



Making Sense of Incentives and Sanctions in working with the Substance-Abusing Youth

ANSWERS TO FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

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From its founding, the juvenile court's mission was to correct *and rehabilitate* children who had violated the law, to protect the community from their delinquent behavior, and to strengthen the family. As a part of the community's response to juvenile offenders, the juvenile drug court offered an innovative, integrated approach that reflected the community's norms, values, resources, and unique needs. This integrated approach generated new issues and demanded new roles for the judge and all those involved with the drug court program. However, despite these innovations, the program's basic concepts remained consistent with the principles of traditional juvenile court practice. For this reason, juvenile courts found that these programs could operate successfully within the existing framework of ethical, legal, and professional standards.

Although use of incentives and sanctions has been a part of juvenile drug court programs since their inception, they struggle to find meaningful and affordable incentives as well as develop a balanced approach that is not over-weighted with punishment. Professionals who attempt to combine sanctions with incentives often encounter a number of challenges.

This article poses and answers some of the questions frequently asked by members of the juvenile drug court team - judges, treatment providers, probation staff, policy makers, program administrators, and others who work with substance abusing youth involved in the juvenile justice system. The answers draw upon a large and well-established body of research on behavior modification (including contingency management) that can shed light on how best to support behavior change in this specific population. We also offer lessons learned through JDC practice over the course of two decades.

1. Are there examples of incentives and sanctions that work with youth in the juvenile drug court?

Yes, there are such examples, here are a few.

| INCENTIVES | | | SANCTIONS | |
|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Lunch with judge or JDC member | Rocket docket – early on docket and out | Achievement board | Meal with family | Earlier curfew |
| Candy bar | Gift certificates for food | Certificates of achievement | Event tickets (movies, sports) | Take driver's license |
| Sports equipment | Music or art supplies | Music or art lessons | Outing with family -bowling | Increase drug tests |
| Book or magazine | Applause | Gift card | Later curfew | Increase times reporting to case manager |
| Driving privileges | Wall of fame | A phone call from the judge to parent | Sports lessons | Taking away electronic devices |

Here we have offered four times more incentives than sanctions – the research tells us that we need to keep the 4:1 ratio in mind when looking at how we respond to behavior as incentives are far more powerful in changing behavior than sanctions.

2. Why give youth rewards for things they should be doing anyway?

Getting off drugs is very difficult for adolescents because the drugs make them feel good. They experience such things as: being accepted, leaving troubles behind, relieving depression, having fun, getting extra energy, having something to do, and feeling no pain. We have to develop incentives that are more rewarding than the good feelings they get from the drugs.

The primary job of a young person in juvenile drug court is to stop using drugs – this is hard work. Hard work should be rewarded. We won't reward him forever, but we need to start rewarding him for being clean so that he can get himself off of the drugs. In the long run, we are working towards having the young person develop behaviors that bring their own rewards (such as diplomas, jobs, socially acceptable fun activities.)

Incentives work. The preliminary analyses of a 2004 study have shown that by incorporating rewards into a drug court program, **it's possible to double the rates at which offenders make timely progress towards graduation** — even for the most serious offenders.¹

In fact, punishment alone may be the *least* effective way to change behavior. If used excessively or inappropriately, punishment can provoke anger, fear, escape, avoidance, or helplessness — responses likely

to undermine a youth's motivation to change.² A better approach is to *combine* sanctions with incentives in a coordinated plan for reducing substance abuse and increasing pro-social behavior.

Extended curfew to a later hour is a type of incentive known as “negative reinforcement.” Decreasing the intensity of a punishment or sanction as a reward for good behavior increases the probability that the desired behavior will be repeated. Other examples of negative reinforcement include reduction in community service hours and fewer visits with the probation officer.

3. Where do we get the money for incentives?

Fortunately, to be effective, incentives don't have to be elaborate or expensive. Something as low cost as a candy bar has been shown to make a significant difference.

Some of the most powerful reinforcers — recognition, approval, praise, and negative reinforcement — cost nothing at all. Donations can help lower costs. Sports teams and businesses are often open to providing free tickets or certificates. Books of coupons or tickets are sometimes available at a discounted price. Scholarships for music, art,

and other enrichment classes can be sought from service organizations. Talk with parents to identify the incentives and rewards already being given at home.

If you can obtain even a few high-value items or services (\$15-\$20), you can maximize

their impact by using a “fishbowl” — a technique devised to replicate the positive results of vouchers without the costly investment. In this approach to incentives, rather than receiving a reward directly, the youth instead gets a chance to draw a slip of paper from a fishbowl. As Dr. Nancy Petry describes it:

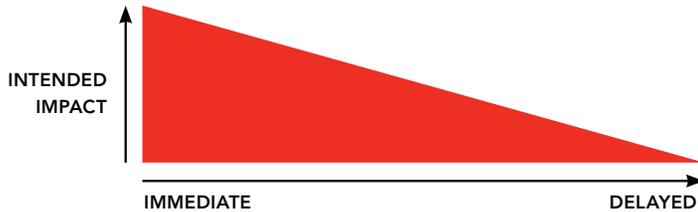
I didn't have a lot of money to work with, so I came up with the prize system. Rather than earning vouchers, every time patients provide a drug-free urine sample, they earn a chance to draw a slip of paper from a bowl. Half of the time they draw from the bowl, they don't win anything at all; the slip says, “Good job. Try Again.” About half the time, they get a small prize worth about a dollar, like their choice of a gift certificate to the donut shop or some costume jewelry. A few slips say “large prize,” and those are worth about \$20—like watches, Walkman devices, and sweatshirts.³

Researcher and medical director of a recovery treatment center, Michael Bohn adapted Nancy Petry's fishbowl incentive program for his work with adolescents. He was attracted by the economic practicality of the approach and its potential to appeal to younger, more impulsive substance abusers.

Ultimately, the best and most long-lasting incentives are those that come from the youth's everyday environment as a consequence of their own efforts — a paycheck from a job, a diploma, or feeling better physically as a result of living without drugs. Because these “natural” reinforcers are the byproduct of successful treatment, they add no extra program costs.

4. Does it matter how long you wait to respond to the behavior?

Yes, it matters a lot. Studies have shown that the effectiveness of a sanction or incentive declines dramatically as the length of time between the behavior and the response increases.⁴ During the delay, other behaviors will intervene, and the sanction or incentive may become associated with those rather than the behavior you were trying to target. So the longer you wait to administer the sanction or incentive, the less likely it is to have the intended impact. The rule of thumb is the sooner the better.



However, in the real world, applying this rule can be complicated. Say it's Friday afternoon, and a youth in juvenile drug court tests positive on a drug test. But the youth isn't scheduled for another court appearance for two weeks. What do you do?

In theory, you should respond immediately. But in order for you to do this, there need to be agreements ahead of time among all those working with the youth that specify what incentives and sanctions would be appropriate, how they will be administered, what latitude they have in selecting and implementing them, and where any needed resources will come from. Putting these agreements in place takes planning. Carrying them out requires good training and supervision, as well as ongoing communication and trust among juvenile justice and treatment providers.

Even when those working with youth have the authority and resources to issue incentives and sanctions, their response may not always be immediate. This finding points to a need for staff, teachers, and families to be trained both in the importance of responding quickly and in the communication skills that would help them address non-compliant behavior.

Finally, because you can't reward or sanction behavior that you don't know about, responding swiftly depends also on a reliable system for monitoring youth behavior through frequent contacts, family and teacher involvement in reporting, good rapport between supervisor and youth, and accurate drug-testing.

5. Since families are critical to a youth's success, how do we get them involved?

Unlike adults, youth are usually dependent on and involved with family members who powerfully influence their choices. By building alliances with families, recognizing their strengths, and helping them address possible barriers to change in their children's lives, the juvenile drug court team increases the likelihood of youth success in the program. At the same time, by empowering families to help shape their children's behavior, the team lays a foundation for ongoing support of positive behaviors and accountability that are crucial for youth during and after they graduate from the program.⁵

Parents often consider their adolescent's substance use as problematic but they may not have the skills to effectively change their adolescent's behavior. In addition, families have other life challenges draining their energy and resources. They might have jobs that won't allow time off or limited transportation resources.

Many parents need support services and accommodations to participate in the juvenile drug court

program. Work with families to overcome the barriers that get in the way of their full participation in the program.

Parents need immediate and early incentives to get involved. Consider providing child care, organizing car pools, sponsoring parent support group. Schedule hearings at times when parents are able to attend and offer parents classes in critical skills (E.g., money management, setting boundaries, anger management.)

Several courts have instituted use of the fishbowl for parents to reinforce attendance at court hearings and training. Prizes might include discount coupons to family restaurants, gift cards for gas and groceries, and tickets for family activities.

Once we have families at the hearing and in a support group, the court needs to integrate them as partners in the process of behavior change. In treatment and in the court, the team can work with families to determine how to integrate them into the program. Work with parents to list the privileges that are already being given at home and determine how to use them to reward appropriate behavior.

Parents often underestimate the value of their time as an incentive or reward. Activities such as cooking a meal together, going for a walk, going to the park, fishing, watching a movie on TV, are all low cost and have clear payoffs for the short and long term. Engage both the youth and the parent in a discussion about what privileges are important.

6. Should we tell youth at the beginning of supervision about all the possible incentives and sanctions they could be given?

Yes. Each possible type of incentive and sanction — and the accomplishment or infraction that will cause you to impose it — needs to be spelled out clearly right from the start. Without this mutual understanding, there will be no foundation for certainty and consistency. And if youth experience incentives and sanctions as coming from "out of the blue," they may lose a sense of connection between their own actions and your responses, resulting in feelings of victimization and helplessness.⁶ Knowing ahead of time what will happen in response to their actions (or in-actions) puts them in control and fosters a sense of responsibility for the outcome of their relationship with the criminal justice system.

One way to clarify expectations is to involve the youth in completing a standardized written "behavioral contract" that lists mutually determined goals for the youth, what they will do to accomplish each goal, what behavior will be considered "non-compliant," and the incentives or sanctions that will follow each accomplishment or act of non-compliance (see example on page 17). It is important that the behaviors named are measurable and verifiable beyond self-report. An individual cannot learn to behave as expected if the demands placed upon them are excessive, or if they lack the skills and/or resources required to respond appropriately.⁷ Therefore the contract should also identify the support services that can be made available to address challenges and promote success. Notice that incentives and sanctions include natural consequences.*



A PARTIAL EXAMPLE OF A "BEHAVIORAL CONTRACT"

| GOAL | BEHAVIORS/TASKS | INCENTIVES | NON-COMPLIANCE | SANCTION | SUPPORT SERVICES |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Improve school grades | Attend school daily | Praise Recognition New pen | Failure to attend school/classes | Limit free time | Tutoring Health assessment Eye exam |
| | Complete all assignments | School recognition certificate Grades improve* | Failure to complete assignments | Failing/poor grade* Writing assignment | |

Both the supervisor and the youth need to sign the contract. Consider involving teachers and parents in this process as well. This will engage them in the behavior change process and give them practice with a tool that can be used well beyond the youth's participation in the juvenile drug court (JDC) program. Periodically it should be reviewed so that if the youth's life circumstances have changed, you can adjust the incentives and sanctions to make certain they're still appropriate.

7. How can we be fair and consistent while individualizing our response to each youth?

It may sound contradictory to say that the JDC should tailor incentives and sanctions to individual youth and at the same time be fair and consistent with *all* youth. But in practice, these principles are fully compatible — and may even complement one another.

Behavioral contracting supports both fairness and consistency. It would be hard for youth to see responses as unfair when they are engaged in determining target behaviors and most appropriate responses.

As discussed earlier, the same incentive or sanction could have very different impacts on youth in differing life circumstances. So treating everyone in exactly the same way doesn't guarantee fairness. By tailoring incentives and sanctions within a predetermined range, you can make certain that your response to a particular type of behavior will have approximately the same impact on each person you supervise. In effect, you're making incentives and sanctions *more* fair.

Individualizing Sanctions to Maintain Fairness: An Example

Jeremiah and Thomas violated the terms of their probation in exactly the same way: both missed two consecutive appointments. In both cases, the JDC team responded by raising the level of supervision, but in different ways. Jeremiah was given a curfew that began right after school, requiring him to stay home in the afternoons and evenings. Thomas was working an after-school job as part of his treatment plan; he was required to report to his probation officer daily and stay home on weekends. For Thomas, requiring after-school curfew would have caused him to lose his job. By tailoring the sanction to the individual, the team maintained fairness.

Often, when youth complain that a sanction is unfair, what they really want is to have their view of the situation taken seriously. This doesn't mean that you have to agree with them. You simply need to listen and acknowledge their point of view.⁸

Finally, keep in mind that the *way* you communicate a sanction also makes a difference in how it will be perceived. A large body of research on the interaction style of professionals finds a difference in the impact of confrontive vs. supportive approaches.

8. Why do our responses to youth behavior sometimes have a different effect than what we intended?

A girl turns in a clean urine sample for the third week in a row. You congratulate her and hand her two free movie passes. As she takes them, she averts her gaze and says nothing. The next week she misses her appointment. Another youth is sanctioned with weekend detention after failing his third drug test in a row. He shrugs his shoulders and smirks. You can see it doesn't really matter to him. Sometimes, despite your best efforts, a reward or sanction seems to backfire, leaving you puzzled about what could have gone wrong.

There are a number of reasons why incentives and sanctions fail to give you the results you expect. Individuals vary greatly in terms of the types of goods and services that will serve as reinforcers. For example, a specific reinforcer (e.g., pizza or movie theatre passes) that serves as an effective incentive for one client may not be reinforcing for another.⁹ Or the reinforcer might simply be too small to overcome the rewards the youth is getting from their use of alcohol and other drugs.

Caution is indicated when considering use of punishment contingencies without careful planning, as these may inadvertently increase undesirable behaviors such as treatment dropout or negatively impact therapeutic relationships. The perception of *unfairness* can have especially serious consequences. Some researchers theorize that it contributes to a stance of *defiance* so that instead of refraining from the sanctioned behavior, the youth will purposely repeat it — an outcome exactly opposite of what was intended.¹⁰

There are many reasons that a youth's *perception* of an incentive or sanction might differ from what you assumed it would be. In some cases, the youth simply may not be able to take advantage of a reward. For example, if the girl described above has no money for the bus that would get her to the theater, the free movie passes you've given her will be useless. If she interprets your giving them to her as a sign that you fail to understand her living situation — they may undermine her motivation to show up for appointments with you.

9. Should we start out giving a strong sanction to get the youth's attention, or should we build up to that?

It is common for the juvenile drug court team to believe that you get a young person's attention at the beginning by sending them to detention. They conclude that this response not only communicates their seriousness, it also keeps the young person away from the drugs that got them in trouble. This can't be further from the truth...

Studies have shown that the use of detention does not significantly deter criminal behavior and may in fact increase reoffending.¹¹ In addition the high cost of detention reduces the juvenile drug court's cost effectiveness.

A sanction so strong that it is perceived to be harsh or humiliating could trigger defiance, retaliation, or a sense of helplessness that would undermine the youth's motivation to change.¹²

Graduated sanctions, which invoke less punitive responses for early and less serious noncompliance and increasingly severe sanctions

for more serious or continuing problems, can be an effective tool in conjunction with drug testing. Developing a contract with the youth and family establishes the expected response to both compliant and noncompliant behavior.

The initial sanction needs to be strong enough to at least create some discomfort and communicate that program infractions will be noticed and responded to, but not so strong that there is no room to increase the intensity. It is critical to keep in mind that, like incentives, sanctions need to be meaningful to the individual youth. One juvenile drug court practitioner explains how using the removal of technology has proven effective.¹³

“Taking electronic devices – their X Box, iPhone, or PlayStation gets a greater response than detention. It’s a much quicker way to get the youth to ask ‘What do I need to do (differently)?”

– Joe Thomas, drug court practitioner and technical assistance provider.

At the same time, sanctions need to gradually increase in intensity, but not so slowly that a youth might become habituated—that is, gradually accommodate to the incremental changes so that even a strong sanction, once reached, would have little impact.¹⁴

An example of appropriate intensity

After a youth misses a drug test in phase 1 of the program, the drug-court team discusses what sanction would be appropriate. They agree that a sanction of detention would be too strong. On the other hand, a verbal threat of “Next time there will be a consequence” would be too weak. Eventually they decide to increase the frequency of drug testing and also to increase the level of supervision by requiring more frequent reporting. This response meets the criterion of “appropriate intensity”: It will get the youth’s attention and ensure a consequence — but without provoking defiance or undermining the youth’s motivation to change.

In general, the intensity of a sanction or incentive should always be proportional to the conduct being recognized and to the expectations for the youth at that particular stage in the program. As in the example in the box, at the beginning the focus needs to be on getting the youth to comply with basic daily expectations—attending treatment sessions and showing up for drug testing.

10. Is it ever OK to give a “second chance” by withholding a sanction?

Probably not. Even though it might seem humane to overlook an infraction — particularly if it’s a relatively minor mistake — giving second chances by not imposing an expected sanction might actually do more harm than good.

When you overlook a noncompliant behavior, you’re choosing *not* to respond to a particular occurrence of that behavior. Responding intermittently, especially early in the program, can create a situation in which the youth will risk repeating the noncompliant behavior on the chance that there will be no consequence. So we can expect that a person who is sanctioned for using drugs one time but not the next time will be less likely to refrain from drug use in the future than another person who is sanctioned for every infraction.¹⁵



Second chances also raise issues of fairness. If other youth observe as you fail to follow through on a planned sanction (or if they hear about your decision second-hand), it will create the appearance that you’re “playing favorites” and also lead them to expect that you’ll overlook infractions on their part as well.

At the same time, because the decision to give a second chance is in the hands of the juvenile drug court team, it takes control away from the youth by creating a disconnect between his or her actions and the consequences of those actions. This disconnect can contribute to a sense of helplessness that will make it harder for the youth to take responsibility for making life changes. In short, your well-meaning attempt to do a favor can actually keep a youth under supervision longer.

If you find yourself frequently tempted to give second chances — either with a particular youth, or in general — it could be a signal that something is amiss with your program of sanctions. For example, if your initial sanctions are so harsh that they seem to be undermining youth motivation, that could account for your impulse to set them aside. In this situation, it would be better to revise the sanction schedule to make it one that you feel comfortable applying consistently, rather than to continually adjust it by giving second chances.

11. What do you do if a youth exhibits both desirable and undesirable behaviors during the same period of time? Do you give both an incentive and a sanction?

Although there is little research that directly addresses this question, we do know this: During the process of behavior change, it is critical to respond to every occurrence of the “target” behavior (the behavior you’re trying to eliminate or increase). Youth who receive sanctions on a continuous schedule have significantly lower re-arrest rates than those who are sanctioned intermittently. Similarly, positive reinforcement brings about more rapid behavior change when given every time the target behavior occurs.¹⁶

Even when a youth presents a major accomplishment, an infraction during the same time period should not be ignored. For example, if after six months in the program and a month of sobriety, a youth passed the GED exam but also had a dirty urinalysis (UA), you would certainly reward the achievement. But to maintain consistency, you would also have to respond to the dirty UA. Similarly, when you have to sanction a glaring infraction, it’s still important to acknowledge any small but positive steps the youth might have taken toward a goal. For example, if a youth were caught adulterating a urine sample, but had also established a regular pattern of attendance at treatment over

the previous two weeks, it would be important to acknowledge the progress while also sanctioning the infraction.

Whether you focus more on the infraction or on the achievement—and how strongly you respond to each—depends on how far the youth has progressed in your program. Early in the program, you want to focus more on what behavioral psychologists call “proximal” behaviors. These are short-term goals that program participants can be expected to engage in fairly rapidly and that are necessary for future improvement to occur—for example, attending treatment. Over time, the focus should shift to “distal” behaviors. Distal behaviors take longer to accomplish, but they are the ultimate goal for program participants (for example, abstinence from drugs and crime).¹⁷

12. What happens after a youth leaves our program - will the new behavior stick?

As the participant progresses through the program phases, we see them less often and rely more heavily on natural consequences. We also expect more over time. In fact, once the target behavior is ingrained, positive reinforcement should be delivered on an intermittent basis to maintain the shaped behavior. In juvenile drug court, this actually works quite well in practice. Initially, we see the participant frequently to deliver frequent responses for participant compliance—and we say good job for attending treatment and testing negative for drug use—you get praise and a prize. As the participant continues to meet behavioral expectations, we lengthen the review interval and reinforce the participant for attending multiple treatment sessions and consistently testing negative.

Natural consequences are likely to be far more effective than the incentives and sanctions that you administer. Research on the use of “informal social controls” shows that family, peers, and community have a more direct impact on youth behavior than “formal social controls” such as law enforcement or supervision—in part because youth respond more positively to the needs and desires of family, friends, and other community supports than they do to the demands of authorities.¹⁸ All this points to the importance of helping youth reintegrate back into the community by building supportive relationships and networks.

You can begin to lay the groundwork for the transition to natural reinforcers at the very beginning of supervision by assessing the youth’s life situation, helping them set realistic goals, and then designing a tailored system of responses that will help them reach those goals.

Engaging family members in the initial process of assessment, goal setting, and tailoring a program of incentives and sanctions is key to the youth’s continued success following graduation.

Ultimately, the effectiveness of a program of incentives and sanctions depends on the quality of the program as a whole.

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Over the course of the last twelve years the writers have worked with and conducted workshops for hundreds of professionals on the topic of behavior change for participants in the juvenile drug court. Their ideas and concerns are reflected in both the questions and the answers of this work.

Michelle Smith conducted an exhaustive literature search on the use of contingency management with substance abusing adolescents, contributing information from valuable new publications on the topic.

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END NOTES

¹ E-mail communication from D. Marlowe referring to the preliminary analyses from an on-going study that had not yet been published in 2004.

² Meyer, William G. *Ten Science-Based Principles of Changing Behavior Through the Use of Reinforcement and Punishment*. Retrieved from www.ndcrc.org, April 29, 2012.

³ Petry, S. M. and Bohn, M. (2003). “Fishbowls and Candy Bar: Using Low Cost Incentives to Increase Treatment Retention.” *Journal of Science and Practice Perspectives*. Page 56.

⁴ Marlowe, D.B., and Kirby, K.C. (1999). “Effective Use of Sanctions in Drug Courts: Lessons from Behavioral Research.” *National Drug Court Institute Review*, II (1). Page xi.

⁵ Yeres, S. Editor. (2003) *Juvenile Drug Courts: Strategies in Practice*. National Drug Court Institute and National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. Supported by a grant from the US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance. Page 48.

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⁷ Marlowe, D.B., and Kirby, K.C. (1999). “Effective Use of Sanctions in Drug Courts: Lessons from Behavioral Research.” *National Drug Court Institute Review*, II (1). Pages xiii-xv.

⁸ National Drug Court Institute. *The Carrot or the Stick in America’s Drug Courts: Review of Recent Scientific Research on Sanctions and Incentives with Implications on Drug Court Effectiveness*. By Gregory L. Little, Advanced Training Associates with input from Judge William Meyer, C. West Huddleston, and Jane Pfeifer. (Unpublished document) NDCI. January 2002. Page 28.

⁹ Stanger, C. and Budney, A.J. (2010) “Contingency Management Approaches for Adolescent Substance Use Disorders.” *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*. 2010 July; 19(3) doi:10.1016/j.chc.2010.03.007. Page 551.

¹⁰ National Drug Court Institute. *The Carrot or the Stick in America’s Drug Courts: Review of Recent Scientific Research on Sanctions and Incentives with Implications on Drug Court Effectiveness*. By Gregory L. Little, Advanced Training Associates with input from Judge William Meyer, C. West Huddleston, and Jane Pfeifer. (Unpublished document) NDCI. January 2002. Page 27.

¹¹ Holman, B. and Ziedenberg, J. (2006). “*The Dangers of Detention*.” The Justice Policy Institute, Washington, DC.

¹² Meyer, William G. *Ten Science-Based Principles of Changing Behavior Through the Use of Reinforcement and Punishment*. Section 8, points a and b. (Unpublished document from the National Drug Court Institute.) Citations to: *Marlowe, D.B., and Kirby, Retrieved from www.ndcrc.org., April 29, 2012.

¹³ Phone conversation with Joe Thomas on February 16, 2012.

¹⁴ Marlowe, D.B., and Kirby, K.C. (1999). “Effective Use of Sanctions in Drug Courts: Lessons from Behavioral Research.” *National Drug Court Institute Review*, II (1). Pages vii-ix.

¹⁵ Marlowe, D.B., and Kirby, K.C. (1999). “Effective Use of Sanctions in Drug Courts: Lessons from Behavioral Research.” *National Drug Court Institute Review*, II (1). Pages ix-xi.

¹⁶ Meyer, William G. (2006) *Ten Science-Based Principles of Changing Behavior Through the Use of Reinforcement and Punishment*. Retrieved from www.ndcrc.org., April 29, 2012.

¹⁷ Martin, G., & Pear, J. (1999). *Behavior modification: What it is and how to do it*. (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

¹⁸ Taxman, Faye S. (2002). *Supervision: Exploring the Dimensions of Effectiveness*. Federal Probation, Vol. 66, No. 2. Page19.

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