

# Travis County Batterer's Intervention and Prevention Program Recidivism Study for Years 2014-2016



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## **Executive Summary**

This paper is designed to inform Travis County criminal justice stakeholders and advocates about the efficacy of the Batterer's Intervention and Prevention Program (BIPP). It contains a summary of relevant literature, results from the Recidivism Study, and recommendations for practitioners. This study is a follow-up to a previous validation study on the Travis County Family Violence Assessments, which contained a recommendation to evaluate the BIPP program. It was requested that Justice Planning conduct the study.

This evaluation applies two measures of recidivism: (1) any new arrest within a year of the program end date and (2) any new arrest for a family violence offense within a year of the program end date. In addition, this study distinguishes the people receiving BIPP services by demographics, focusing individually on age, sex, race/ethnicity, and gender and assessment level. This is important because it will reveal which factors are most associated with recidivism among the Travis County population. This study also questions the impact of program completion and vendor type on domestic violence rearrests.

Finally, this study will employ the use of two sampling methods: (1) a homogenous group of BIPP participants and (2) a heterogeneous group that is matched on demographic variables. Each group is defined in the methodology section of the appendices. This section of the analysis is particularly important because it will determine whether the program can be attributed to the impact on recidivism.

This recidivism study would not be possible without the assistance of LifeWorks and the Center for Cognitive Education. Their willingness to participate in this project is valued and appreciated.

### **Summary of Findings:**

- Participants that completed a BIPP program had a lower recidivism rate than individuals that were recommended BIPP, but either got their case dismissed or chose jail time instead of attending the BIPP class.
- Participants that did not complete their BIPP class had a higher percentage of family violence arrests than both those that completed a BIPP class, and those that chose not to attend a BIPP class.
- Participants that did not complete their BIPP class had a higher recidivism rate than both participants that completed their BIPP class, and those that chose not to attend a BIPP class.
- For those that attended a BIPP, the most recidivism occurred between 181-365 days after their program discharge date. The same is true for those that got their case dismissed or chose jail time instead of attending a BIPP class.

## **Responding to Family Violence**

There are many reasons a person commits crime, and research has shown that trajectories in and out of crime drastically differ. Furthermore, an intervention that works for one person might not work for another person, and it is important to recognize that a one-size-fits all approach is a thing of the past. Interventions for people that batter, commonly referred to as Batterer Intervention and Prevention Programs (BIPP) are now a typical response in the criminal justice system for family violence cases. There is research that shows that BIPPs can effectively reduce recidivism, yet there are researchers that insist recidivism should not be viewed as the ultimate indication of “success.” Ancillary outcomes such as enduring desistance in abusive behavior, victim safety, and consideration of other forms of abuse (coercive control, economic abuse, verbal abuse, etc.) are all part of a panacea that could end family violence.

Responding to and preventing family violence is difficult at the local level. There is an expectation that government agencies should utilize evidence based practices from academic research in their day-to-day operations, but the reality is that they are often faced to do more with less. Specifically, BIPP is mostly an unfunded mandate in Travis County, resulting in scarce resources for practitioners, researchers and clinicians to establish a solid foundation by which to implement and evaluate the program. It was only recently that the County began contributing a small amount of funds to support BIPP. In this push-pull relationship, it is difficult to effectively answer “what works” to end family violence in this jurisdiction.

In an academic setting, it is well-established that research methods should be the cornerstone of every study. Furthermore, a quick google search on BIPP evaluations will return a slew of scholarly research with far more rigorous designs, and complicated analyses than this study. With that being said, it is important to understand that this paper does not seek to definitively answer if BIPP is the answer to family violence in Travis County, nor does it set out to meet academic rigor. Rather, it aims to serve as a foundational study for future and more robust evaluations.

## **Defining Family Violence**

There are a number of criminal actions that can lead a court to sentence an individual to a Batterer’s Intervention and Prevention Program (BIPP), all of which fall under the category of “family violence.” This Recidivism Study will use the Texas Family Code to define family violence:

Chapter 71 of the Texas Family Code defines Family Violence as an act by a member of a family or household against another member that is intended to result in physical harm, bodily injury, assault, or a threat that reasonably places the member in fear of imminent physical harm.

By definition and for the purposes of family violence reports, ‘family’ includes individuals related by consanguinity (blood) or affinity, marriage or former marriage, biological parents of the same child, foster children, foster parents, and members or former members of the same household (including roommates).

Senate Bill 68 of the 77<sup>th</sup> Legislature amended the Family Code to include “Dating Violence”, and a “Dating Relationship” means a relationship between individuals who have or have had a continuing relationship of a romantic or intimate nature.

For the purposes of this study, the following violent offenses are considered FV offenses:

Code	Offense	Citation	Statute	Level
10990019	UNLAWFUL RESTRAINT	20.02(c)	PC	MA
11990001	SEXUAL ASSAULT	22.011(a)(1)	PC	F2
11990003	AGGRAVATED SEXUAL ASSAULT	22.021	PC	F1
13150005	AGGRAVATED ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON	22.02(a)(2)	PC	F2
13150007	AGGRAVATED ASSLT DATE/FAMILY/HOUSE W/WEAPON	22.02(b)(1)	PC	F1
13160012	HARASSMENT	42.07(c)	PC	MB
13160019	HARASSMENT W/PREVIOUS CONVICTION	42.07(c)(1)	PC	MA
13160020	HARASSMENT-REPEATED ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION	42.07(c)(2)	PC	MA
13160021	HARASSMENT PERSON <18YOA INTEND SBI/SUICIDE	42.07(c)(2)(A)	PC	MA
13160022	HARASSMENT PREVIOUS VIOL TEMP RESTRAINING ORDER	42.07(c)(2)(B)	PC	MA
13990031	ASSLT CAUSES BODILY INJURY FAMILY MEMBER	22.02(a)(1)	PC	MA
13990031A	ATTM/ASLT CAUSES BOD INJ:FAM MEM	22.02(a)(1)	PC	MB
13990037	ASSLT BODILY INJ FAMILY MEM ENHANCED	22.01(b)(2)	PC	F3
13990037A	ATTM/ASSLT/BODILY INJ FAMILY MEMBER	22.01(b)(2)	PC	
13990048	ASSLT BODILY INJ FAMILY VIO ENH	22.01(b)(2)	PC	F3
13160014	STALKING	42.072(b)	PC	F3
13160015	STALKING W/PREV CONV	42.072(b)	PC	F2
13990059	ASLT CAUSE BOD INJ DATE/FAM/HOUSE	22.01(b)(2)	PC	F3
13990071	ASSAULT BI FAM/HOUSE MEM +2 W/IN 12 MONTHS	25.11	PC	F3
13990073	ASSLT INT/RECK BREATH/CIRC FAM MEM PREV CONV	22.01(b-1)	PC	F2
13990074	ASSLT FAMILY/HOUSEHOLD MEMBER	22.01(b-1)(1)	PC	F2
13990075	ASSLT FAMILY/HOUSE MEMBER W/PREV CONV	22.01(b)(2)(A)	PC	F3
13990076	ASSLT FAM/HOUSE MEM IMPEDE BREATH/CIRCULAT	22.01(b)(2)(B)	PC	F3
13990078	CONTINUOUS VIOLENCE AGAINST FAM		PC	F3
16020010	TERRORISTIC THREAT OF FAMILY/HOUSEHOLD	22.07(c)(1)	PC	MA
38990027	VIOL BOND/PROTECTIVE ORDER	25.07(g)	PC	MA
38990028	VIOL BOND/PROTECTIVE ORDER 2+ PREV CONV IAT	25.07(g)(1)	PC	F3
38990029	VIOL BOND/PROTECTIVE ORDER ASSAULT/STALK IAT	25.07(g)(2)	PC	F3
38990013	VIOL PROTECT ORDER BIAS/PREJUDICE	25.071	PC	MA
38990014	VIOL PROTECT ORDER BIAS/PREJUD W/2+ PREV CONV	25.071	PC	F3
52030023	UNL POSS FIREARM INVOLVING FAMILY/HOUSEHOLD	46.04(b,c)	PC	MA
53990010	INTERFER W/EMERGENCY REQ FOR ASSISTANCE	42.062	PC	MA

PC = Penal Code  
MA = Misdemeanor A  
MB = Misdemeanor B  
F1 = Felony 1<sup>st</sup> Degree  
F2 = Felony 2<sup>nd</sup> Degree  
F3 = Felony 3<sup>rd</sup> Degree

## **Family Violence in Travis County**

Family violence has a deep impact not only on victims, but on the community as well. Buzawa (1996) describes the impact of family violence as beyond the individual acts, and indicates that victims are more likely to abuse alcohol and drugs, report sexual dysfunction, attempt suicide, and suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, central nervous system disorders, depression, anxiety, and eating and personality disorders.

Travis County has recognized the impact of family violence on its community and in 1999, created a Family Violence Court, known as Court #4, which has led to an increase of arrests and subsequent jail bookings. This court was created as a result of pro-arrest domestic violence policies in Austin, which led to an increase in family violence arrests and bookings.

## **Domestic Violence Inventory Assessment**

The influx of family violence bookings necessitated new processes be implemented, including a screening and assessment procedure for the pretrial release of defendants charged with family violence. Many correctional agencies use risk-need assessment instruments to effectively supervise defendants. Agencies rely on risk-need assessment instruments to make a broad array of decisions, and inform treatment decisions (Andrews and Bonta, 2006).

Prior to mid FY2016, defendants charged with family violence were referred to the Counseling and Education Services (CES) by Travis County Pretrial Services. However, in January 2013, a change in the BIPP Guidelines monitored by Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Community Justice Assistance Division (CJAD) was made. Persons attending BIPPs now had to speak about their most recent family violence offense in class, which is a violation of their constitutional rights if they have not been before a court yet, or adjudicated. By 2016, County Court #4, the designated family violence Court, determined that since defendants could not go to BIPP until their case was adjudicated, it was not acceptable to give sanctions to those who did not go to CES for their family violence assessment as a condition of their personal bonds.

CES now receives referrals for FV Assessments from defense attorneys, deferred prosecution, Pretrial Services, and Adult Probation. Consequently, this study will examine the impact of BIPP on persons that were placed in BIPP from January 2014 to December 2016, so as to ensure the homogeneity of the population served. Justice Planning studied the assessment process on a population of Travis County defendants in 2015 and found that the tool accurately predicted reoffending across two different recidivism measures: new arrests and new arrests for family violence offenses. The assessment utilized is the Domestic Violence Inventory (DVI).

Licensed counselors administer the DVI on family violence cases to evaluate the following domains: truthfulness, control, alcohol, drugs, violence and stress coping. It is a thoroughly researched, valid and reliable instrument that includes a built in alcohol and other drug (AOD) assessment. Some research has shown that BIPPs have modest effects because they fail to address the underlying substance abuse and mental health disorders (Bennett, et. al, 2007). If left untreated, these co-occurring disorders can diminish the effectiveness of BIPP because they impede the ability for the person to utilize skills learned throughout the BIPP program. For this reason, CES refers those identified as having substance abuse and/or mental health issues to appropriate treatment prior to attending BIPP. Furthermore, BIPPs should not be viewed

as a stand-alone response to family violence, but rather a part of a more comprehensive approach. Practitioners and researchers alike refer to this as the coordinated community response (CCR).

The CCR model asserts that no single element of the criminal justice response to battering will prevent family violence, but rather the coordination of systems will work toward the ultimate goal of keeping the victims safer, and holding batterers accountable for their behavior. Thus, the DVI assessment and BIPP are not to be viewed as solely responsible for the recidivism rates contained in this study. They are part of a vast network of systems that work toward a common goal: reduce and prevent family violence. These systems include, but are not limited to: Travis County Community Justice Services (TCCJS), Austin Police Department (APD), Travis County Sheriff's Office (TCSO), Constables Office, Austin/Travis County Family Violence Task Force, CES, County/District Attorney's Offices, Criminal Courts, and the BIPP committee. Future studies should examine the interaction of BIPP with other systems, seeking to expand upon the recidivism results with focus on the impact of additional supervision while in programming.

### **Risk Level and Appropriate Interventions for Domestic Violence**

Risk-Need instruments are also used to match programs and services to defendants' specific risk-needs. Research shows that interventions that target criminogenic factors ultimately reduce reoffending (Andrews et al.; Meredith et al., 2007). The CES counselors utilize a risk-need approach to designing interventions for FV defendants by issuing a Family Violence Risk Level (FVRL) or Violence Risk Level (VRL), which is the risk for re-offense of intimate partner violence (IPV) or non-intimate partner violence (NIPV), respectively.

IPV is defined as "Psychological, physical or emotional abuse occurring between partners in an intimate relationship. This includes significant others, partners, spouses, and romantic or dating relationships. This may include any relationship where the level of intimacy lends itself to the possibility of issues of power and control manifesting in the relationship". The assessment counselor will determine the level of intimacy present in the relationship and whether power and control are significant factors. NIPV is defined as "Violence occurring between individuals who are not in an intimate relationship. This includes strangers, neighbors and other relationships where power and control are not significant issues. This may also include siblings, parent and an adult child and roommates".

In regard to assessment level, FVRL is reflected in levels categorized as low, moderate, severe, or critical, whereas the VRL is categorized by level one, two, three or four. Both scoring systems are designed to predict the risk for re-offense based upon lethality indicators, however, IPV defendants are referred to BIPP, while NIPV are referred to anger management programs. CES counselors may recommend that NIPV defendants are referred to BIPP due to a history of IPV offenses. This study will focus on defendants that are referred to BIPP.

### **BIPP Principles and Values**

Most BIPPs are based on the Duluth Program, which is psycho-educational in nature, although it typically incorporates some features of cognitive behavioral work (Gondolf, 2007). It also includes an educational component that challenges the belief system of masculinity. The Duluth model was founded on feminist and sociological theories and politics, and is thus underpinned by values and principles in positioning domestic violence as an outcome of gender power imbalances (Day, et. al, 2009). This classification is not exhaustive and many programs incorporate several different models.

Travis County utilizes two BIPP providers, LifeWorks and the Center for Cognitive Education (CCE), and both use the STOP Domestic Violence curriculum, created by Dr. David Wexler. STOP is an acronym for “Innovative Skills, Techniques, Options, and Plans for Better Relationships.” The STOP curriculum is divided into broad themes that focus on the nature of safety planning, partnership equality, domestic violence, nonviolence planning, attitude and belief changes, maintaining non-abusive behavior and the effects of domestic violence on children.

### *LifeWorks*

LifeWorks is a nonprofit organization founded in 1998 through the merger of four longstanding community agencies. The merger streamlined resources and provided a more efficient way of serving overlapping client populations. LifeWorks offers BIPP classes for Low Level (18 weeks), Moderate Level (24 Weeks), and Severe Level (36 weeks) defendants. LifeWorks has seven BIPP facilitators. LifeWorks provides Spanish BIPP classes.

### *Center for Cognitive Education*

Founded in 1992, CCE originally began with one anger management group and in 2003 became an LLC. CCE now provides both educational and therapeutic services. CCE offers BIPP classes for Low Level (18 weeks), Moderate Level (24 Weeks), Severe Level (36 weeks), and Critical Level (52 weeks). CCE has seven BIPP facilitators. CCE provides Spanish BIPP classes.

CCE enhances their use of the STOP curriculum by utilizing concepts developed by Truthought, LLC, Corrective Thinking Process, to address irresponsible patterns of thinking, as it relates to the battering behavior of the participant in all Levels of services. The secondary enhancement to STOP, within the Severe and Critical Levels, is the introduction of the New Freedom curriculum- skills oriented worksheets addressing the participant’s motivation to change. The use of the STOP curriculum and both curriculum enhancements, Truthought and New Freedom, challenges the participants’ harmful thinking patterns and behaviors, and develops responsible, healthier, and non-violent alternative ways of thinking and interacting.

## **Literature Review**

### *Design Challenges for BIPP Recidivism Studies*

There is a variety of scholarly research to support the utilization of BIPP for domestic violence perpetrators. However, it is important to note that true experimental designs are often impossible to achieve with BIPPs. A homogeneous sample, random assignment, adequate sample size and a control group is often not possible. For instance, batterers who are court-mandated to a BIPP after a family violence arrest cannot be assigned to a no-treatment control group. Also, most researchers are not able to choose a sample size ahead of time, and must utilize a “convenience sample” – whoever is in treatment during a specific time frame.

In a literature review about the effectiveness of BIPPs, Cluss et al. (2011) attempt to address design challenges with a real-world perspective, and state that “real-life needs and demands must take precedence over scientific method” (Cluss, et.al, 2011). Consequently, many program evaluation studies in social science make use of quasi-experimental or observational designs. “Quasi-experimental” means that some of the accepted research design components are met and some are not. Therefore, most of the BIPP recidivism studies, including this report, will utilize a quasi-experimental research design.

### *Prior Recidivism Studies*

In a quasi-experimental study, Bennett (2007) examines the effects of BIPP completion on domestic violence re-arrest in an urban system of 30 BIPPs with state guidelines, program criteria and centralized criminal justice supervision. At 2.4 years after initial intake, men who completed treatment were less than half as likely to be rearrested for domestic violence (14.3% v 34.6%). Boots et al. (2016) found men sentenced to jail were significantly more likely to be arrested than those sentenced to BIPPs. Both studies claim that an intervention program is more effective than incarceration.

Other recidivism studies have attempted to examine the impact of the Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) principle alongside the utilization of BIPPs. Before reviewing the outcomes of those studies, it is important to review research that compares family violence offenders with other violent offenders, and thus, establishes that the RNR principle may be transferred to family violence offenders. Radatz and Wright (2016) cite research that suggest that the majority of male domestic violence offenders engage in other crimes. Piquero (2006) found that about two-thirds of men arrested for domestic violence have prior arrests for other crimes and will continue to engage in violent and non-violent crimes in the future. These authors suggest that what we know about preventing recidivism with other types of offenders may be applied to BIPPs. These principles include risk, need, responsivity, treatment, and fidelity, which is usually referred to as the principles of effective intervention.

The principles of effective intervention (PEI) posit that it is imperative to (1) match the offender's level of risk to the intensity of treatment; (2) address the offender's criminogenic needs; (3) deliver treatment to which the offender will respond based on the type of offender; (4) use treatment that is respectful and employs cognitive-behavioral methods; and (5) maintain program fidelity with regular staff training and program evaluation.

Stewart et al. (2014) evaluated a domestic violence offender program based on RNR and found high levels of change in attitudes about violence against women, in pro-social beliefs and reductions in domestic violence and other violent crime. Scott et al. (2015) also found reductions in repeat violence for men participating in a PEI BIPP, with only 12% rearrested. RNR argues for more attention to assigning treatment based on the characteristics of individuals attending BIPPs rather than mandating a uniform treatment for all. One way to tailor treatment is to assess the batterer type. For example, Johnsons' (2008) typology of domestic violence shows that individuals who are arrested for a one-time assault or disorderly conduct, who show no evidence of coercively controlling behavior may fit the category of "situational couple violence". This specific typology requires an intervention that address the issues involved, which does not always involve male entitlement or power and control.

Risk assessments can help identify the type of domestic violence a person has committed and suggest the most relevant form of intervention, but are not perfect at predicting future battering to victims. In an article about current research and policy implications for BIPPs, Dr. Kathleen Ferrarro of the Family Violence Institute in Arizona states that "the most effective use of risk assessment involves close coordination between probation, victim services and BIPPs and an ongoing assessment rather than a one-time checklist". Travis County applies the RNR principle to the screening, assessment and recommendation process at CES. For example, the CES counselors determine if an individual has committed NIPV or IPV, and recommends anger management or BIPP, respectively. RNR is further utilized by assigning a FVRL to IPV defendants, and recommending the appropriate length of BIPP based on the risk level. In addition, a significant number of BIPP participants are also on community supervision. That

being said, part of this study will explore the impact of those on community supervision while participating in BIPP.

### *Attrition Rates and the Theory of Change*

Some researchers have found that there is a correlation between the individuals readiness to change and program completion. The theory of change suggests that changing problematic behavior is a lengthy process and individuals are only successful when they recognize the problem and make the decision to change. Family violence offenders are not always motivated to change. Dr. Ferraro's article suggests that "individuals that are mandated to BIPPs often reject responsibility for their violence and have high levels of attrition". To address this issue, researchers suggest that practitioners utilize "stages of change" model with BIPP participants. Morris (2010) suggests that most individuals entering BIPPs will be in the early stages of change and that BIPPs should tweak programs to match the motivation of their clientele. Likewise, Saleebey (2006) recommends that BIPPs utilize a strengths-based approach and "start where the client is" by identifying their goals and determining personal and environmental strengths. Travis County CES uses a strength-based approach to the assessment process by examining the client's strengths, coping skills, resiliency and ability to use challenges as an opportunity for growth. Additionally, the client's motivation to change is recorded on the DVI assessment.

### **Effectiveness of BIPPs in Texas**

BIPPs have been the Texas approach to offender accountability for 25 years; Texas Codes contain statutory framework for the administration and parameters of court ordered participation and the accreditation of providers. During the 80th Texas Legislative Session, Senate Bill 44 was passed (Texas Code of Criminal Procedure, Article 42.141). The Texas Code of Criminal Procedure, Article 42.141, defines the nature and consequences of family violence and establishes the parameters of BIPPs. This Code relates to the provision of intervention or counseling services for persons who have committed family violence and to a process for accrediting those services. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Community Justice Assistance Division (TDCJ-CJAD) and the Texas Council on Family Violence (TCFV) develop and maintain program accreditation guidelines.

TCFV reports that BIPP is cost effective, where the average cost is \$2.66 per day versus \$51 a day for incarceration. TCFV also reports one BIPP program noted 94% of those that completed did not reoffend within the next year. Travis County Justice Planning, in collaboration with CES, set out to complete a similar recidivism study beginning May 2017.

### **Research Questions:**

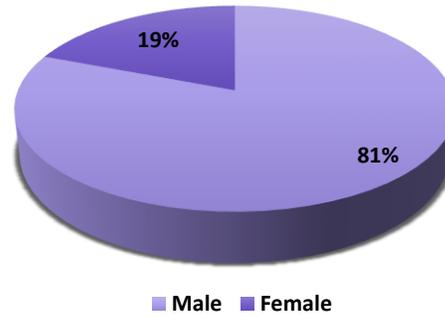
- 1.) What is the demographic breakdown of the sample?
- 2.) What is the recidivism rate for BIPP participants from 2014-2016?
  - a. At what rate do participants recidivate for family violence offenses versus non family violence offenses?
  - b. What types of offenses did participants recidivate for?
- 3.) What are the one year recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, and gender?
- 4.) What are the one year recidivism rates for:
  - a. Program completers vs. non completers?
  - b. Each BIPP provider?
  - c. Each assessment level?

- 5.) What sanctions are being imposed for recidivists assessed at the critical level (i.e. prison, SAFPE, ISF)?
- 6.) Are those that got jail time or case dismissals more likely to recidivate than those that completed a BIPP program?
  - a. What are the recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, and gender?
- 7.) At what point are BIPP participants most likely to recidivate after their program completion date?
- 8.) What types of offenses did the no intervention group and intervention group recidivate for?
- 9.) Are the results of the comparison groups statistically significant?

1. What is the demographic breakdown of the sample? <sup>1</sup>

Table 1.1

Gender	Total
Male	831
Female	197
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,028</b>



**Table 1.1** illustrates that the majority of BIPP participants are male (81%). **Table 1.2** illustrates that the majority of participants are ages 25-34 (46%). Although BIPP is typically intended for males, LifeWorks and CCE offer classes for females. **Table 1.1** above illustrates that 19% of the sample are females.

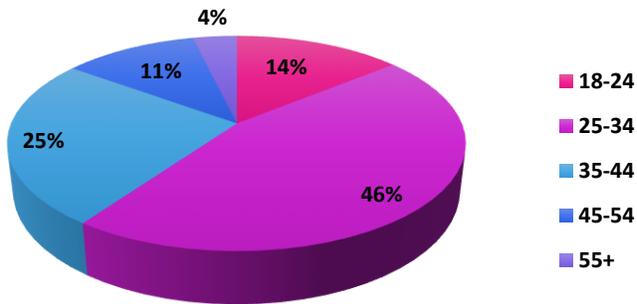


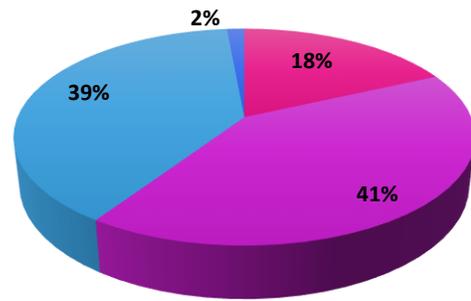
Table 1.2

Age	Total
18-24	145
25-34	470
35-44	259
45-54	116
55+	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,028</b>

<sup>1</sup> LifeWorks and CCE were not able to provide MNIs for their clients. Thus, the researcher utilized an alternative method to locate MNIs by using last names and DOBs. In some cases, the researcher was not able to find MNIs.

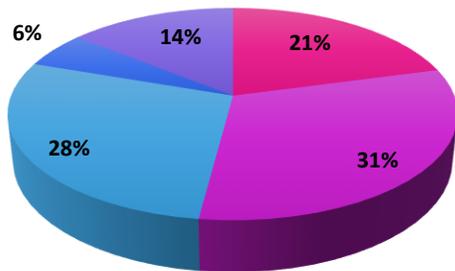
**Table 1.3**

Race and Ethnicity	Total
<i>Black/African American</i>	187
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	423
<i>White</i>	403
<i>Other</i>	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,028</b>



■ Black/African American ■ Hispanic/Latino ■ White ■ Other

**Table 1.3** illustrates that the majority of BIPP participants in the sample are Hispanic/Latino. **Table 1.4** illustrates that the majority of participants were referred to a 36 week (severe) class. The researcher was not able to identify assessment levels for 14% of the population due to data constraints. <sup>2</sup>



■ low ■ moderate ■ severe ■ critical ■ missing

**Table 1.4**

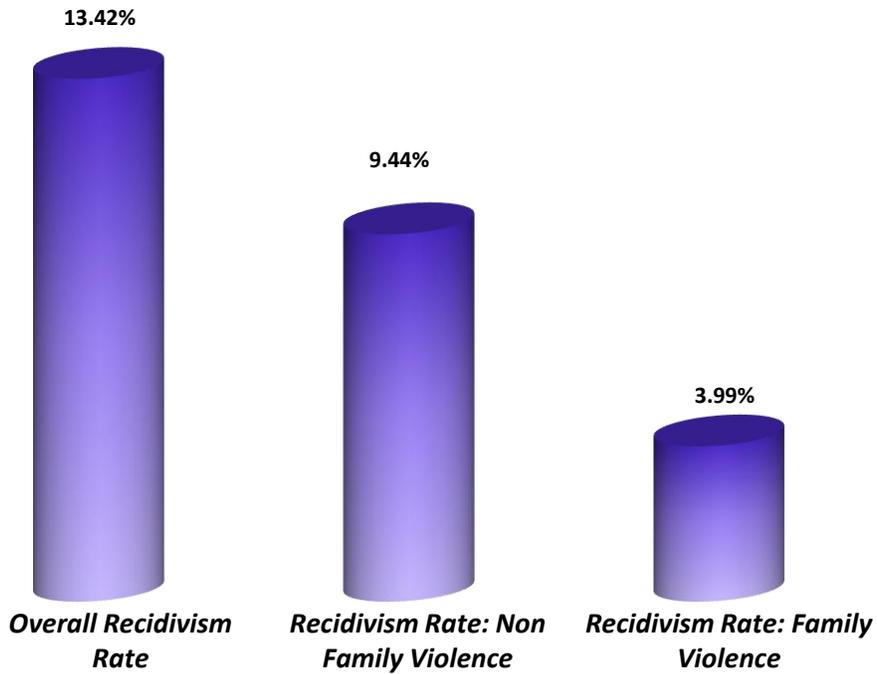
Assessment Level	Total
<i>low</i>	214
<i>moderate</i>	321
<i>severe</i>	290
<i>critical</i>	57
<i>missing</i>	146
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,028</b>

<sup>2</sup>Case numbers were not provided for BIPP referrals. The researcher utilized an alternative method to locate assessment levels in the CES database by using the recommendation date and program start date. In some cases, the researcher was not able to associate a recommendation to a start date that was in a reasonable time period.

2. What is the recidivism rate for BIPP participants from 2014-2016?
  - a. At what rate did participants recidivate for family violence offenses?
  - b. What types of offenses did participants recidivate for?

Table 2.1

Recidivism	# Arrested	Sample Size	Recidivism Rate
<i>Overall</i>	138	1,028	13.42%
<i>Non Family Violence</i>	97	138	9.44%
<i>Family Violence</i>	41	138	3.99%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>1,028</b>	-

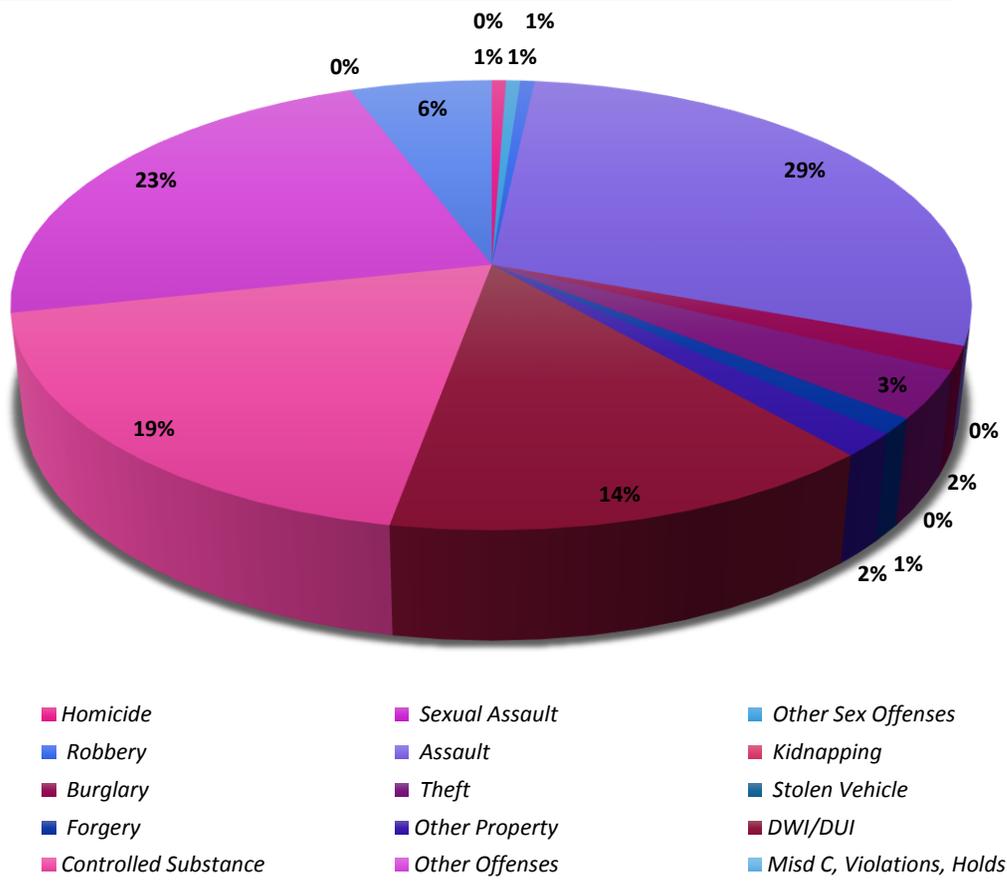


**Table 2.1** illustrates that of the 1,028 participants in the sample, 138 (13.42%) were rearrested after their discharge date. It is important to note that the recidivism rate does not include traffic offenses. Furthermore, 97 rearrests (9.44%) were for non-family violence offenses, and 41 rearrests (3.99%) were for family violence related offenses.

**Table 2.2**

<b>Offense Type</b>	<b># Arrested</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>Homicide</i>	1	1
<i>Sexual Assault</i>	0	0
<i>Other Sex Offenses</i>	1	1
<i>Robbery</i>	1	1
<i>Assault</i>	51	29
<i>Kidnapping</i>	0	0
<i>Burglary</i>	3	2
<i>Theft</i>	6	3
<i>Stolen Vehicle</i>	0	0
<i>Forgery</i>	2	1
<i>Other Property</i>	3	2
<i>DWI/DUI</i>	25	14
<i>Controlled Substance</i>	33	19
<i>Other Offenses</i>	40	23
<i>Misd C, Violations, Holds</i>	0	0
<i>Warrants</i>	10	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>176</b>	

**Table 2.2** illustrates that assault (29%) and Controlled Substances (19%) is the most common offense that participants recidivated for. This is the highest charge per booking.



### 3. How do recidivism rates differ among demographic variability?

Table 3.1

Age	# Arrested	Recidivism Rate
18-24	26	18%
25-34	67	14%
35-44	27	10%
45-54	17	15%
55+	1	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	-

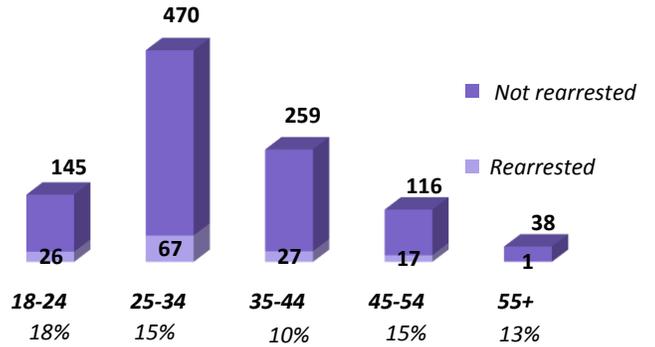


Table 3.1 shows that participants ages 18-24 had the highest recidivism rate (17.93%). Table 3.2 shows that males (14.44%) had a higher recidivism rate than females (9.14%).

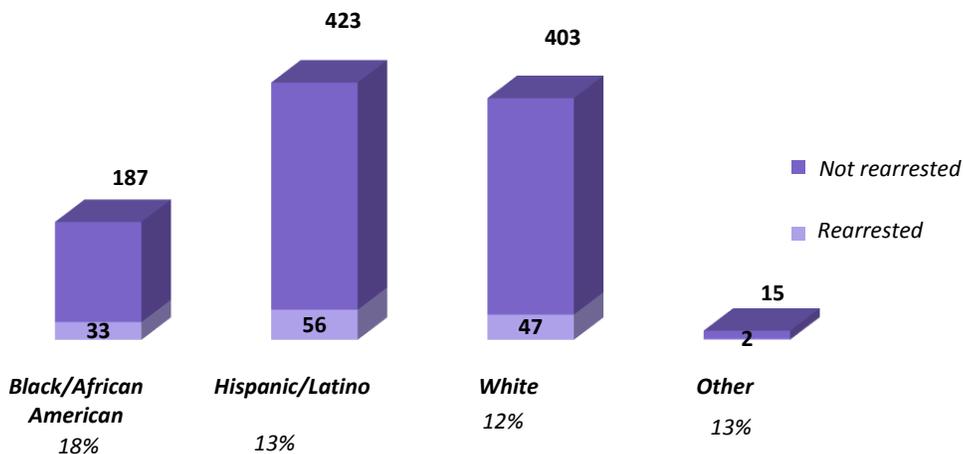
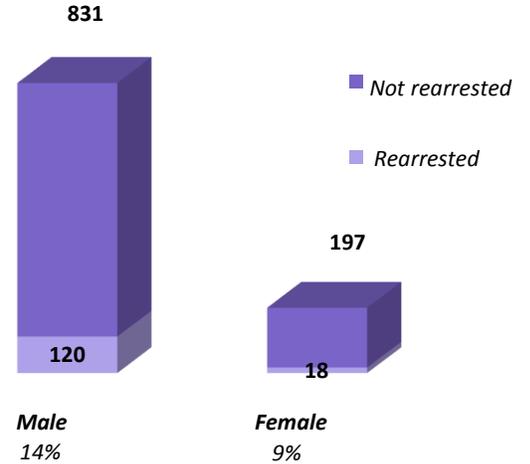
Table 3.2

Gender	# Arrested	Recidivism Rate
Male	120	14%
Female	18	9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	-

Table 3.3

Race/Ethnicity	# Arrested	Recidivism Rate
Black/African American	33	18%
Hispanic/Latino	56	13%
White	47	12%
Other	2	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	-

Table 3.3 illustrates that Black/African Americans participants had the highest recidivism rate.

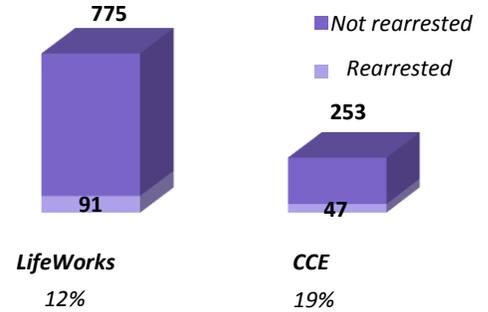


4.) What are the recidivism rates for:

- a. Each BIPP Provider?
- b. Program completers versus non-completers?

Table 4.1

BIPP Provider	# Arrested	Sample Size	Recidivism Rate
<i>LifeWorks</i>	91	775	12%
<i>CCE</i>	47	253	19%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>1,028</b>	-



**Table 4.1** illustrates that CCE participants (19%) had a higher recidivism rate than LifeWorks (12%). However, it is important to note that CCE had a significant lower number in their sample size compared to LifeWorks, in addition to providing classes for individuals assessed at the critical level, while LifeWorks does not.

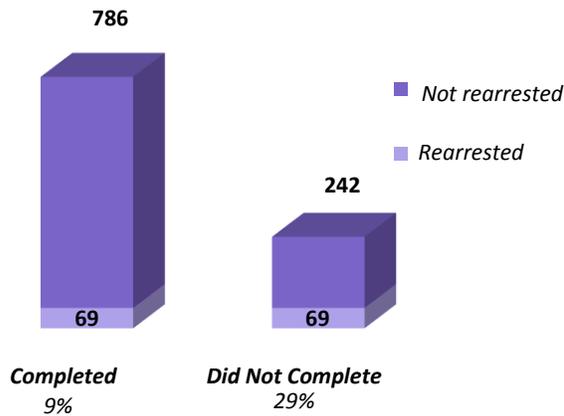


Table 4.2

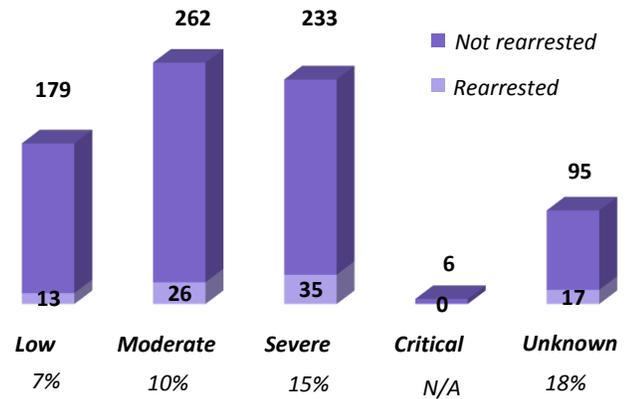
Discharge Result	# Arrested	Sample Size	Recidivism Rate
<i>Completed</i>	69	786	9%
<i>Did Not Complete</i>	69	242	29%
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>1,028</b>	-

**Table 4.2** illustrates that participants that did not complete the program had higher recidivism rates (29%) than those that completed the program (9%).

4c). What are the recidivism rates for each assessment level?

Table 4.4

	LifeWorks Sample	LifeWorks # Arrested	LifeWorks Recidivism Rate
Low	179	13	7%
Moderate	262	26	10%
Severe	233	35	15%
Critical	6	0	0%
Unknown	95	17	18%
Total	775	91	-



**Table 4.4** illustrates the assessment results for LifeWorks. Participants that were assessed at the severe level recidivated at the highest rate (15%) and participants that were assessed at the low level recidivated at the lowest rate (7%).

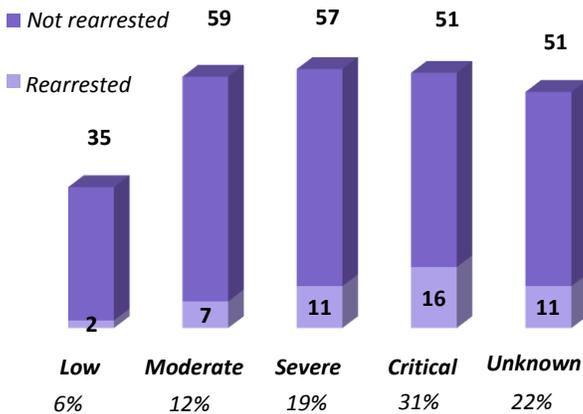


Table 4.5

Assessment Level	CCE Sample	CCE # Arrested	CCE Recidivism Rate
Low	35	2	6%
Moderate	59	7	12%
Severe	57	11	19%
Critical	51	16	31%
Unknown	51	11	22%
Total	253	47	-

**Table 4.5** illustrates recidivism rates by assessment level for CCE. Participants assessed at the critical level have a high recidivism rate (31%). As previously mentioned, CCE accepts clients assessed at the critical level. This chart demonstrates that the critical level population inflates the recidivism rate for CCE.

5.) What sanctions are being imposed for recidivists assessed at the critical level (i.e. prison, SAFPF, ISF)?

Table 5.1

Offense Type	# Arrested	%
<i>Violent</i>	3	19
<i>Non Family Violence</i>	8	50
<i>Family Violence</i>	5	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>-</b>

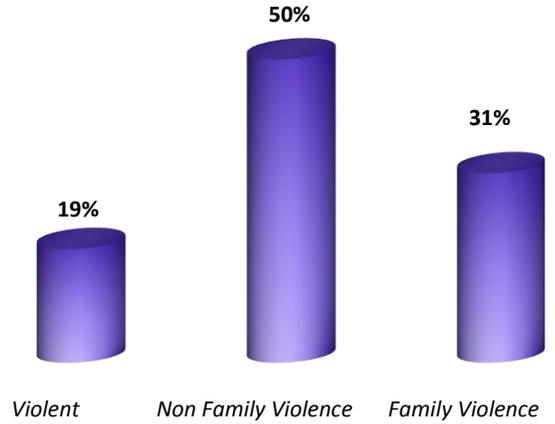


Table 5.1 illustrates that participants assessed at the critical level were mostly (50%) rearrested for non-family violence related offenses.

Table 5.2 illustrates that the majority (38%) of participants rearrested are currently incarcerated.

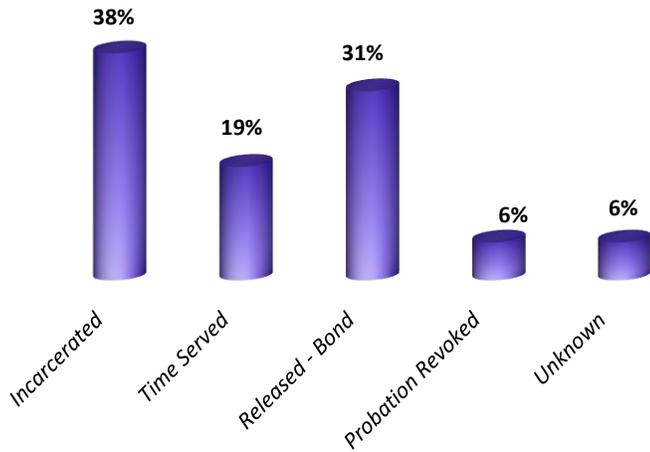


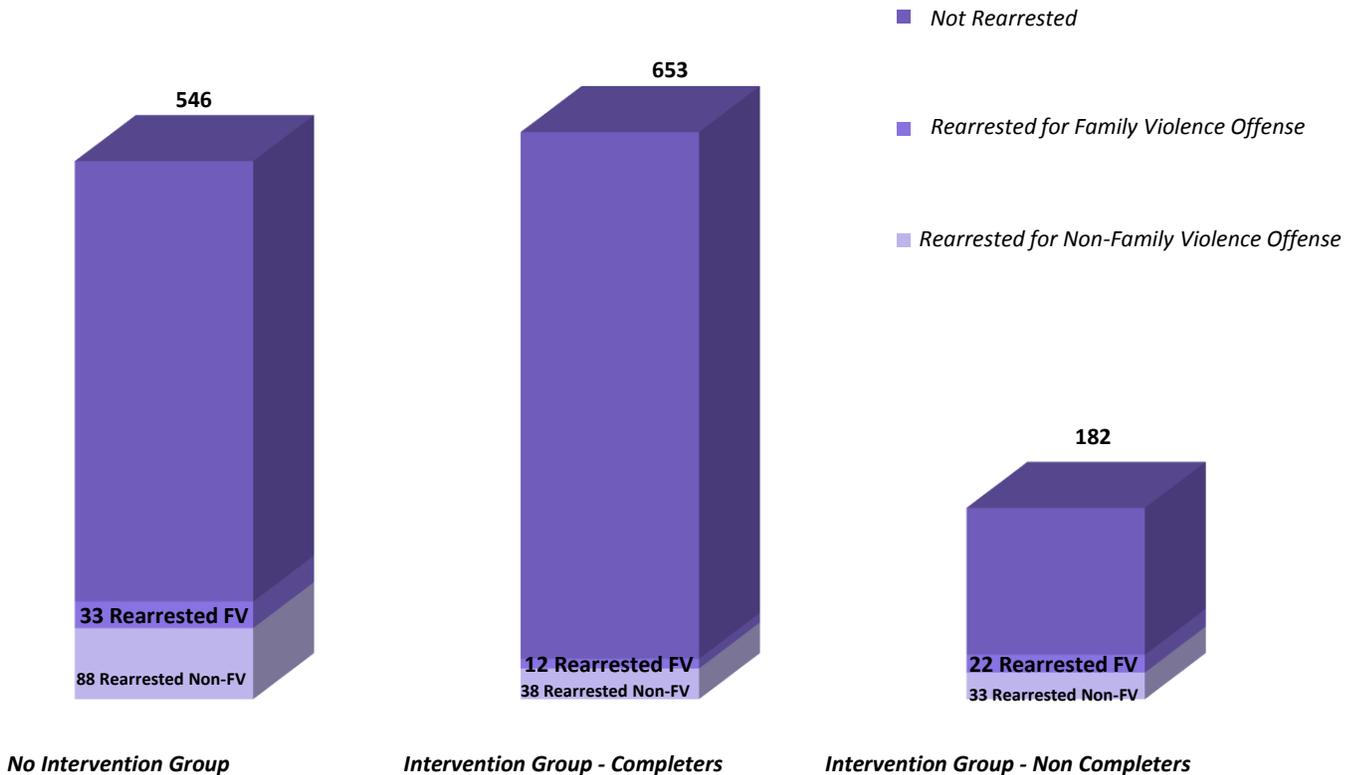
Table 5.2

Sanction Type	N	%
<i>Incarcerated</i>	6	38
<i>Time Served</i>	3	19
<i>Released - Bond</i>	5	31
<i>Probation Revoked</i>	1	6
<i>Unknown</i>	1	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>-</b>

6.) Are those that got jail time or case dismissals more likely to recidivate than those that completed a BIPP program?

Table 6.1

Recidivism	# Arrested	Sample Size	Recidivism Rate	# Arrested FV Offenses	Recidivism Rate FV
No Intervention Group	121	546	22.16%	33	6.04%
Intervention Group - Completers	50	653	7.66%	12	1.84%
Intervention Group - Non Completers	55	182	30.22%	22	12.09%
Intervention Group- Completers and Non Completers	105	835	12.57%	34	4.07%



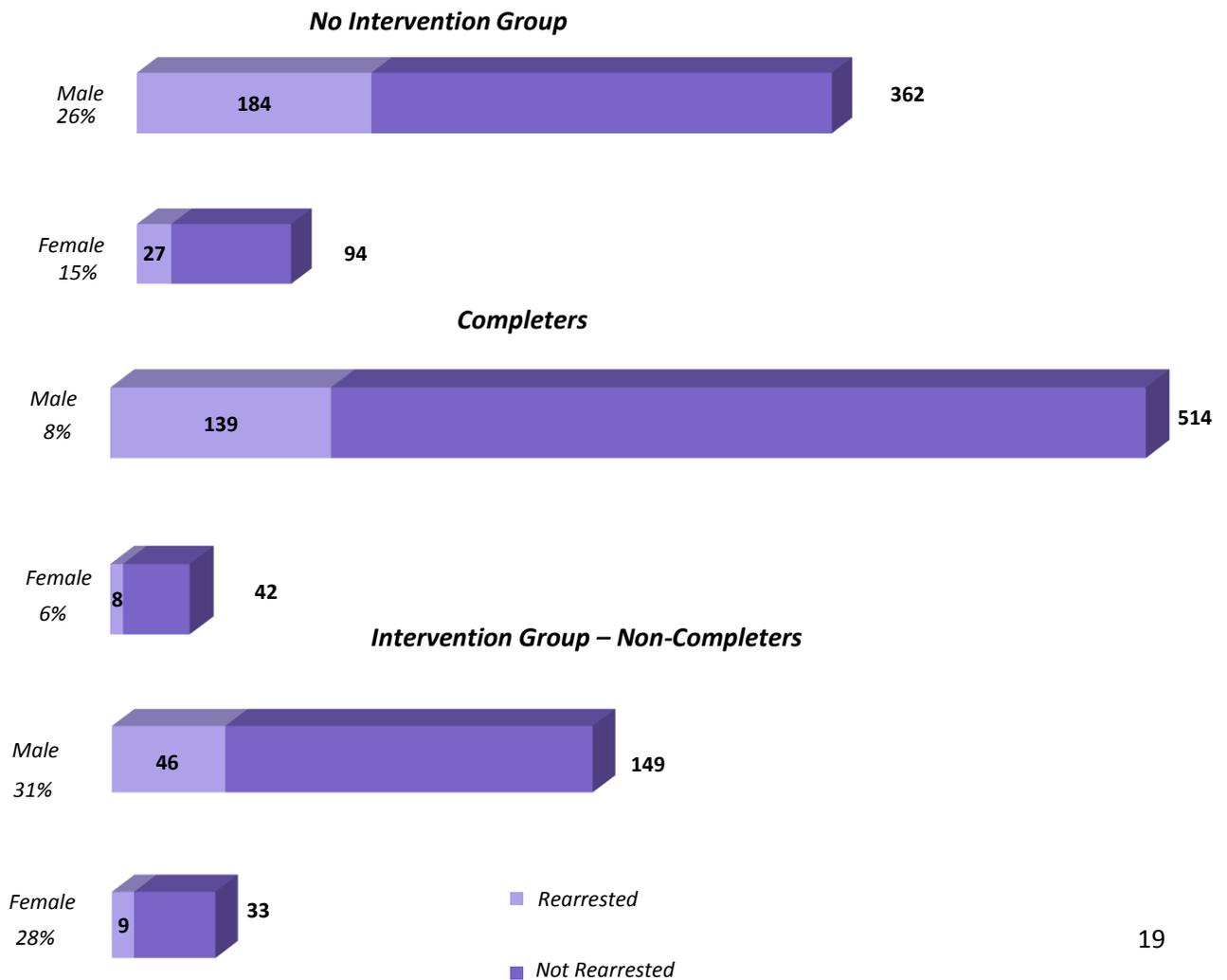
**Table 6.1** includes a breakdown of a no intervention and intervention group. The no intervention group is comprised of individuals that were referred to CES for an assessment, were recommended BIPP, but got their case dismissed or took jail time instead of participating in the program. The intervention group is comprised of those that received BIPP and either completed the program, or did not complete the program. It is important to note that both intervention and no intervention groups are made up of individuals that are statistically similar among age, race, and gender demographics. The intervention group of non-completers had the highest recidivism rate (30.22%), followed by the no intervention group (22.14%). It appears as though those that completed the program have the lowest recidivism rate (7.66%). The intervention group of non-completers had the highest recidivism rate for family violence related offenses (12.09%).

6a.) What are the recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, gender, and assessment level for the intervention and no intervention groups?

Table 6.3

Gender	Non Completers # Arrested	Sample	Non Completers Recidivism Rate	Completers # Arrested	Sample	Completers Recidivism Rate	No Intervention # Arrested	Sample	No Intervention Group Recidivism Rate
Female	9	33	28%	42	139	6%	27	184	15%
Male	46	149	31%	8	514	8%	94	362	26%
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>182</b>	-	<b>50</b>	<b>653</b>	-	<b>121</b>	<b>546</b>	-

Table 6.3 illustrates that Males recidivate at a higher level than Females in the non-completers, completers, and no intervention group. The highest recidivism rates occurred in the non-completers group, with Males recidivating at 30.87% and females at 27.27%.



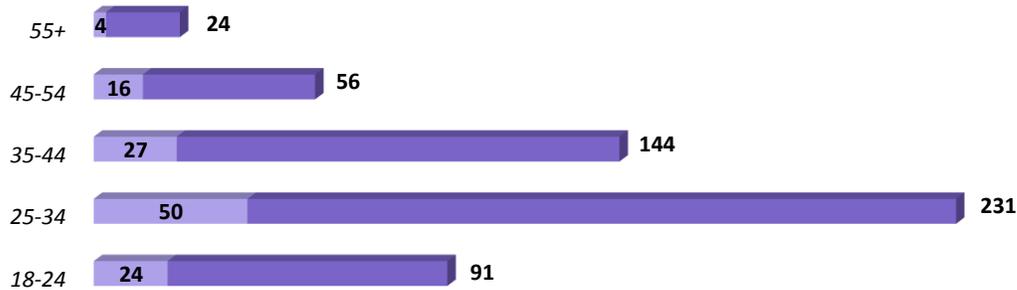
6b.) What are the recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, gender, and assessment level for the intervention and no intervention groups?

Table 6.4

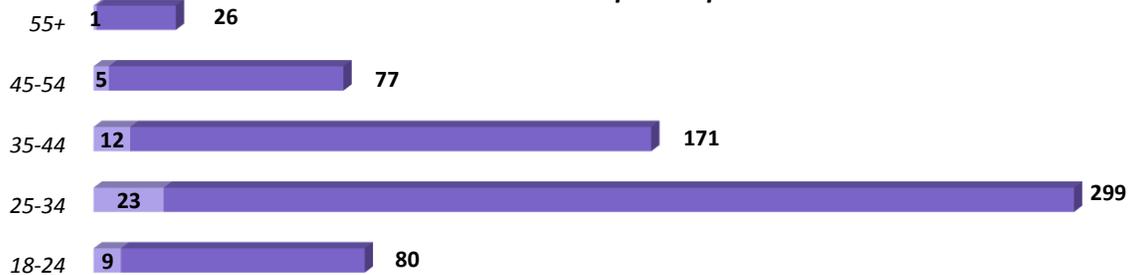
Age	Non Completers # Arrested	Sample	Non Completers Recidivism Rate	Completers # Arrested	Sample	Completers Recidivism Rate	No Intervention Group # Arrested	Sample	No Intervention Group Recidivism Rate
18-24	10	41	24%	9	80	11%	24	91	26%
25-34	29	81	36%	23	299	8%	50	231	22%
35-44	8	38	21%	12	171	7%	27	144	19%
45-54	7	17	41%	5	77	7%	16	56	29%
55+	1	5	20%	1	26	4%	4	24	17%
	<b>55</b>	<b>182</b>	-	<b>50</b>	<b>653</b>	-	<b>121</b>	<b>546</b>	-

Table 6.4 illustrates that ages 45-54 had high recidivism rates for the no intervention group (29%) and non-completers group (41%). Ages 18-24 also had high recidivism rates for the no intervention group (27%), completers group (11%) and non-completers group (24%).

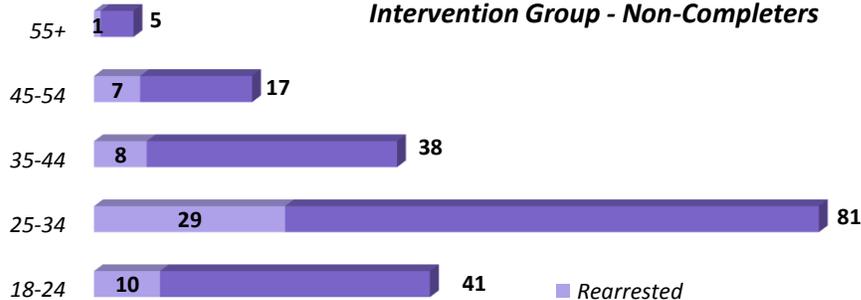
**No Intervention Group**



**Intervention Group - Completers**



**Intervention Group - Non-Completers**



■ Rearrested  
■ Not rearrested

6c.) What are the recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, gender, and assessment level for the intervention and no intervention groups?

Table 6.5

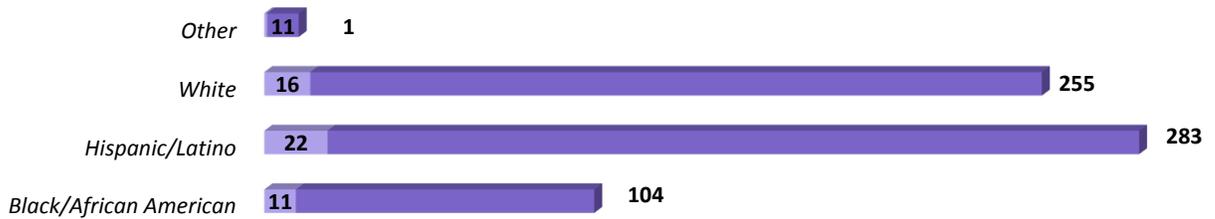
Race/Ethnicity	Non Completers # Arrested	Sample	Non Completers Recidivism Rate	Completers # Arrested	Sample	Completers Recidivism Rate	No Intervention # Arrested	Sample	No Intervention Group Recidivism Rate
Black/African American	8	32	25%	11	104	11%	45	152	30%
Hispanic/Latino	23	76	30%	22	283	8%	34	178	19%
White	23	73	32%	16	255	6%	42	205	21%
Other	1	1	100%	1	11	9%	0	11	0%
	55	182	-	50	653	-	121	546	-

Table 6.5 illustrates that Whites have the highest recidivism rate for the non-completers (32%), and Black/African Americans have the highest recidivism rate for the completers (11%) and no intervention group (30%).

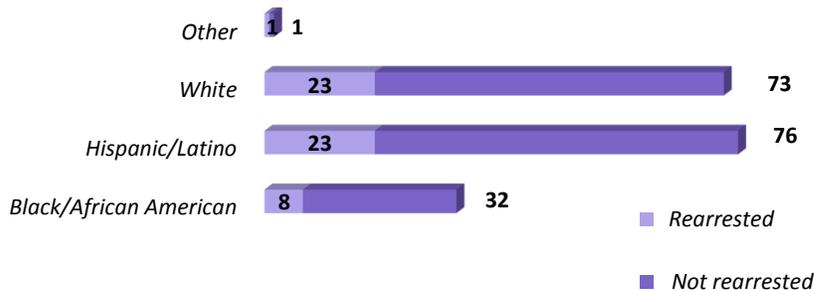
**No Intervention Group**



**Intervention Group - Completers**



**Intervention Group - Non-Completers**

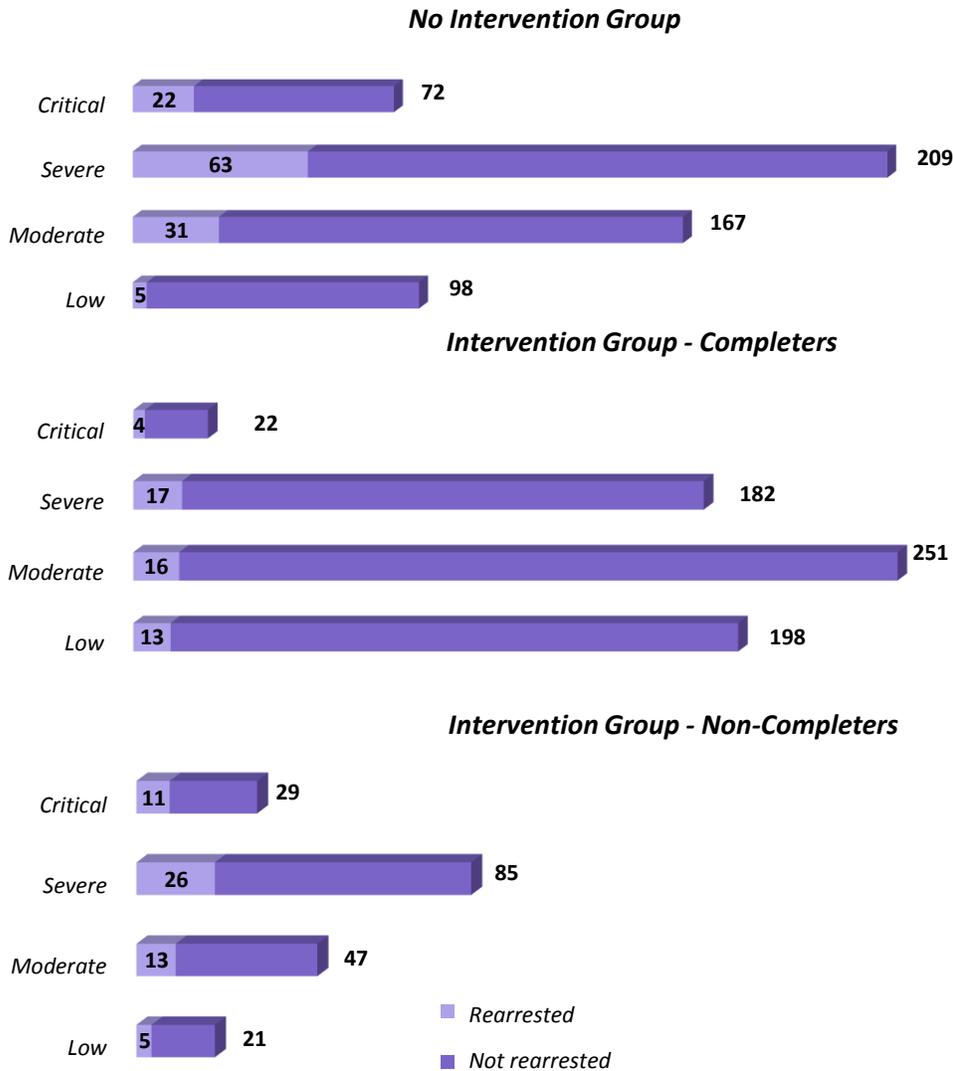


6d.) What are the recidivism rates for demographic variables such as age, race, gender, and assessment level for the intervention and no intervention groups?

Table 6.6

Assessment Level	Non Completers # Arrested	Sample Size	Non Completers Recidivism Rate	Completers # Arrested	Sample Size	Completers Recidivism Rate	No Intervention # Arrested	Sample Size	No Intervention Group Recidivism Rate
Low	5	21	24%	13	198	7%	5	98	5%
Moderate	13	47	28%	16	251	6%	31	167	19%
Severe	26	85	31%	17	182	9%	63	209	30%
Critical	11	29	38%	4	22	18%	22	72	31%
	<b>55</b>	<b>182</b>	-	<b>50</b>	<b>653</b>	-	<b>121</b>	<b>546</b>	-

Table 6.6 illustrates that individuals assessed as critical recidivated the highest for the no intervention group (38%), completers group (18.18%), and no intervention group (31%).

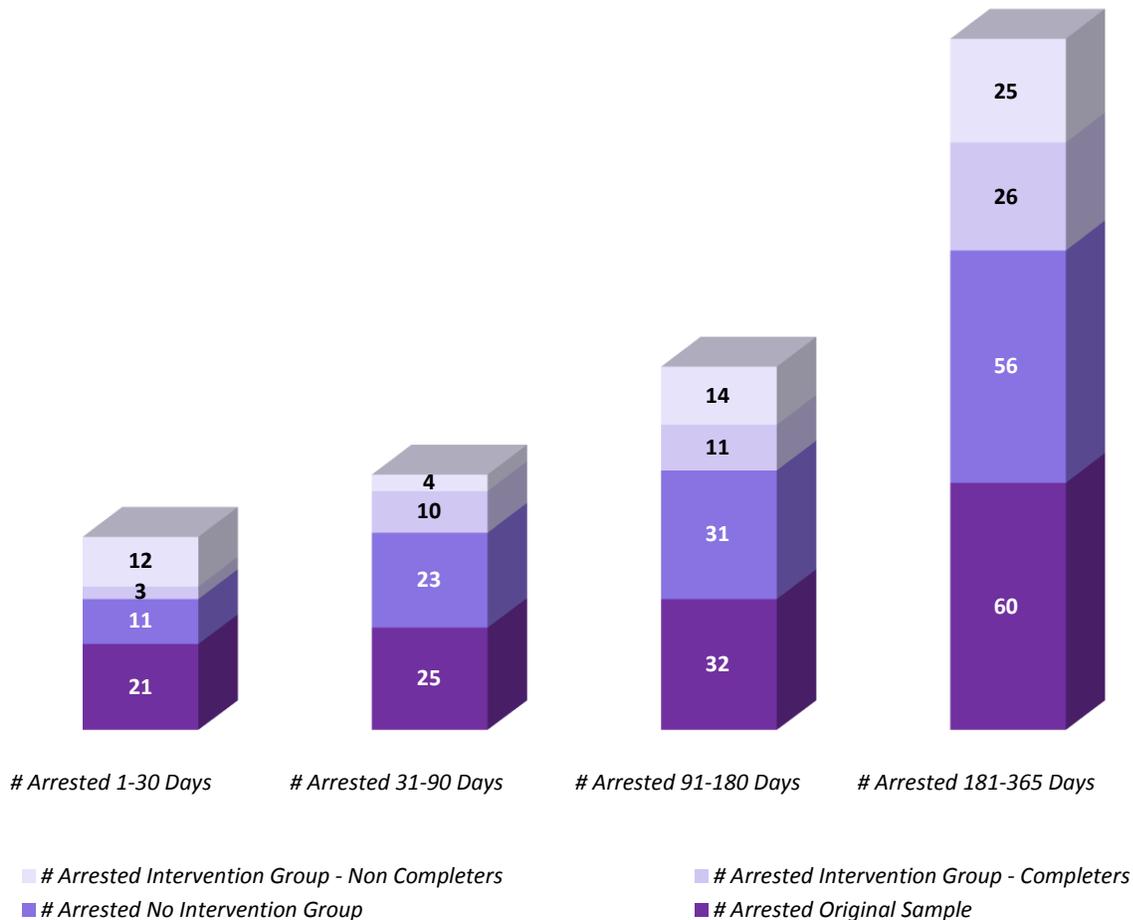


- 7.) At what point are participants most likely to recidivate after their program completion date?  
 a. At what point are individuals in the no intervention group most likely to recidivate after they were release from jail or got their case dismissed?

Table 7.1

Recidivism	Original Sample	No Intervention Group	Completers	Non-Completers
<i>Arrested 1-30 Days</i>	21	11	3	12
<i>Arrested 31-90 Days</i>	25	23	10	4
<i>Arrested 91-180 Days</i>	32	31	11	14
<i>Arrested 181-365 Days</i>	60	56	26	25

**Table 7.1** illustrates that the highest rate for each group consistently occurs between 181-365 days after program completion for the treatment group. Similarly, the highest recidivism rate occurs between 181-365 days after case dismissal or jail time for the no intervention group.

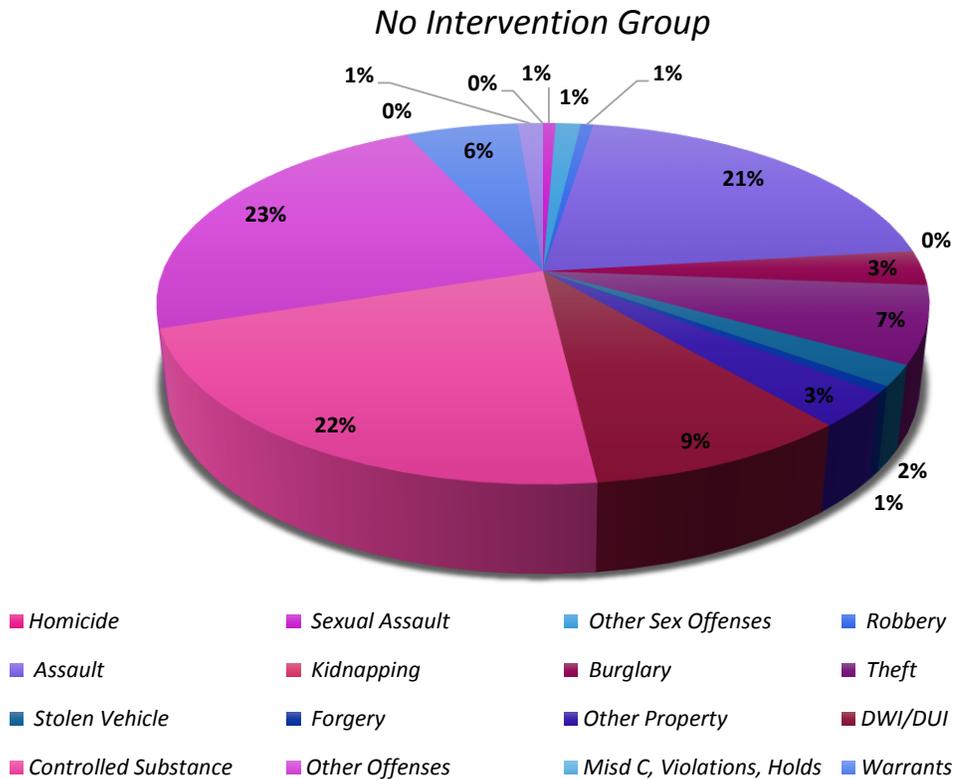


8.) What types of offenses did the participants in the no intervention group recidivate for?

Table 8.1

Offense Type	# of Arrests	%
Homicide	0	0
Sexual Assault	1	1
Other Sex Offenses	2	1
Robbery	1	1
Assault	33	21
Kidnapping	0	0
Burglary	5	3
Theft	11	7
Stolen Vehicle	3	2
Forgery	1	1
Other Property	5	3
DWI/DUI	15	9
Controlled Substance	35	22
Other Offenses	37	23
Misd C, Violations, Holds	0	0
Warrants	9	6
Federal Offense	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	-

Table 8.1 illustrates that Controlled Substance (22%) and Assault (21%) are the most common offense types that participants in the no intervention group recidivated for. This is their highest charge per booking.



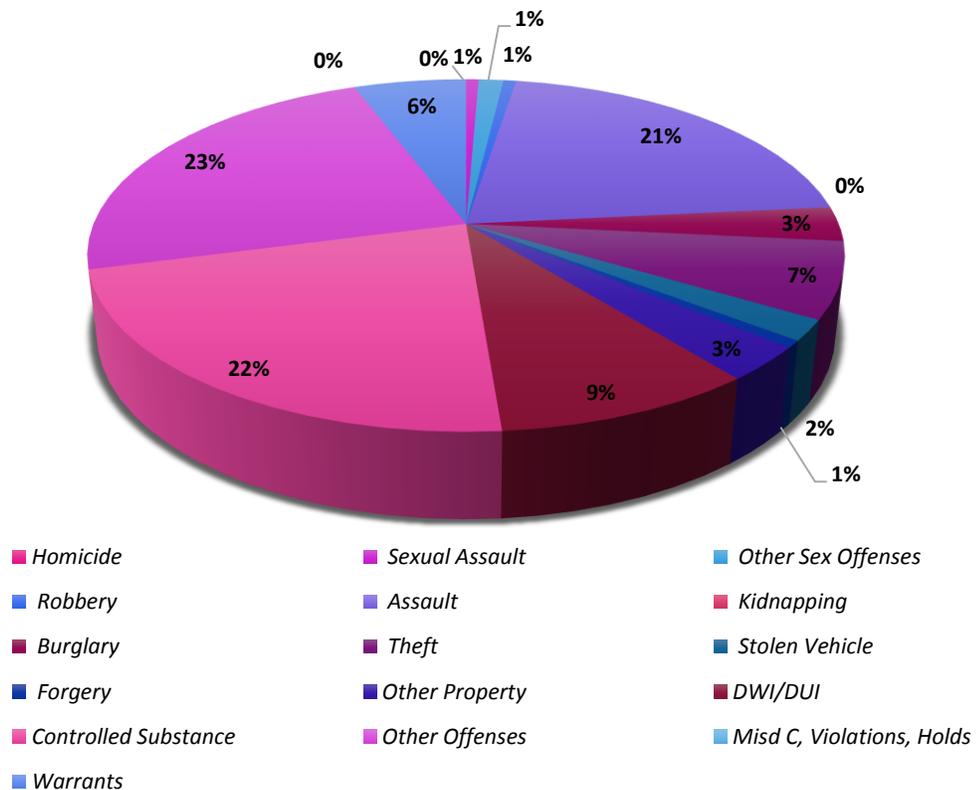
**8b.) What types of offenses did the participants in the completers intervention group recidivate for?**

**Table 8.2**

Offense Type	# of Arrests	%
Homicide	1	0
Sexual Assault	0	1
Other Sex Offenses	0	1
Robbery	1	1
Assault	13	21
Kidnapping	0	0
Burglary	1	3
Theft	4	7
Stolen Vehicle	0	2
Forgery	1	1
Other Property	0	3
DWI/DUI	10	9
Controlled Substance	14	22
Other Offenses	12	23
Misd C, Violations, Holds	0	0
Warrants	4	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>-</b>

**Table 8.2** illustrates that Controlled Substance (22%) and Assault (21%) are the most common offense types that participants in the completers group recidivated for. This is their highest charge per booking.

*Intervention Group - Completers*



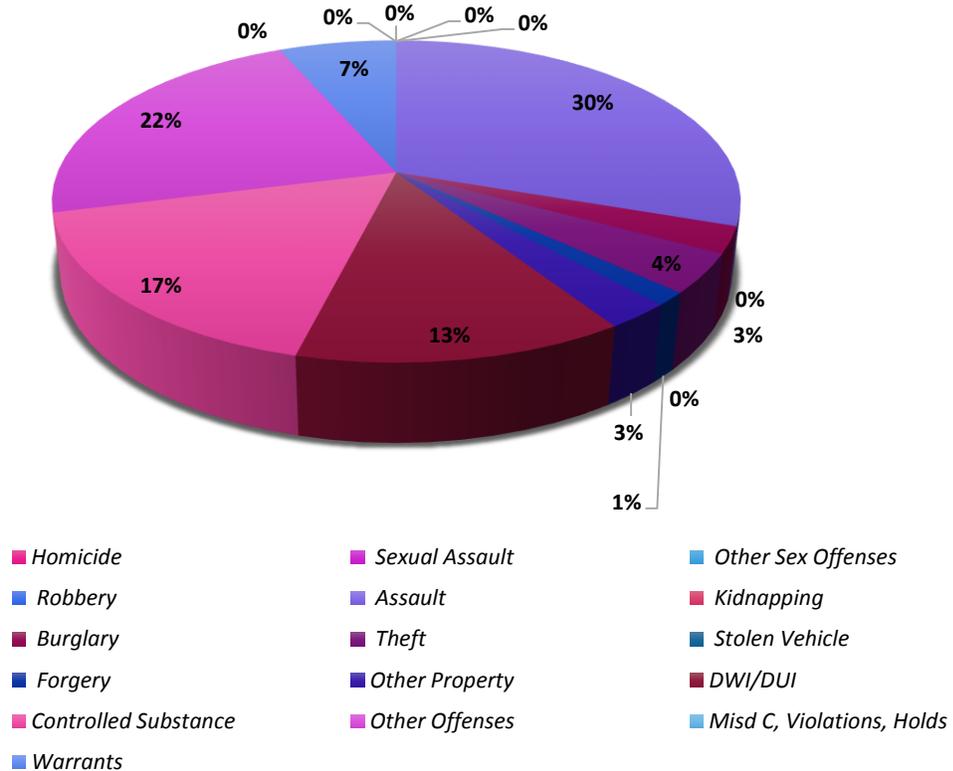
8c.) What types of offenses did the participants in the non-completers group recidivate for?

Table 8.3

Offense Type	# of Arrests	%
Homicide	0	0
Sexual Assault	0	0
Other Sex Offenses	0	0
Robbery	0	0
Assault	23	30
Kidnapping	0	0
Burglary	2	3
Theft	3	4
Stolen Vehicle	0	0
Forgery	1	1
Other Property	2	3
DWI/DUI	10	13
Controlled Substance	13	17
Other Offenses	17	22
Misd C, Violations, Holds	0	0
Warrants	5	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>-</b>

Table 8.3 illustrates that Assault (30%) and Controlled Substance (17%) are the most common types of offenses that participants in the non-completers group recidivated for.

Intervention Group - Non-Completers



9.) Are the results of the comparison groups statistically significant?

Table 9.1

<i>F-Test Two-Sample for Variances</i>	<i>Intervention Group</i>	<i>No Intervention Group</i>
Mean	0.125748503	0.221611722
Variance	0.110067635	0.17281648
Observations	835	546
df	834	545
F	0.636904735	
P(F<=f) one-tail	2.27522	
F Critical one-tail	0.880535645	

**Table 9.1** illustrates that an F-test was performed on recidivism results for the intervention and no intervention groups. The F-Test is used to test the null hypothesis that the variances of two populations are equal. This is important because it helps inform the researcher what type of t-Test to perform. Since F (.6369) is less than F Critical one-tail (.8805), the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, the researcher performed a t-Test assuming equal variances.

Table 9.2

<i>t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances</i>	<i>Intervention Group</i>	<i>No Intervention Group</i>
Mean	0.125748503	0.221611722
Variance	0.110067635	0.17281648
Observations	835	546
Pooled Variance	0.134866852	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	1379	
t Stat	-4.742879774	
P(T<=t) one-tail	1.162806	
t Critical one-tail	1.645959355	
P(T<=t) two-tail	2.3256	
t Critical two-tail	1.961685753	

**Table 9.2** illustrates that a t-Test was performed on recidivism results for the intervention and no intervention groups. The t-Test is used to test the null hypothesis that the means of the populations are equal. Since the T stat (-4.742) is less than - t critical two tail (-1.962), the null hypothesis can be rejected. The researcher can be confident that observed differences between the sample means (.1257 - .2216) is convincing enough to say that the average number of recidivists between the intervention and no intervention differ significantly. Statistically speaking, this means that five times out of a hundred, the researcher would find a statistically significant difference between the means even if there was none (i.e., by "chance").

## Summary and Recommendations

The current study shows that BIPP may be effective in reducing recidivism for defendants arrested for family violence. In particular, individuals that completed the BIPP program have a much lower recidivism rate (7.66%) than the no intervention group (22.16%). This study also showed that each cohort recidivated most often between 181-365 days following their program completion, jail time, or case dismissal. It is recommended that the BIPP Executive Committee and Family Violence Task Force utilize results from this study to update policies and procedures for BIPP.

A potential testing bias may have occurred between the no intervention group and intervention group. Specifically, defendants that choose jail time over attending a BIPP program may be more at risk of recidivating because high risk factors such as criminal attitudes and criminal thinking. Conversely, various program staff indicate that there is no difference between individuals that attend a BIPP and individuals that choose jail time. It is recommended that future studies examine differences and/or similarities between the same cohorts to establish further validity of the current results.

This paper is limited to one year recidivism rate due to the time frame of the study period. It is recommended that this study should be replicated in one calendar year to establish a three year recidivism rate. At that time, it is also recommended that the victim's perspective be examined. This could be done with surveys and/or focus groups.

As previously mentioned, future studies could focus on studying the relationship between the CCR and recidivism. Specifically, are recidivism rates lower for clients that receive pretrial supervision or community supervision for the entire duration of their programming? Additionally, the CCR should be examined with a broader lens. For example, are their gaps in services for batterer's between arrest and pretrial intervention?

Finally, it is recommended that future studies examine the extent by which Travis County BIPP's adhere to the principles of effective intervention. This could be done with an assessment such as the Risk-Needs-Responsivity Simulation Tool. Tangential to this subject is data fidelity. It is recommended that BIPP's and CES begin coordinating case numbers and MNI's so that future studies are able to encompass all participants.

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## **Data Sources: Definitions and Explanations:**

The Travis County Batterer's Intervention and Prevention Program (BIPP) Recidivism Report draws on five sources of data:

### **The Travis County Integrated Justice System (Tiburon)**

The Travis County Integrated Justice System (Tiburon) is a series of data tables and databases used by many government agencies in the county for electronically storing administrative records. These data include records of most people arrested and booked in Travis County (except expungements).

This study used these data to determine how often each individual recidivated (how often each individual was arrested for a new offense that led to a jail stay).

### **The Texas Department of Public Safety**

The Texas Department of Public Safety provided information on the criminal histories of a sample of the Travis County Counseling and Education Center Services (CES) referrals. For some of these CES referrals, we could not locate them in the Travis County Integrated Justice System (Tiburon) data. To ensure that we did not exclude their criminal histories, we submitted the State Identification Numbers (SIDs) of these individuals to the Texas Department of Public Safety. The SID is a unique number issued to a person when they are arrested for the first time within the State of Texas. The unique SID makes it easy to see if the person has a subsequent arrest-booking event within the State: the researcher simply searches the MNI field for the specific MNI to isolate the individual's arrest-booking history. In this way, we were able to provide criminal histories for the people that we did not have records for in the Tiburon data.

### **CES Data / Tiburon**

CES uses Tiburon to store and track administrative records. CES systemizes their Tiburon database into screens to organized the array of different types of data. Specific data such as; counseling appointments, assessment scores, and counseling recommendations are stored within Tiburon. For most booking and arrest data, CES will pull data directly from Travis County Sheriff's databases (IDB). CES also directly pulls from IDB to capture County and District court data such as cause numbers.

### **BIPP Providers:**

The Center for Cognitive Education and LifeWorks provided information on the sample of Travis County CES BIPP referrals.

#### ***Demographic Variables***

- Date of Birth
- Name

#### ***Variables for each contact/match:***

- Entry Date
- Exit Date
- Reason For Exit (Successful/Unsuccessful Completion)

- Attendance Records
- Program Type Code (Low, Moderate, Severe, Critical)

## **Recidivism Analysis Methodology:**

### **Analysis Criteria**

This study analyzes CES family violence (FV) cases that attended a BIPP program from January 2014 to December 2016. Clients referred to a BIPP class all had a domestic violence or family violence related charge. Clients are given a FV risk assessment to determine risk level and recommendations to the appropriate level of BIPP.

### **CES Data / Tiburon**

The researcher queried all CES clients in SPSS and selected those with assessment instrument type "FREL" (Relationship type - NIPV/IPV), FVRL (Family Violence Risk Level) or VRL (Violence Risk Level). The researcher selected cases with "FVA" and "SPFV". The dataset was then limited to assessments with status either "COMP" (complete) or "HOLD".

The researcher queried BIPP recommendations and BIPP assignments, and merged on the CE case number. The dataset was then limited to final recommendations "FIN" and clinical overrides "CFIN".

The researcher exported this data to an Excel document to match with LifeWorks and CCE program participation data.

### **LifeWorks and Center for Cognitive Education Data**

The researcher imported the LifeWorks and CCE program participation data into an Excel document. LifeWorks and CCE did not provide MNI's associated with their clients; therefore, the researcher utilized the first two letters of the participant's last name and date of birth to index the MNI's from the CES database. This allowed the researcher to identify an MNI for each BIPP participant to conduct a recidivism screening in the Tiburon database.

The researcher created a match file utilizing MNIs to merge with Tiburon data.

The LifeWorks dataset contained 959 unique cases; the researcher excluded 184 cases due to inability to locate MNI. One case was excluded because the individual appeared in both the LifeWorks and CCE datasets. The CCE case in which the individual completed the program was not excluded.

The CCE dataset contained 340 unique cases; the researcher excluded 86 cases due to inability to locate MNI.

In some instances, clients attended BIPP more than once during the study period. The researcher either selected the case in which the client completed BIPP, or the most current attendance if the client did not complete BIPP.

## **The Travis County Integrated Justice System (Tiburon)**

The researcher queried arrests from Tiburon on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017, and limited the data set to CCN (Community Court New Charge), CWART (taken into custody for a Class C Misdemeanor offense), or New (New Arrest). The jail code (BJ\_TYP\_PRIS) for these arrests had to have either CITY (city) or CTY (county) as a value.

The researcher used the MNI field to merge with BIPP data, and limited to cases that matched. The MNI number is a person-specific code that is assigned to a person when he first enters the Travis County Criminal Justice System. The unique MNI number makes it easy to see if the person has a subsequent arrest-booking event within the County: the researcher simply searches the MNI field for the specific MNI to isolate the individual's arrest-booking history.

The researcher used the BR\_AR\_DATE (arrest date) to determine recidivism. Recidivism timeframes were generated by using the Date/Time Wizard function in SPSS, and flagging cases in which the arrest occurred within the recidivism timeframe.

### **1. Locate the individual start date to begin tracking their recidivism follow-up period**

This recidivism analysis focused on identifying the BIPP participant and following them for a period of time after the program. To begin this process, this study identified the BIPP participant at their program end date. It is worth stating that in some cases, participants appeared more than once in the analysis. This is because the participant started the program, unsuccessfully discharged, and later restarted the program.

### **2. Identify the Start Date for the recidivism Follow-Up period**

To measure recidivism, researchers often try to capture a starting date and an ending date for a participant's first "round" of service. This study operationalized the follow-up period as one calendar year after the program end date. This study also operationalized the recidivism follow-up period in four groupings: less than 30 days, 31-90 days, 91-180 days, and 181-365 days.

### **3. Screen Justice-Involved Individuals for Recidivism**

The outcome evaluation examined if the BIPP participants were arrested and booked for any new offenses for Class C Misdemeanor offenses and above. To conduct this recidivism screen, this study ran the justice-involved individuals against all arrest and jail bookings (Tiburon) to see if there was a match on the MNI number.

If we did not have an MNI number for the individual, we used the justice-involved individual's State Identification Number (SID).

### **4. Specific Code Values used to Identify New Arrest-Bookings**

This study operationalized new arrest and jail bookings using two variables in the Tiburon data. First, the Authority Code (Auth\_Code) variable had to have at least one of three values: CCN (Community Court New Charge), CWART (taken into custody for a Class C Misdemeanor offense), or New (New Arrest). Second, the jail code (BJ\_TYP\_PRIS) for these charges had to have either CITY or CTY as a value. In some cases, this study used the SID to identify new arrests.

**5. This Recidivism Analysis Includes Class C Misdemeanors**

It is worth stating that this recidivism analysis includes jail-bookings for Class C Misdemeanors. In the past, many evaluations of various programs within the State have omitted Class C misdemeanor arrest-bookings because the Department of Public Safety Texas only provides consistent data for Class B misdemeanor arrest-bookings and higher. This inconsistent reporting is not the fault of the Texas Department of Public Safety. There are several counties within the State that do not report their Class C Misdemeanor arrest-bookings to the State. Nonetheless, this study chose to include jail-bookings for Class C Misdemeanors because they account for about 25 percent of the fiscal year jail bookings. Moreover, in Travis County, many of the justice-involved individuals suffering from chronic mental illness account for a high number of Class C Misdemeanors. Finally, this study includes Class C misdemeanor arrest in the analysis because they represents a criminal justice cost within the City and County (specifically, Class C misdemeanor a represent police cost, in terms of the arrest, a County cost in the jail in terms of the jail booking, and finally, court costs, in terms of the effort to file a Class C misdemeanor case.

