often, correctional personnel forget that, although legally we have the right to tell the offender what to do, ultimately, compliance is based on the offender's choice to follow our mandates or not. Ask what their intentions are around complying with your mandates. The correctional worker might say: "What do you intend to do about theses mandates? …I hope you will comply. I think it is in your best long-term interest, but it is your choice."

4.   **Motivation**

Motivation is based on ambivalence and the stages of change, as was addressed earlier. In the pre-contemplation stage, you want to raise the offender's awareness. This must be personal awareness, not general feedback (i.e., all alcoholics). A thorough understanding of the Stages of Change model will help one understand differences in levels of motivation and those differences can be managed.

5.   **Inter-personal Anxiety**

Individuals who are highly anxious need more contact and reassurance with the correctional officer to reduce the anxiety. Otherwise, they will use alternative, probably pro-criminal, solutions to reduce anxiety, i.e., drink or sue. Individuals who have dependent or avoidant personality styles, or are depressed tend to be highly anxious.

6.   **Intelligence**

Individuals with lower IQ's need more structure and more specific, concrete behaviors to follow (i.e., more guidance). Cognitive skills classes actually tend to work better with individuals who are average to low average IQ. The lower the IQ, the less effective talking becomes and the greater the need for rehearsing skills and managing environmental and social contingencies.

7.   **Ethnicity/Culture**

This is an area so extensive that I cannot possibly begin to address all the ramifications in this brief paper. However, with minority populations being over represented in offender populations, it is an element that must be considered. It is my suggestion that you talk to minority co-workers, as a starting point, to get some input. There are many books and articles that have addressed these issues. The critical factor is being able to connect with the offender and find out what the covert (hidden) issues are. Ethnicity/Cultural issues may or may not be a concern. The correctional officer or treatment provider will not know until there is a connection with the offender and the offender is asked.

8.   **Maturity (Age)**

Generally, younger offenders need more contact and direction. They need more skills building and often-longer periods of time to rehearse new behaviors. Peer groups and risk taking are part of youth. The goal is not to eliminate such behavior but to modify it towards a pro-social direction.

9.   **Learning Style**

Most offenders are fairly action oriented. Offenders need active types of programming where they can practice skills, not theory. The more tangible the results, in terms of everyday life, the better. Offenders tend to live in

the here and now, especially those with narcissistic or antisocial personalities.

10. <u>Gender</u>

One of the other major areas that has not been mentioned is gender. We know that there are significant gender differences in male and female pathways to crime and responses to addressing criminogenic needs. For some of these issues, look at the ICCA 1998 Conference notes and the book *The female Offender* by Dr. Meda Chesney-Lind.

11. <u>Other</u>

There are may other areas that represent possible responsivity issues. These can include attention deficit disorder, head injury, and major mental health disorders. By definition, a responsivity issue is something that the offender identifies as being important to them. Ask the offender! If you have any sort of connections they will tell you.

Motivational Interviewing

Motivational Interviewing has mostly been used with substance abuse populations. In the last several years it has been applied to offender populations. Motivations Interviewing (MI) is a system designed to work with resistant clients. It is based on an understanding of how people naturally change. One of the foundation assumptions of MI is that people need to be understood to make changes. It is not a blanket approval of dysfunctional, antisocial behavior, but an understanding of the deeper "cover" communication. At the heart of MI is a series of tools and skills that are designed to increase awareness and ambivalence. It confronts an individual's destructive behavior with what they say they want. For example, asking a client "How does using cocaine help you be a better father?" MI helps unstuck the change process. It cannot and will not substitute for behavioral change and skill building, but resolves ambivalence so the offender can fully engage treatment.

There are certain core concepts of Motivational Interviewing. These are: express empathy, develop discrepancy, avoid argumentation, roll with resistance, and support self-efficacy. (Miller & Rollnick,1991). Expressing empathy allows the offender to share those deeper issues. Empathy is expressed through reflective listening. In MI not everything is reflected, only those things that are likely to get the offender in the directions the officer wants to go. Empathy allows change to take place. Develop discrepancy is really what makes MI different. It brings an awareness of consequences and highlights the discrepancy between behaviors and goals, which can motivate change.

It is far more powerful when the offender comes up with reasons for change, than simply being told. Avoid argumentation! Whenever the correctional officer and the offender get into an argument, the offender has already won. There is no research support for the idea that argumentation increases change. In fact, research has shown the more argumentation, the less likely change will take place. When resistance or argumentation starts, it is a warning light to change strategies. Offender's attitudes are shaped and changed by their own words – not a correctional worker or treatment provider. Rolling with resistance allows the correctional officer to shift perceptions and invite new perspectives from the client.

Often an offender will throw tidbits out to get the correctional worker to react. What this does is get the worker off track from what the real issues are. Do not get caught up in the tidbits. Remember what you are trying to do in the supervision plan. Support self-efficacy. A worker's belief that change is possible can be an important motivator for the offender. The offender is responsible for making and carrying out change. Hope is also a powerful motivator, which supports self-efficacy. There are many approaches to dealing with a problem, some will work and others will not. Supporting self-efficacy realizes that something will work even if you have tried to do something about the problem before.

It is unlikely that a correctional worker will be able to focus on more then one or two responsivity issues, especially when starting to include them in the supervision plan. Start by trying to identify likely responsivity issues of the offender. Prioritize them based on the importance an offender is likely to place on them or what you will believe will be the most critical to the offender's success. Decide which one or two you will address and include them in your Supervision Plan.

For a person to change, he/she must be Ready, Willing and Able. The entire change process can be derailed by blockages in any of these areas. The major roadblock in the Ready area is ambivalence – "Part of me wants to part of me doesn't". Learning to work with ambivalence is the way to unstuck someone who is not ready to change. The Stage of Change Model outlines some specific steps that all people go through in making changes. There are certain tasks or goals to be accomplished at each stage. Offenders are Willing to change when they are at Stage three – preparation/determination. Being Able to change is a complex process of having self-efficacy and healthy pro-social, social, and environmental supports.

Responsivity issues are adjustments in the delivery of supervision and treatment of the offender because of certain characteristics of the offender. By addressing responsivity issues, it increases the likelihood the offender will stay around and benefit from treatment. It also increases the likelihood that the treatment or intervention will stick!

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