

# Predictors of Change of Working Alliance Over the Course of Probation Supervision: A Prospective Cohort Study

International Journal of  
Offender Therapy and  
Comparative Criminology  
1–21

© The Author(s) 2019

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/0306624X19878554

journals.sagepub.com/home/ijo



Annelies Sturm<sup>1</sup> , Anneke Menger<sup>1</sup>,  
Vivienne de Vogel<sup>1</sup>, and Marcus J. H. Huibers<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

The body of evidence that the working alliance is associated with positive outcomes for mandated clients is growing. The aim of this research was to investigate the influence of several characteristics of probation officers (POs) and offenders on the course of the working alliance during probation supervision. This study examined the patterns on the four alliance subscales: Trust, Bond, Goals-Restrictions, and Reactance of the Working Alliance With Mandated Clients Inventory (WAMCI) in 201 offenders and their 137 POs. Three patterns on each alliance subscale were found: deteriorating, improving, and stable. Multinomial logistic analysis revealed that change of POs and the preference of the PO to maintain rules were associated with a deteriorating Trust pattern. From the perspective of the offenders, being motivated to take part in supervision was associated with a stable pattern on every alliance subscale, but having problems with substance use increased the likelihood of a deteriorating pattern on every alliance subscale.

## Keywords

working alliance, predictors, probation officer, offender, community supervision

---

<sup>1</sup>HU University of Applied Sciences Utrecht, The Netherlands

<sup>2</sup>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

## Corresponding Author:

Annelies Sturm, HU University of Applied Sciences Utrecht, Padualaan 101, 3584 CH Utrecht, The Netherlands.

Email: [annelies.sturm@hu.nl](mailto:annelies.sturm@hu.nl)

## Introduction

The working alliance between the practitioner and the client in psychotherapy treatment has been found to account for an important part of the variance in outcome across different psychotherapy modalities (Horvath, Del Re, Flückiger, & Symonds, 2011; Martin, Garske, & Davis, 2000). The practitioner–client relationship is considered increasingly important in mandated treatment as well. In the theoretical framework of probation supervision, the relationship between the offender and the probation officer (PO) is suggested to be an effective factor (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). To explore the importance of this relationship, several researchers have applied the concept of alliance to the domain of mandated treatment (Florsheim, Shotorbani, Guest-Warnick, Barrat, & Hwang, 2000; Menger, 2018; Polaschek & Ross, 2010; Ross, Polaschek, & Ward, 2008; Skeem, Eno Louden, Polaschek, & Camp, 2007). It should be noted that the relationship between the PO and the offender differs from the relationship in voluntary psychotherapy. The PO not only has a helping or problem-solving role but also a controlling or surveilling role (Trotter, 2015). This dual role may hinder the forming of the working alliance. Still, research has shown that offenders are able to form a positive alliance with their PO (Tatman & Love, 2010).

One focus of research in voluntary psychotherapy has been the development of the working alliance over the course of treatment: The alliance is essentially dynamic, and one point in time cannot cover a process of therapy with all its strains and changes (Doran, 2016; Stiles & Goldsmith, 2010). Kivlighan and Shaughnessy (1995, 2000) conducted two studies on the dynamic development of the alliance in short-term voluntary psychotherapy. The first study included 21 clients and 21 novice counselors and found only one pattern of linear growth of alliance. The second study consisted of two samples, one of 38 and one of 41 clients, and their novice counselors found three patterns—stable, linear growth, and curved high-low-high. The curved pattern was associated with the improvement of counseling outcome. However, these findings were not replicated in later studies. For example, in other studies on short-term psychotherapy (four to 40 sessions), a stable pattern and one of linear growth have been found (De Roten et al., 2004; Stevens, Muran, Safran, Gorman & Winston, 2007; Stiles et al., 2004), but not a curved one. Instead, some clients with a sharply defined V-shaped pattern had better outcomes (Stiles et al., 2004). However, those patterns were not found in other studies (De Roten et al., 2004; Kramer, De Roten, Beretta, Michel, & Despland, 2009; Stevens, Muran, Safran, Gorman, & Arnold, 2007). Three studies have been conducted in long-term voluntary psychotherapy (60–300 sessions). An improving, stable pattern of alliance was reported by Loos et al. (2015) in a large international study including 588 clients with severe mental illness from six different European countries. Similar results were found in a study with 128 adult outpatients experiencing mood or anxiety disorders (Ollila, Knekt, Heinonen, & Lindfors, 2016). In their study with 201 outpatients of a psychiatric clinic, Hersoug, Høglend, Havik, and Monsen (2010) found three patterns of alliance: improving, deteriorating, and stable.

In terms of patterns of the working alliance in mandated treatment, three studies are relevant to consider here. First, assessing the alliance among adolescent delinquent

boys in community-based residential programs, Florsheim et al. (2000) noted that a stable-high or improving pattern of alliance was related to lower recidivism rates. However, a decreasing pattern of alliance was not related to higher rates, contrary to the findings of studies on voluntary psychotherapy that yielded evidence that declining alliance is usually associated with poor outcome (Horvath, Del Re, Flückiger, & Symonds, 2011). Second, in a study focusing on youth with disruptive behavior diagnosis living in a group-home, an improving alliance was related to subsequent improving behavior after 6 months, but not after 12 months (Duppont Hurley, Van Ryzin, Lambert, & Stevens, 2015). Third, Polaschek and Ross (2010) found a comparable effect in a group treatment of 50 high-risk male adult delinquents. Improving alliance, as rated by the therapists, was significantly associated with behavioral change. However, alliance in early phase of treatment was not associated with behavioral change.

A second focus of research in the field of psychotherapy has been on the factors determining the development of the alliance between the therapist and patient. In their review, Ross et al. (2008) proposed a revised theory of the working alliance. They considered attachment style, interpersonal and professional skills, personality, and goals and expectations of treatment, alliance, and change as the therapist-related predictors for the quality of the alliance. Menger and Donker (2016) added several important factors specifically for the context of probation: prosocial values, a hybrid role taking (both care and control) of the PO, and the capability to ask for feedback. According to Ross et al. (2008), the predicting factors of the client are almost the same as the therapist's: personality, attachment, interpersonal schemas, therapy-related competencies (readiness), goals, and expectations. Other studies found interpersonal style and paranoid disturbance (Cookson, Daffern, & Foley, 2012), limited insight (Barrowclough, Meier, Beardmore, & Emsley, 2010), criminal thinking (Linn-Walton, 2015), and previous treatment experiences (Meier, Donmall, Barrowclough, McElduff, & Heller, 2005) as relevant factors for the development of alliance.

In sum, there is some preliminary evidence for distinctive patterns of alliance in the domain of voluntary psychotherapy. However, for the domain of mandated treatment, the research on the development of the alliance is scarce, and no firm conclusions can yet be drawn. In addition, there is a lack of knowledge of the predictors of the alliance patterns in mandated treatment. The current study aims to explore the predictors of the offender-rated alliance patterns. The first goal is to identify patterns in the perceived quality of the alliance that can be reliably discerned. The second aim is to explore the characteristics of the POs and the offenders that might be associated with the development of the quality of the alliance.

## **Method**

### *Design of the Study*

Data were collected as part of a large prospective cohort study in a naturalistic setting in the Netherlands, exploring the characteristics of the alliance with probation clients

(Menger, 2018; Menger & Donker, 2016). They developed the inventory adapted to the context of mandated treatment: Working Alliance With Mandated Clients Inventory (WAMCI). The current report included two measurements with the WAMCI in pairs of offenders and POs during the course of community supervision. The scores of the offenders on both measurements were used, and the baseline variables of the POs and the offenders.

### *Participants and Setting*

The initial sample ( $n = 302$ ) comprised offenders from nine offices of the three probation organization in the Netherlands, covering urban and rural areas, who started community supervision between December 2011 and February 2013. In the Netherlands, community supervision is a trajectory of support and control during the execution of a suspended sentence or conditional release from prison. Typical supervision generally involves weekly to monthly in-person contacts between the offender and the PO over a period of 2 years to assure compliance with conditions (e.g., treatment attendance, employment, drug and alcohol abstinence). Support and surveillance are integrated components of the supervision. The interventions are grounded in the principles of social work, supplemented by the principles of the Risk-Needs-Responsivity Model (Bosker, Donker, Menger, & Van der Laan, 2016).

Primary inclusion criteria for the participants were the participant started a new supervision; it was not an extension of prior supervision; the participant was not treated in a forensic inpatient setting, able to communicate coherently according to the PO, had completed at least two sessions with a PO, and had sufficient command of the Dutch language. The present study consisted of 201 participants who had provided a minimum of two measurements of alliance ratings within 6 to 12 months, to compute alliance patterns. 137 POs were part of the study, of which 100 POs were matched with one participant, 28 POs with two participants, eight POs with three participants, and one PO with four participants.

### *Procedure*

Eligible offenders who met inclusion criteria were identified by the intake coordination of the probation units. A research assistant first asked the POs to take part in the study, and then the POs made the request to the offender. Independent research assistants arranged interviews with the offenders after their scheduled meeting with their PO at the probation office. During that interview, informed consent was obtained. The first interview was conducted between the second and the fifth supervision meeting, the second interview after the 6th to 9th month after the onset of the supervision. Participation was voluntary; the offender received €10 per interview. At the same time, the POs were asked to complete the PO version of the questionnaires on the computer. The probation organization provided the scores of the standardly coded risk assessments, with official permission from the board of directors.

## Measures

### *Working alliance*

**WAMCI.** (Menger, 2018; Menger & Donker, 2016)—The WAMCI was developed for use in the context of mandated treatment and examines the PO–offender alliance. The WAMCI is largely based on the Working Alliance Inventory (WAI; Horvath & Greenberg, 1989) and was specifically adapted for the mandated treatment in the Netherlands, by integrating items of the Dual Role Inventory (DRI-R; Skeem et al., 2007). The WAMCI subscales are more suited for the Dutch probation context than the DRI-R subscales; the subscales comprise less items about sanctioning and more items about common goal-setting and signaling difficult interaction. The offender version comprises 19 items and the PO version comprises 22 items. *Trust* (five items) implies trust in each other's good intentions and trust in good outcome. *Bond* (six items) relates to the experience of being understood, valued, and respected. *Goals-Restrictions* (six items) is clear communication about tasks, goals, rules, and duties, and *Reactance* (six items) is the negative factor, concerning the offender's experiences of the PO as punitive and the PO's experience of being too controlling. The response choices for the items are on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*). Adequate levels of internal consistency were established for the PO-rated subscales Trust, Goals-Restrictions, Bond, and Reactance ( $\alpha = .69-.81$ ). For the offender-rated version, the subscales Trust, Goals-Restrictions, and Bond have a good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .68-.74$ ). However, the internal consistency for the subscale Reactance was insufficient ( $\alpha = .49-.52$ ). The WAMCI subscales have been shown to be predictive for stagnations in supervision and dropout (Menger, 2018).

### *Potential Predictors of Offenders*

**Demographic variables.** The demographic variables include age, gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*), living conditions (1 = *partner*; 2 = *partner and kids*; 3 = *kids, no partner*; 4 = *no partner*; 9 = *else*), active employment (0 = *no job*, 1 = *paid job*, 2 = *volunteer work*), and previous supervision (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*).

**Personal functioning variables.** Personal functioning variables include three variables about offender functioning rated by the PO: addicted to alcohol, drugs, or gambling; degree of conscientious development; and degree of mental handicap. Each of the items is rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

**Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS).** The SIMS (Guay, Vallerand, & Blanchard, 2000) contains four subscales (15 items): intrinsic motivation, identified regulation, external regulation, and amotivation. Of the items of the subscale intrinsic motivation, only one item was suitable for mandatory treatment ("I'm cooperating in the supervision, because I feel good when I do it"). Guay et al. (2000) reported adequate Cronbach's values for the subscales identified regulation (.81), external regulation (.75), and

amotivation (.78). Each of the items is rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale. The SIMS has been proven reliable and valid (Guay et al., 2000; Skeem et al., 2007).

*Willingness to Change Variables.* Eight separate variables about willingness to change were included, for example, “I am sure I can change my behavior”; “I would be surprised if I finish this supervision.” These were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

*Risk and needs assessment (RISc).* The RISc has been developed for probation service to assess the risk of recidivism and the criminogenic needs of the offender. The instrument contains 12 scales corresponding to criminogenic needs, such as offending history, current offence, education and employment, relationships, thinking and behavior, attitudes. A criminogenic need is considered to be present when the score of a scale exceeds a certain threshold (Bosker, 2015). The psychometric qualities of the RISc are considered to be sufficient, and the internal consistency of the scales is adequate to good. The predictive validity for general recidivism was found to be moderate (Van der Knaap & Alberda, 2009). The total RISc score (risk-level) and the separate scale scores are used in the current study.

### *Potential predictors of POs*

*Demographic variables of PO.* The demographic variables of PO include gender (1 = male, 2 = female), age, years of general work experience, years of experience with probation.

*Change of PO.* until first interview (0 = same PO, 1 = one change, 2 = two changes, 3 = three changes, 4 = four or more changes).

*Single question variables. Expected outcome.* Fourteen separate variables about the expectation of the PO towards the risk of recidivism of the offender and the change of improvement of the lifestyle. For example, “This offender is definitely able to change his behavior”; “I think my client will be involved in crime easily.” The variables are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

*Counter-reactance of PO.* Twelve separate variables about the reaction of the PO to the resistance, hostility, untruthfulness of the offender. Examples are “I am too accommodating to this offender” and “This offender says he is cooperating, but I do not notice it.” The variables are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

*Satisfaction with the job and with the organization.* Seventeen separate variables. Examples are “As a PO I can mean a lot to my client” and “If things get tough, I receive sufficient support from the organization.” The variables are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

*Motivation for probation work.* Twelve separate variables. Examples are “I am a PO because I care about victims of criminality” and “I am a PO because I prefer to work

with mandated clients instead of in a voluntary context.” The variables are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

## Data Analysis

To identify subgroups of patterns of alliance during the first year of community supervision, the Reliable Change Index (RCI) was used. The RCI is a standardized difference score that was designed to assess effects in clinical settings (Jacobson & Truax, 1991). It demonstrates whether the magnitude of a change can be considered reliable, by taking into account the associated error variance of the test (i.e., the WAMCI). To obtain the requisite amount of change, a confidence interval of 0.90 was used, along with the corresponding  $Z$  score  $>|1.65|$ . An RCI of  $>1.65$  means an improving pattern, an RCI of  $<-1.65$  a deteriorating pattern, an RCI between  $-1.65$  and  $1.65$  indicates a stable pattern.

Because of the large number of potential predictors, we employed the following procedure. First, we conducted a univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) for each factor to examine between-group differences of the potential PO- and offender-predictors (Supplemental Material containing tables of the results of the ANOVA is available online [ResearchGate]). To prevent the likelihood of finding significant results by chance, and to examine the effects in relation to each other, in the second place, the obtained significant predictors ( $p < .20$ ) were subjected to a multinomial logistic analysis. This test was divided into two steps. In the first step, separate models were calculated for different predictor domains combining all significant predictors ( $p < .20$ ; Fournier et al., 2009): for the offender, demographic variables, risk, motivation for supervision, and for the PO, demographic variables, counter-reactance, expected outcome, satisfaction with job and organization, motivation for work. Nonsignificant predictors were eliminated from these domain-specific models by backward elimination until only significant predictors ( $p < .05$ ) remained. Once all predictor variables of an alliance subscale were identified, they were entered into a full model containing all significant predictors to ascertain the effects of each variable while controlling for each of the other significant predictors. If needed, the same procedure of backward elimination was followed once more. Eight two-step separate multivariate models were calculated in this way, four for the PO-related and four for client-related predictors.

## Results

### *Description of the Sample*

Of the original sample ( $n = 302$ ) who finished the first interview, 101 participants (33.4%) dropped out of the study. Of the dropout group, 30.7% finished the supervision in a negative way (dropout, returned to prison), 25.7% finished supervision in a positive way according to plan, 32.7% did no longer meet the criteria of the study (e.g., was hospitalized, psychotic, or moved), 10.9% refused further participation in the



study. The scores of alliance subscales at T1 did not differ between the dropout group and the remaining group. The *F* tests of the scores of the dropout group and the remaining group were not significant.

Of the remaining 201 participants, 87.6% were men, 12.4% were women, and the mean age was 35.6 (*SD* = 12.8, range = 18-79). Cultural background was registered by the PO: in 56.7% of the participants, both parents were born in the Netherlands; of 5.0%, one parent was born in a foreign country; of 22.9%, both parents were born in a foreign country. The ethnicity of the remaining 15.4% participants was unknown. The type of offense the offenders were convicted for are violent offenses 50%, property offenses without violence 16%, sex offenses 9%, property offenses with violence 8%, drugs offenses 8%, vandalism, disturbing the peace 5%, and vehicle-related offense 2%.

Of the POs, 67.9% were women, 32.1% are men, and the mean level of experience in probation work was 6.7 years (*SD* = 7.3, range = 0.5-45 years). Their age was between 31 and 40 years: 33.6%, 21 to 30 years: 29.9%, 41 to 50 years: 19.0%, and 50 to 66 years: 17.5%. Their mean level of general work experience was 15.8 (*SD* = 10.8, range = 1-46 years). A large proportion of the sample held a bachelor's degree (90.5%), a small proportion (11.0%) a master's degree, and one PO reported intermediate vocational education. Of 81.0% of the POs, both parents were born in the Netherlands; of 6.6%, one parent was born in a foreign country; of 12.4%, both parents were born in a foreign country.

### **Pattern Subgroups**

The RCI analysis demonstrated that the largest proportion of each alliance subscale remained stable over the course of supervision. A small group of each alliance subscale showed an improving or a deteriorating pattern. Table 1 presents the size of the subgroups with the means and standard deviation of the two measurements.

The course of mean scores of the pattern subgroups is shown in Figure 1.

### **Prediction Analyses**

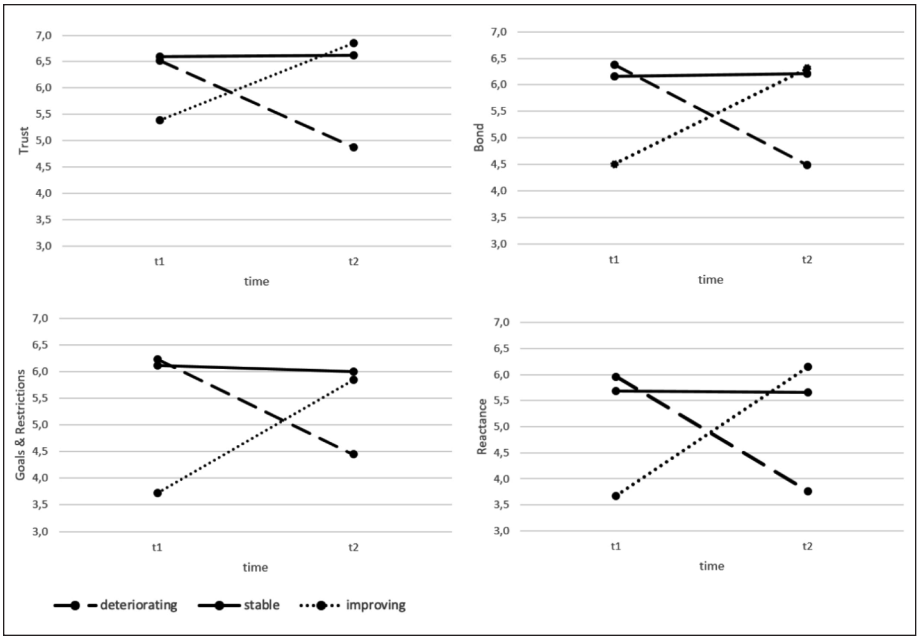
ANOVAs were used to test differences in the potential predictors between the alliance pattern subgroups. The data of 32 variables of the offender and 60 variables of the PO were analyzed. For the subscale Trust, the univariate ANOVAs (significance set at  $p < .20$ ) yielded 13 offender-related and 20 PO-related potential predictors; for the subscale Bond, 11 offender-related and 17 PO-related potential predictors; for the subscale Goals-Restrictions, eight offender-related and 15 PO-related; and for the subscale Reactance, 13 offender-related and 16 PO-related potential predictors. The retained factors were the input for the multivariate tests. For each alliance subscale, the predictors were examined with pattern subgroup membership as dependent variable. For the final prediction model, two analyses were executed per alliance subscale: one for the offender-related variables and one for the PO-related variables.



**Table 1.** Size, Mean and Standard Deviation of WAMCI Subscale Pattern Subgroups at Time Point 1 (T1) and Time Point 2 (T2).

Subscale	Pattern	n	T1		T2	
			M	SD	M	SD
Trust	Deteriorating	27	6.52	0.54	4.87	0.97
	Stable	157	6.59	0.58	6.62	0.55
	Improving	17	5.39	0.58	6.85	0.24
Bond	Deteriorating	16	6.38	0.55	4.49	1.03
	Stable	169	6.16	0.73	6.21	0.80
	Improving	16	4.50	0.96	6.31	0.58
Goals-Restrictions	Deteriorating	24	6.23	0.73	4.44	0.82
	Stable	151	6.11	0.87	6.01	0.97
	Improving	16	3.73	1.45	5.85	1.14
Reactance	Deteriorating	14	5.96	0.60	3.76	0.69
	Stable	176	5.68	0.95	5.66	0.91
	Improving	11	3.67	0.90	6.15	0.98

Note. WAMCI = Working Alliance With Mandated Clients Inventory.



**Figure 1.** Course of the three subgroups on the different subscales of the WAMCI ( $n = 201$ ).  
Note. WAMCI = Working Alliance With Mandated Clients Inventory.

**Table 2.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Trust Patterns, PO-Predictors: Final Model.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
PO prefers mandated context	1.22	0.26	0.86	1.73
Gender	0.59	0.41	0.17	2.09
General work experience	0.97	0.31	0.91	1.03
PO relieved if offender does not show up	2.04	0.07	0.95	4.38
PO thinks offender will not finish supervision	1.44	0.06	0.98	2.11
Change of PO	1.52	0.14	0.87	2.63
Deteriorating vs. improving				
PO prefers mandated context	1.92	<b>0.01</b>	1.18	3.15
Gender (male)	0.10	<b>0.01</b>	0.02	0.61
General work experience	1.10	0.08	0.99	1.21
PO relieves if offender does not show up	0.72	0.51	0.26	1.94
PO thinks offender will not finish supervision	0.85	0.50	0.52	1.38
Change of PO	10.56	<b>0.05</b>	0.98	114.37
Stable vs. improving				
PO prefers mandated context	1.58	<b>0.02</b>	1.07	2.33
Gender (male)	0.17	<b>0.02</b>	0.04	0.73
General work experience	1.13	<b>0.01</b>	1.04	1.24
PO relieves if offender does not show up	0.35	<b>0.03</b>	0.13	0.92
PO thinks offender will not finish supervision	0.59	<b>0.01</b>	0.39	0.89
Change of PO	6.96	0.11	0.67	72.53

Note.  $R^2 = .32$  (Nagelkerke), .23 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(12) = 43.21$ .  $p < .001$ . PO = probation officer; CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

**Trust.** Tables 2 and 3 present the final models of the multinomial logistic regression of the effects on the subscale Trust. The multivariate model of the PO variables explained 32% of the variance in pattern subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .32$ ). Change of PO increased the odds of belonging to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the improving subgroup. If the PO felt relieved when the offender did not show up, the more likely the offender belonged to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the improving subgroup. If the PO prefers to work in mandatory context instead of voluntary, the more likely the offender belonged to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the improving subgroup. More general work experience of the PO was related to the increased odds of belonging to the stable subgroup relative to the improving subgroup. If the PO is male, then more likely the offender belonged to the improving subgroup. If the PO doubts the offender will finish supervision, the more likely the offender belonged to the improving subgroup.

**Table 3.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Trust Patterns, Offender-Predictors: Final Model.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI for exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
Crime history	0.68	<b>0.01</b>	0.51	0.90
Work and education	1.39	<b>0.02</b>	1.06	1.82
Criminal attitude	0.86	0.25	0.68	1.11
Internal motivation	0.59	<b>0.00</b>	0.41	0.84
Addiction	1.21	<b>0.01</b>	1.04	1.41
Deteriorating vs. improving				
Crime history	0.51	<b>0.00</b>	0.35	0.75
Work and education	1.81	<b>0.00</b>	1.22	2.67
Criminal attitude	0.56	<b>0.01</b>	0.37	0.84
Internal motivation	0.89	0.62	0.55	1.42
Addiction	1.35	<b>0.01</b>	1.08	1.69
Stable vs. improving				
Crime history	0.76	<b>0.04</b>	0.58	0.99
Work and education	1.30	0.09	0.96	1.76
Criminal attitude	0.65	<b>0.01</b>	0.47	0.90
Internal motivation	1.51	<b>0.02</b>	1.07	2.13
Addiction	1.12	0.21	0.94	1.33

Note.  $R^2 = .46$  (Nagelkerke),  $.33$  (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(10) = 50.58$ .  $p < .001$ . CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

The multivariate model of the offender variables explained 46% of the variance in subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .46$ ). If the offender was more internally motivated, the more likely the offender belonged to the stable subgroup relative to the deteriorating subgroup. Three subscales of the RISC were related to pattern subgroup membership: lower scores on criminal history and mind-set (which means less crime and less criminal mind-set) were related to a lower odds of belonging to the improving subgroup relative to the stable or deteriorating subgroup. Offenders with higher scores on the education/work subscale or with an addiction were more likely to belong to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the stable or improving subgroup.

**Bond.** The final models of the multinomial logistic regression of the effects on the subscale Bond are demonstrated in Tables 4 and 5. The multivariate model of the PO variables explained 24% of the variance in pattern subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .24$ ). The more the PO preferred the mandatory context or had more concerns with offenders, the more likely the offender belonged to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the stable and improving subgroup. The more the PO was concerned with the victims, the more likely the offender belonged to the improving subgroup relative to the stable or deteriorating subgroup. The more the

**Table 4.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Bond Patterns, PO-Predictors: Final Model.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
PO concerned with offenders	2.64	<b>0.05</b>	1.00	7.00
PO concerned with victims	0.91	0.64	0.59	1.38
PO prefers mandated context	1.76	<b>0.05</b>	1.00	3.11
PO thinks offender can be motivated	0.69	0.20	0.39	1.22
Deteriorating vs. improving				
PO concerned with offenders	3.17	<b>0.04</b>	1.08	9.29
PO concerned with victims	0.41	<b>0.03</b>	0.19	0.90
PO prefers mandated context	1.97	<b>0.05</b>	1.02	3.80
PO thinks offender can be motivated	1.41	0.33	0.71	2.82
Stable vs. improving				
PO concerned with offenders	1.20	0.48	0.73	1.98
PO concerned with victims	0.46	<b>0.02</b>	0.23	0.89
PO prefers mandated context	1.11	0.57	0.77	1.61
PO thinks offender can be motivated	2.05	<b>0.00</b>	1.29	3.26

Note.  $R^2 = .24$  (Nagelkerke), .16 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(8) = 29.35$ .  $p < .001$ . PO = probation officer; CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

**Table 5.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Bond Patterns, Offender-Predictors: Final Model.

			95% CI for exp(B)	
Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
Internal regulation	0.96	0.81	0.72	1.30
Deteriorating vs. improving				
Internal regulation	1.76	<b>0.01</b>	1.18	2.62
Stable vs. improving				
Internal regulation	1.82	<b>0.00</b>	1.35	2.45

Note.  $R^2 = .13$  (Nagelkerke), .09 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(2) = 17.99$   $p < .001$ . CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

PO believed in the motivation of the offender, the more likely the offender belonged to the stable or deteriorating subgroup relative to the improving subgroup. The multivariate model of the offender variables explained 13% of the variance in pattern subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .13$ ). More identified regulation of the offender increased the odds of belonging to the deteriorating or stable subgroup relative to the improving subgroup.

**Table 6.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Goals-Restrictions Patterns, PO-Predictors: Final Model.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI for exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
PO concerned with victims	0.72	<b>0.04</b>	0.52	0.98
PO thinks offender will recidivate	0.87	0.35	0.64	1.17
PO concerned with offenders	1.04	0.86	0.67	1.62
Deteriorating vs. improving				
PO concerned with victims	0.48	<b>0.01</b>	0.27	0.83
PO thinks offender will recidivate	0.51	<b>0.01</b>	0.32	0.82
PO concerned with offenders	1.83	<b>0.05</b>	1.00	3.37
Stable vs. improving				
PO concerned with victims	0.67	0.10	0.41	1.08
PO thinks offender will recidivate	0.59	<b>0.01</b>	0.40	0.87
PO concerned with offenders	1.76	<b>0.02</b>	1.12	2.78

Note.  $R^2 = .16$  (Nagelkerke), .11 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(6) = 20.24$   $p < .01$ . PO = probation officer; CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

**Table 7.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Goals-Restrictions Patterns, Offender-Predictors: Final Model.

			95% CI for Exp(B)	
Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
Offender thinks he or she does not need the supervision	1.69	<b>0.00</b>	1.21	2.36
Addiction	1.17	<b>0.01</b>	1.04	1.31
Deteriorating vs. improving				
Offender thinks he or she does not need the supervision	0.98	0.93	0.61	1.58
Addiction	1.11	0.19	0.95	1.28
Stable vs. improving				
Offender thinks he or she does not need the supervision	0.58	<b>0.01</b>	0.40	0.85
Addiction	0.95	0.40	0.83	1.08

Note.  $R^2 = .23$  (Nagelkerke), .17 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(4) = 25.77$   $p < .001$ . CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

**Goals-Restrictions.** The final models of the multinomial logistic regression of the effects on the subscale Goals-Restrictions are shown in Tables 6 and 7. The multivariate model of the PO variables explained 16% of the variance in subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .16$ ). If the PO felt concern for victims of crime, the offender more

**Table 8.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Reactance Patterns, PO-Predictors.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI for exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
PO thinks offender does not need supervision	0.50	<b>0.01</b>	0.29	0.83
Deteriorating vs. improving				
PO thinks offender does not need supervision	0.49	<b>0.03</b>	0.25	0.94
Stable vs. improving				
PO thinks offender does not need supervision	0.98	0.93	0.64	1.51

Note.  $R^2 = .10$  (Nagelkerke), .05(Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(2) = 8.31$   $p = .02$ . PO = probation officer; CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

**Table 9.** Multinomial Logistic Regression-Analysis Offender-Rated Reactance Patterns, Offender-Predictors: Final Model.

Patterns	Exp(B)	Sig.	95% CI for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
Deteriorating vs. stable				
Offender needs only practical help	1.44	0.08	0.96	2.15
Addiction	1.16	<b>0.04</b>	1.01	1.33
Deteriorating vs. improving				
Offender needs only practical help	0.97	0.92	0.56	1.67
Addiction	1.08	0.43	0.90	1.29
Stable vs. improving				
Offender needs only practical help	0.68	<b>0.05</b>	0.46	1.00
Addiction	0.93	0.31	0.81	1.07

Note.  $R^2 = .15$  (Nagelkerke), .08 (Cox and Snell). Model  $\chi^2(4) = 12.53$   $p < .001$ . CI = confidence interval. Data presented in bold indicate  $p < 0.05$ .

likely belonged to the stable or improving subgroup relative to the deteriorating subgroup. If the PO was more involved with offenders, the offender less likely belonged to the improving subgroup relative to the deteriorating or stable subgroup. If the PO thought that the offender will recidivate, the more likely the offender belonged to the improving subgroup relative to the deteriorating or stable subgroup. The multivariate model of the offender variables explained 23% of the variance in subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .23$ ). Offenders who doubted the usefulness of the supervision, more likely belonged to the improving or deteriorating subgroup relative to the stable subgroup. Offenders with problems relating to addiction more likely belonged to the deteriorating relative to the stable subgroup.

**Reactance.** The final models of the multinomial logistic regression of the effects on the subscale Reactance are demonstrated in Tables 8 and 9. The multivariate model of the

PO variables explained 10% of the variance in subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .10$ ). If the POs thought the offender did not need the supervision, the more likely the offender belonged to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the stable or improving subgroup. The multivariate model of the offender variables explained 15% of the variance in subgroup membership (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .15$ ). Offenders who only needed practical help were more likely to belong to the improving subgroup than the stable subgroup. Offenders with problems relating to addiction were more likely to belong to the deteriorating subgroup than to the stable subgroup.

## Discussion

The present study is the first to our knowledge to examine predictors of patterns of the offender-rated alliance in probation supervision. The study was novel in that it allowed for an examination of the association between a variety of pretreatment characteristics of the PO and the offender and the course of the offender-rated alliance. The strength of this study was the large naturalistic sample of dyads of offender and PO, with scores on alliance subscales on two moments in time during the community supervision.

An initial objective of this study was to determine groups of offenders with distinctive patterns of alliance subscales. Of each of the alliance subscale, three subgroups were distinguished: those with an improving, a deteriorating, or a stable pattern. Three quarters of the offenders started with high initial ratings of the alliance subscales and remained stable. A small proportion of the sample showed a different course, starting high and decreasing or starting low and increasing. This finding is in line with Florsheim et al. (2000) who also found small improving and deteriorating groups.

The second aim of this study was to examine the predictors of the pattern of the offender-rated alliance subscales. The most important associations are discussed here. The course of the alliance subscales seemed sensitive to demographic factors and attitudes of the PO. However, the effects were small. One year of work experience of the PO increased the likelihood of a stable Trust pattern instead of improving Trust pattern by 13%. With a male PO, the offenders were more likely to experience an improving pattern of Trust instead of a deteriorating or stable pattern. Change of PO had the greatest impact; offenders who had a change of PO were 10 times more likely to belong to the deteriorating subgroup relative to the improving Trust subgroup. This finding supports the common sense opinion that change of PO has an adverse impact on the development of the alliance. With a second or third PO, the mutual trust needs to be built up again from the outset, and at the same time, the offender has to overcome the loss of the previous relationship. This may damage the fragile alliance.

Regarding the attitudes of the POs, offenders of POs who prefer the mandated context over voluntary context, were more likely members of the subgroups with a deteriorating Trust and Bond. If the PO felt relieved when the offender did not show up, a stable pattern of Trust is less likely for offenders. These results suggest that a PO who does not try to hide behind rules and who does not shy away from difficult offenders may be better able to form a stable or improving alliance with the offender. The PO needs to be supporting if possible, and strict if necessary. A more surprising result is



the combination of having concerns about victims of crime resulting in improving patterns of Bond and Goals-Restrictions versus being more concerned about the offender resulting in deteriorating or stable patterns of Bond and of Goals-Restrictions. This may reflect a need for a certain emotional distance to offenders and awareness of the effect of their offenses. The view of Skeem et al. (2007) may provide more understanding; Skeem emphasized the importance of the dual-role relationship, referring to a relationship comprising a caring and controlling role. In her model of supervision, she stressed the need for a balance between being a cop and being a counselor to achieve a broad base of power. If the PO is only focused on caring for the offender, he or she will probably lose sight on potential risks and be too permissive. Leaning only to the side of the cop, the PO will be too authoritarian, which gives less room for trust and cooperation. So one-sided extremes may lead to a deterioration of the alliance subscales. The balance between care and control has to be intact. Finally regarding the PO-related predictors if the PO thinks the offender is not motivated or will recidivate again, the offenders were more likely to be in the improving and stable subgroups of all alliance subscales. A possible explanation for this finding is that once the PO recognizes low motivation, he or she will use strategies to increase the motivation of the offender, which may result in improved motivation.

With regard to the offender, three domains seem to predict the course of the alliance subscales. First, having problems with substance use increased the likelihood of a deteriorating pattern of each alliance subscale. Contrary to previous studies (Meier et al., 2005), this finding suggests a broad negative impact of an addiction on the alliance building. It may reflect the difficulties the addicted offenders experience in getting addiction under control and reintegrating in society simultaneously (Menger, 2018). Second, offenders belonging to the stable Trust subgroup had lower (= more positive) RISC scores on education and work compared with offenders belonging to the deteriorating Trust subgroup. In addition, offenders belonging to the improving Trust subgroup had higher (= less positive) RISC scores on mind-set and criminal history compared with the offenders belonging to the stable and deteriorating Trust subgroup. This implies that it is possible to improve the alliance with high-risk offenders, although it may be difficult at the start of supervision. This result is in contrast with Hart and Collins (2014), who found no effect of risk level on alliance, and with Kennealy, Skeem, Manchak, and Eno Loudon (2012), who found a negative correlation between the single-point Trust score of the DRI-R and risk. The difference may be explained by the fact that those studies used a single-point measurement instead of the measurement of a pattern of alliance. Third, offenders who were more motivated were more likely to be in the stable subgroups of all the alliance subscales. This suggests that being motivated for the supervision represents a good potential for a stable alliance. A finding that is connected with motivation is that offenders with a deteriorating Reactance pattern stated that they needed more practical help. Previous studies found that offenders see their offending behavior as a by-product of practical problems, like financial or drug and alcohol problems and want specific assistance with these problems (Barry, 2000). This finding can provide a possible explanation for the association between the low motivation and improving patterns on the other subscales: a lower

motivation does not need to imply a deteriorating course of the alliance. When the PO is able to identify the needs of the offender, such as practical assistance, that can be the beginning of an improving alliance.

## Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. First, the POs decided about the eligibility of the offender, and this may have caused a selection bias, for example, by limiting the inclusion of high-risk offenders. Thus, the group of probation offenders examined here may not be representative of all probation offenders. The study sample seemed to have a lower level of supervision than the population of the offenders in community supervision (Menger, 2018). However, the characteristics of the group of POs are comparable with the population of officers of the Dutch probation organizations (Menger, 2018). Second, all measures were based upon self-report and are, therefore, subject to biases like socially desirable responding. For instance, offenders' replies to questions about the PO can be flattered because the offender mistrusts the investigator's independence. Third, an important limitation of the study was the measurement of several of the offender- and PO-related factors. Many of these factors were not composed of consistent scales, and the number of potential predictors (consisting of single items instead of scales) was large. Consequently, the use of many single-item measures would potentially increase the likelihood of measurement errors, although this has been corrected by the method of analysis.

## Implications

This study showed that the attitude of the PO is associated with the offender's changing perception of the alliance. This emphasizes the importance of the professionalism of the POs. Developing an attitude that balances supporting and monitoring the offender, should be advocated as part of the training of POs. To enhance a balanced attitude, regular reflective supervision is needed to stay unprejudiced and detached. In particular, a good way to weight the different values and interests is by ethical reflection (Pedersen, Hurst, Schildmann, Schuster, & Molewijk, 2010).

The finding of an association between the change of the PO and the deteriorating Trust seems to indicate that differentiating tasks across more than one PO is ineffective. Building a relationship of trust between the offender and the PO requires a lot of effort, from both perspectives. For the offender, it is often difficult to trust someone due to their experience with unreliability, which is inherent to crime.

Further research is necessary to find out what kind of training results in desirable attitude of the POs. Future studies need to examine more closely the links between the attitude of the PO and patterns of alliance and subsequent results of the community supervision, such as recidivism. Studies should include the within-person variance and focus on the perspectives of both the PO and the offender. To gain more insight in the development of the alliance, more than two measurements will be needed.

## Conclusion

In this study, we have been able to associate the characteristics of offenders and POs to different patterns of change in the offender-rated working alliance subscales. For the PO, it is important to remain emotionally distant and not to focus too much on the side of the victim or the side of the offender, or to make too much use of power. In addition, the characteristics of the clients appear to be important for the development of a good working alliance. A number of factors are limiting the development of a good working alliance, such as addiction, a history of crime or a criminal attitude. For these clients, it is difficult to maintain a good working alliance. This study clearly shows that the working alliance is an interplay of two participants. A positive contribution from each participant will strengthen the working alliance. The offenders should be offered continuity to build a trustful relationship and the POs should be offered training or supervision to stay involved at an appropriate distance.

## Acknowledgments

The authors acknowledge the statistical support of Sander van Schie of the University Utrecht, the Netherlands.

## Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Ethical Approval

All research with participants was conducted in line with the Helsinki Declaration for studies on human subjects.

## Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## ORCID iD

Annelies Sturm  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5463-7232>

## Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

## References

- Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ: LexisNexis.
- Barrowclough, C., Meier, P., Beardmore, R., & Emsley, R. (2010). Predicting therapeutic alliance in clients with psychosis and substance misuse. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 198, 373-377. doi:10.1097/NMD.0b013e3181da4d4e

- Barry, M. (2000). The mentor/monitor debate in criminal justice: "What works" for offenders. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 30, 575-595. doi:10.1093/bjsw/30.5.575
- Bosker, J. (2015). *Linking theory and practice in probation. Structured decision support for case management plans* (Doctoral dissertation). Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.
- Bosker, J., Donker, A., Menger, A., & Van der Laan, P. (2016). Theorieën over afbouw en stoppen met delinquent gedrag [Theories about desistance from crime]. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig, & J. Bosker (Eds.), *Werken in Gedwongen Kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk* [Working with mandated clients. Methods for forensic social work] (3rd ed., pp. 113-135). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: SWP.
- Cookson, A., Daffern, M., & Foley, F. (2012). Relationship between aggression, interpersonal style, and therapeutic alliance during short-term psychiatric hospitalization. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing*, 21, 20-29. doi:10.1111/j.1447-0349.2011.00764.x
- De Roten, Y., Fischer, M., Drapeau, M., Beretta, V., Kramer, U., Favre, N., & Despland, J.-N. (2004). Is one assessment enough? Patterns of helping alliance development and outcome. *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 11, 324-331. doi:10.1002/cpp.420
- Doran, J. M. (2016). The working alliance: Where have we been, where are we going? *Psychotherapy Research*, 26, 146-163. doi:10.1080/10503307.2014.954153
- Duppont Hurlley, K., Van Ryzin, M. J., Lambert, M., & Stevens, A. L. (2015). Examining change in therapeutic alliance to predict youth mental health outcomes. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 23, 90-100. doi:10.1177/1063426614541700
- Florsheim, P., Shotorbani, S. W., Guest-Warnick, G., Barrat, T., & Hwang, W. C. (2000). Role of the working alliance in the treatment of delinquent boys in community-based programs. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 29, 94-107. doi:10.1207/S15374424jccp2901\_10
- Fournier, J. C., DeRubeis, R. J., Shelton, R. C., Hollon, S. D., Amsterdam, J. D., & Gallop, R. (2009). Prediction of response to medication and cognitive therapy in the treatment of moderate to severe depression. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 77, 775-787. doi:10.1037/a0015401
- Guay, F., Vallerand, R., & Blanchard, C. (2000). On the assessment of situational intrinsic and extrinsic motivation: The Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS). *Motivation and Emotion*, 24, 175-213. doi:1005614228250
- Hart, J., & Collins, K. (2014). A "back to basics" approach to offender supervision: Does working alliance contribute toward success of probation? *European Journal of Probation*, 6, 112-125. doi:10.1177/2066220314543747
- Hersoug, A. G., Høglend, P., Havik, O. E., & Monsen, J. T. (2010). Development of working alliance over the course of psychotherapy. *Psychology and Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, 83(Pt. 2), 145-159. doi:10.1348/147608309X471497
- Horvath, A. O., Del Re, A. C., Flückiger, C., & Symonds, D. (2011). Alliance in individual psychotherapy. In J. C. Norcross (Ed.), *Psychotherapy relationships that work: Evidence-based responsiveness*. Available from <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com>
- Horvath, A. O., & Greenberg, L. S. (1989). Development and validation of the Working Alliance Inventory. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 36, 223-233. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.36.2.223
- Jacobson, N. S., & Truax, P. (1991). Clinical significance: A statistical approach to defining meaningful change in psychotherapy research. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 59(1), 12-19. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.59.1.12
- Kennealy, P. J., Skeem, J. L., Manchak, S. M., & Eno Louden, J. (2012). Firm, fair, and caring officer-offender relationships protect against supervision failure. *Law and Human Behavior*, 36, 496-505. doi:10.1037/h0093935

- Kivlighan, D. M., & Shaughnessy, P. (1995). Analysis of the development of the working alliance using hierarchical linear modeling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 42*, 338-349. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.42.3.338
- Kivlighan, D. M., & Shaughnessy, P. (2000). Patterns of working alliance development: A typology of client's working alliance ratings. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 47*, 362-371. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.47.3.362
- Kramer, U., De Roten, Y., Beretta, V., Michel, L., & Despland, J. N. (2009). Alliance patterns over the course of short-term dynamic psychotherapy: The shape of productive relationships. *Psychotherapy Research, 19*, 699-706. doi:10.1080/10503300902956742
- Linn-Walton, R. (2015). *Criminal thinking, alliance, and psychological functioning of offenders in outpatient substance abuse treatment* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3701822)
- Loos, S., Arnold, K., Slade, M., Jordan, H., Del Vecchio, V., Sampogna, G., & Puschner, B. (2015). Courses of helping alliance in the treatment of people with severe mental illness in Europe: A latent class analytic approach. *Social Psychiatry & Psychiatric Epidemiology, 50*, 363-370.
- Martin, D. J., Garske, J. P., & Davis, M. K. (2000). Relation of the therapeutic alliance with outcome and other variables: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 68*, 438-450. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.68.3.438
- Meier, P. S., Donmall, M. C., Barrowclough, C., McElduff, P., & Heller, R. F. (2005). Predicting the early therapeutic alliance in the treatment of drug misuse. *Addiction Research, 100*, 500-511. doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.2005.01031.x
- Menger, A. (2018). *De werkalliantie in het gedwongen kader. Onderzocht bij het reclasseringstoezicht* [Working alliance with mandated clients. A research in probation supervision] (Doctoral dissertation). Eburon, Delft, The Netherlands.
- Menger, A., & Donker, A. (2016). De werkalliantie in het gedwongen kader: De theorie [The working alliance with mandated clients: The theory]. In A. Menger, L. Krechtig, & J. Bosker (Eds.), *Werken in Gedwongen Kader. Methodiek voor het forensisch sociaal werk* [Working with mandated clients. Methods for forensic social work] (3rd ed., pp. 113-135). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: SWP.
- Ollila, P., Knekt, P., Heinonen, E., & Lindfors, O. (2016). Patients' pre-treatment interpersonal problems as predictors of therapeutic alliance in long-term psychodynamic psychotherapy. *Psychiatry Research, 241*, 110-117. doi:10.1016/j.psychres.2016.04.093
- Pedersen, R., Hurst, S., Schildmann, J., Schuster, S., & Molewijk, B. (2010). The development of a descriptive evaluation tool for clinical ethics case consultations. *Clinical Ethics, 5*, 136-141. doi:10.1258/ce.2010.010025
- Polaschek, D. L. L., & Ross, E. C. (2010). Do early therapeutic alliance, motivation and stages of change predict therapy change for high-risk, psychopathic violent prisoners? *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 20*, 100-111. doi:10.1002/cbm.759
- Ross, E. C., Polaschek, D. L., & Ward, T. (2008). The therapeutic alliance: A theoretical revision for offender rehabilitation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 13*, 462-480.
- Skeem, J. L., Eno Louden, J., Polaschek, D., & Camp, J. (2007). Assessing relationship quality in mandated community treatment: Blending care with control. *Psychological Assessment, 19*, 397-410. doi:10.1037/1040-3590.19.4.397
- Stevens, C. L., Muran, J. C., Safran, J. D., Gorman, B. S., & Winston, W. A. (2007). Levels and patterns of the therapeutic alliance in brief psychotherapy. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 61*, 109-129. doi:10.1176/appi.psychotherapy.2007.61.2.109

- Stiles, W. B., Glick, M. J., Osatuke, K., Hardy, G. E., Shapiro, D. A., Agnew-Davies, R., & Barkman, M. (2004). Patterns of alliance development and the rupture–repair hypothesis: Are productive relationships U-shaped or V-shaped? *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 81-92. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.51.1.81
- Stiles, W. B., & Goldsmith, J. Z. (2010). The alliance over time. In J. C. Muran & J. P. Barber (Eds.), *The therapeutic alliance: An evidence-based guide to practice* (pp. 44-62). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Tatman, A. W., & Love, K. M. (2010). An offender version of the Working Alliance Inventory-Short Revised. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 49, 165-179. doi:10.1080/10509671003666560
- Trotter, C. (2015). *Working with involuntary clients: A guide to practice*. London, England: Routledge.
- Van der Knaap, L. M., & Alberda, D. L. (2009). *De predictieve validiteit van de Recidive Inschattingsschalen (RISc)* [Predictive validity of the Recidivism Risk Assessment Scales (RISc)] (Cahier 2009-12). Den Haag, The Netherlands: Scientific Research and Documentation Center (WODC).