Sub-Category A-iii: Offender Interventions

COMPENDIUM OF RESEARCH ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

1993-2020
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**Category A: JUSTICE & RELATED SYSTEMS**

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Category A: JUSTICE & RELATED SYSTEMS

### iii. Offender Interventions

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This study is one of the first attempts to conduct a test of batterer treatment using a true experimental design. The design will randomly assign 376 court-mandated batterers to batterer treatment or to a treatment irrelevant to the battering problem (community service). All men assigned to batterer treatment were mandated to 39 hours of class time; some will be assigned to complete the treatment in 26 weeks and others in 8 weeks. Men assigned to the control condition will be sentenced to 40 hours of community service. For all cases in the study, interviews will be conducted with victims and batterers at 6 months and 12 months after the sentence date. In addition, records of criminal justice agencies will be checked to determine if new crime reports or attempts have occurred involving the same defendant and victim.

**Product:** NCJ# 180772


For all cases in the study, interviews were attempted with victims and batterers at 6 months and 12 months after the sentence date and justice records were checked to determine if new crimes or arrests occurred during the treatment involving the same defendant and victim. Results from a randomized experiment did not support the model of treatment as a change process based on re-offending and lack of altered attitudes toward spouse abuse. The groups did not differ significantly at either 6 or 12 months in terms of new reported incidents and the results indicate that batterer intervention has a significant effect on suppressing violent behavior while batterers are under court control, but may not produce cognitive changes that lead to long-term behavior modification.

**Additional NCJ Citations:** 187428, 195079, 200331

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This research in Broward County, Florida will use an experimental design in randomly assigning convicted domestic violence offenders placed on probation to either a control or experimental group. The experimental group will be mandated into a twenty-six week batterer counseling intervention based on the Duluth model while the control group will not be court-mandated into counseling. The subjects will be followed for one year after assignment to probation with follow-up evaluations conducted at six and twelve months. Information on the subjects will include probation reports, monthly treatment attendance and participation reports, police contacts, as well as offender and victim reports of violence pre- and post-treatment.

**Product:** NCJ# 184631/184752

**Test of the Efficacy of Court-Mandated Counseling for Domestic Violence Offenders: A Broward County Experiment (2000) – L. Feder, D. Forde**

The study investigated the effectiveness of court-mandated counseling in reducing repeat violence among men convicted of misdemeanor domestic violence using a classic experimental design whereby all male defendants convicted of misdemeanor DV in Broward County Courthouse between May 1 and September 30, 1997 ($N = 404$) were randomly assigned to batterer treatment or a no treatment control group. The study followed these individuals for 12 months in the community. Researchers analyzed data in terms of both Treatment Assigned (experimental vs. control) as well as Treatment Received (since a man could be assigned to treatment and not go, or alternatively).
Findings indicate no significant difference between the experimental and control groups in their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors regarding DV. Both groups were equally likely to engage in both minor and severe partner abuse according to offender self-reports and victim reports. No significant differences were maintained between the two groups in official measures of recidivism such as violations of probation and re-arrest. While no differences were found, a closer look revealed that completing the batterers’ program lessened the likelihood of a violation of probation and re-arrest for both those in the experimental and control conditions. This gain was offset, however, by the increased likelihood of violation of probation and arrest associated with assignment to group counseling.

Additional NCJ Citations: 195079, 199701, 199729, 200331

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This study will evaluate the effects of the Sacramento Sheriff’s Batterer/Drug Intervention Program on reducing domestic violence using an experimental design. The program is an early intervention program to provide domestic violence and drug treatment education for DV arrestees during their time of detention before going to court. The research will randomly assign six hundred batterers to either the batterer treatment wing of the jail or the no-treatment control group in another wing. The objectives of the research will be to evaluate the effectiveness of this program against the no-treatment group on reductions in domestic violence recidivism, attitudes toward domestic violence, use of non-violent conflict resolution skills, on receptivity to long term treatment, and on drug and alcohol relapse measures. Interviews will be conducted with victims and batterers shortly after the arrest, six months post arrest, and twelve months post arrest (victims only). Also, official police data on recidivism will be analyzed. This study will be a cooperative effort between NIJ, the Sacramento Sheriff’s Department, and the Institute for Social Research at California State University.

Product: NCJ# 228275

The Effects of a Short-Term Batterer Treatment Program for Detained Arrestees: A Randomized Experiment in the Sacramento County, California Jail – B. Taylor, C.D. Maxwell

This study evaluated the effects of an early intervention program to provide domestic violence education for domestic violence arrestees on reducing repeat domestic violence through an experimental design. The study randomly assigned 629 arrest cases for male perpetrated domestic violence to either the batterer treatment wing of the Sacramento County Sheriff’s Department’s Main Jail or to a no-treatment control group in another wing of the jail. Data were collected for about 10 months, September 27, 1999 through August 6, 2000. The study used a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale II, which included sub-scales for controlling behavior, psychological abuse, threats of physical assault, actual physical and sexual assault and injuries. The study found that: (1) for both the treatment and control group, the highest proportion of domestic violence, based on batterer self-reports, was for psychological abuse; (2) the men assigned to the treatment group had a 74% reduction in the likelihood of having a new incident of controlling behavior, thereby creating a longer safety period of non-controlling behavior for the victim; (3) there was no difference between the treatment and control group in 6-month prevalence, frequency, and time-to-failure for victim reported acts of controlling behavior by the perpetrator; and (4) the batterer treatment program had an effect on the least serious form of domestic violence (controlling behavior prevalence, frequency, and time-to-failure), based on batterer self-reports. The experiment was executed as designed, with no subsequent changes in group assignment.

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The proposed study employs a conditional prediction model of multiple outcomes of batterer intervention in an effort to advance the prediction research of batterers. The objectives of the project are to: (1) identify demographic, personality, and behavioral risk markers of multiple outcomes; (2) assess the prediction of risk assessment instruments using multiple outcomes; (3) examine the prediction of batterer typologies interacting with program type; and (4) describe the dynamics of conditional prediction of multiple outcomes using qualitative case material. This project will use an extensive multi-site longitudinal database of batterers and their female partners from four batterer programs established by CDC. The project includes a large sample (n = 840), high response rates (70 percent of women), and
multiple data sources (men, women, and police records). Outcomes will include non-abusive behavior, verbal abuse only, threats, minor re-assault, and chronic re-assault. Intervening factors assessed during 15-month follow-up include batterer or victim employment, partner contact and new partners, alcohol and drug use, batterer alcohol or psychological treatment, women's use of victim services, and additional criminal justice intervention.

Product: NCJ# 202997
Predicting Levels of Abuse and Reassault Among Batterer Program Participants (2004) – D.A. Heckert, E. Gondolf
The goal of the present research was to improve prediction using multinomial logistic regressions with multiple outcomes and conditional factors for risk markers, simulated risk instruments, and batterer personality types. Another goal was to explore for alternative batterer types and abuse outcome categories that might further improve prediction. The multiple outcomes included no abuse, verbal abuse or controlling behavior, threats, one re-assault, and repeated re-assaults during a 15-month follow-up while conditional factors included living together, relationship troubles, antisocial behaviors, and a woman filing a protection order. Results of these analyses were compared with equations for conventional prediction with only dichotomized outcomes in order to identify any improvement in prediction. Using multiple outcomes did improve prediction with risk markers. The need to distinguish “repeat re-assault” from “one-time re-assault” as an outcome was confirmed while prediction was not improved by including conditional variables. Simulated risk instruments and batterer personality types did not improve prediction over the risk marker analyses. The study concludes that the use of psychological assessments for identifying the extent of intervention or level of constraint may not be that useful in prediction. Risk assessment instruments seem to offer only modest prediction and should be used with caution by batterer programs and the criminal justice system.

Additional NCJ Citations: 186751, 195176, 197684, 199701, 199730, 200057, 206487, 208765, 210809

| 1999-WT-VX-0012: Change and Associated Treatment Outcomes in Assaultive Men |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Amount:                      | $223,532                         |
| PI:                          | Chris Eckhardt                   |
| Status:                      | Completed                        |

The immediate goal of this project is to understand the relationship between the characteristics of men the court has referred to batterer intervention programs and subsequent attrition and recidivism rates in Dallas County, Texas. The ultimate goal is to develop treatment and referral guidelines based upon stages of change profiles for use by criminal justice professionals. The first phase of the project will involve a baseline assessment of attendance/attrition rates among 300 men ordered by the Dallas County Domestic Violence Court to receive treatment for partner assault in 1998. The study will administer a variety of self-report questionnaires and structured interviews assessing stages of change, psychological distress, relationship disturbances, and other psychological characteristics prior to treatment. Additional assessments will be conducted four times during the 24-week treatment period. Interviewers will also periodically phone participant’s partners and assess the presence of new acts of relationship violence during treatment and six months afterward. The study will then assess the ability of change readiness, change process use, and participant attrition/completion of treatment to predict domestic violence and other criminal conduct six months following treatment. The study will analyze arrest records, probation officer reports, and post-treatment with participants and their current partners.

Product: NCJ# 205022
Stages and Processes of Change and Associated Treatment Outcomes in Partner Assaultive Men (2003) – C. Eckhardt
This study investigated 199 men ordered by the Dallas County Domestic Violence Court to attend a batterer intervention program (BIP). They were administered a computer-assisted structured interview assessing stages of change, processes of change, psychological distress, relationship conflict, and other characteristics prior to BIP. Also, 60 female partners of male participants reported on new instances of physical and emotional abuse, perceptions of safety, risk for future violence, and perceptions of male change. Five assessments were conducted over a 13-month period. The results indicated that 40% of men mandated to attend a BIP did not complete their program, 27% were rearrested, and 62% reported new acts of male-to-female violence. Cluster analysis revealed four to five distinct stages of change groupings, with all but one of those clusters representative of men that were either mildly or reluctantly predisposed toward change. Men of African-American race, and higher re-contemplation scores predicted BIP attrition. High pre-contemplation, low action, more alcohol problems, and higher levels of anger prior to treatment predicted rearrest. Men in the Borderline/Dysphoric and Generally Violent/Antisocial subtypes were more likely to
Culturally-Focused Batterer Counseling for African-American Men

Amount: $356,321
PI: Edward W. Gondolf
Status: Completed

The purpose of this research is to test the relative effectiveness of culturally-focused batterer counseling for African-American men as compared to conventional batterer counseling. Recent program evaluations show that African-American men are more likely to drop-out of conventional batterer counseling and re-assault their partners. The clinical literature in related fields recommends culturally-focused counseling to improve effectiveness with this population which would recognize and respond to cultural issues that emerge in group sessions. The researchers hypothesize that: (1) African-American men assigned to culturally-focused batterer counseling will have lower dropout, re-assault, and re-arrest rates than men assigned to conventional counseling in both an African-American-only group and a racially-mixed group; (2) improved outcomes for culturally-focused counseling over conventional counseling will persist for program completers over dropouts, in what is considered a dose-response as opposed to intention-to-treat design; and (3) men with more culturally-specific attitudes will benefit the most from the culturally-focused counseling – that is, culturally-specific attitudes will moderate the counseling outcomes.

Product: NCJ# 210828

Clinicians and researchers have strongly recommended the implementation of culturally focused counseling with African-American men arrested for domestic violence. This recommendation has been supported with evidence of the substantial portion of African-American men being mandated to batterer counseling higher dropout and re-arrest rates for these men, and differences in the men’s cultural outlook and experience. An experimental clinical trial was used to test the effectiveness of culturally-focused batterer counseling against conventional cognitive-behavioral counseling. African-American men arrested for domestic violence in Pittsburgh were randomly assigned to one of three options (n = 501): (1) culturally focused counseling in all-African-American groups; (2) conventional counseling in all-African-American groups; and (3) conventional counseling in racially mixed groups. The principal outcomes measures were program dropout (less than the required 16 weekly group sessions), re-assault reported by the men’s partners during a 12-month follow-up period, and re-arrest for domestic violence according to local police records during the 12-month follow-up. There was no apparent benefit from the all-African-American groups with conventional counseling or culturally focused counseling. The completion rate for the 16-week program was approximately 55% across all three counseling options. There was also no significant difference in the re-assault rate reported by the men’s female partners. Men in the racially-mixed groups were, moreover, half as likely to be re-arrested for domestic violence as the men in the culturally-focused groups. While men with high racial identification were more likely to complete the culturally-focused groups, their re-assault and re-arrest rates were not significantly improved in that option. These results were confirmed by logistic regressions controlling for a variety of batterer characteristics and showing program dropout to be significantly associated with re-assault and re-arrest.

Additional NCJ Citations: 206487, 207194

Testing the Impact of Court Monitoring and Batterer Intervention Programs

Amount: $294,129
PI: Michael Rempel
Status: Completed

Recent research raises questions about the efficacy of batterer intervention programs but suggests that intensive court monitoring may be effective in reducing recidivism. To develop more effective responses to domestic violence and to target resources appropriately, court administrators need information about the independent effects of batterer programs and intensive court monitoring on recidivism. They also need to understand whether specific sub-groups benefit more than others from either batterer intervention programs or intensive court monitoring. This project will randomly assign 800 convicted batterers in the Bronx Misdemeanor Domestic Violence Court to four distinct groups ordered to participate in: (1) batterer intervention programs plus monthly court monitoring; (2) batterer intervention programs plus graduated court monitoring; (3) monthly court monitoring only; or (4) graduated court monitoring only. Analyses will test the impact of group assignment on rates of program compliance, new arrests within 6 months and 12 months of sentence, and new domestic violence incidents reported by the same victim. Analyses would also
measure effects on program compliance and recidivism of criminal history, charge, and selected demographics.

**Product: NCJ# 245144**

**Testing the Effectiveness of Batterer Programs and Judicial Monitoring: Results from a Randomized Trial at the Bronx Misdemeanor Domestic Violence Court (2005) – Melissa Labriola, Michael Rempel, Robert C. Davis**

This report by the Center for Court Innovation presents the results of an evaluation of the effectiveness of batterer programs and judicial monitoring at the Bronx Misdemeanor Domestic Violence Court. Findings from the evaluation include the following: Batterer programs did not produce a reduction in re-arrest rates; no significant differences in re-arrest rates were found between offenders assigned to monthly monitoring schedules and those assigned to graduated monitoring schedules; judicial monitoring did not produce a reduction in re-arrest rates; the strongest predictors of recidivism were prior criminal history, young age, and more serious current arrest charges; and neither batterer programs nor judicial monitoring had any significant impact on victim reports of re-abuse. Data for the study were obtained through monitoring of all eligible offenders arraigned on a domestic violence misdemeanor, convicted of a violation, and sentenced to a conditional discharge through the Bronx Misdemeanor Domestic Violence Court for the period July 23, 2002, through February 7, 2004. During the randomized trial, offenders were assigned to one of four conditions: (1) batterer program plus monthly judicial monitoring; (2) batterer program plus graduated judicial monitoring; (3) monthly judicial monitoring only; and (4) graduated judicial monitoring only. The offenders were tracked for 1 year after sentencing to determine the effectiveness of the sentencing conditions. The findings suggest that mandating offenders to a batterer program does not produce a reduction in re-arrest rates nor does it reduce reported incidences of re-abuse. The findings also indicate that judicial monitoring does not lead to lower incidences of re-arrest, thus suggesting the need for changes in program mandates. Study limitations are discussed.

**Additional NCJ Citations: 221766, 223336**

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This research extends the work on the application of the Trans-theoretical Model of Change (TTM) to domestic violence offenders by examining processes of resistance, which is a new TTM construct that represents activities that inhibit stage progression or increase risk of regression. Subjects will be 766 male domestic violence offenders involved in group counseling for partner violence at participating Rhode Island programs. The sequential method for scale development includes: (1) a literature review, focus group with batterers, and interviews with experts to generate ideas for inclusion in the process of resistance measure; (2) the measure will be administered to 350 adult males in batterer treatment; (3) principal components analysis and item analysis will be conducted to refine the measure and determine its dimensionality and content; and (4) preliminary statistical analyses will be conducted to assess the measure’s external validity. Subsequently, the measure will be administered to a separate sample of 350 domestic violence offenders at treatment intake and again 3 months later in order to confirm the measure’s factor structure and external validity. Finally, the researchers will return to the literature and experts on domestic violence treatment and conduct additional focus groups with batterers to identify best practices for dealing with resistance in batterer treatment.

**Product: NCJ# 223620**

**Processes of Resistance in Domestic Violence Offenders – D.A. Levesque**

Using the Transtheoretical Model of Change (stage of change) framework, three studies were conducted to examine resistance in domestic violence offenders. In Study One, an 88-item draft measure of resistance was developed and administered to 346 adult males in batterer treatment. The study yielded a 38-item measure that assessed eight resistance dimensions: (1) System Blaming, (2) Problems with Partner, (3) Problems with Alliance, (4) Social Justification, (5) Hopelessness, (6) Isolation, (7) Psychological Reactance, and (8) Passive Reactance. In Study Two, the measure was administered to a separate sample of adult males at batterer program intake (N = 358) and again two months later (N = 256) in order to confirm the measure’s factor structure and to further examine its external validity. Resistance over time was related to stage progression and regression and use of psychological aggression, mild physical aggression, and severe physical aggression against a partner since program start. Only three types of resistance, System Blaming, Problems with Partner, and Hopelessness, decreased from program intake to follow-up, suggesting that domestic violence programs may be most attentive to those types of resistance, but may need to do more to address other forms of resistance. In Study Three, interviews with experts on domestic violence treatment
were conducted in an initial attempt to identify strategies for dealing with resistance in batterer treatment. The current project and future research on resistance can help the field become more attuned to different forms of resistance and their potential impact on partner violence and offenders’ engagement in treatment.

### 2003-MU-MU-0002: Supplemental Mental Health Treatment for Batterer Program Participants

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Approximately one quarter of the men sent to batterer counseling would qualify for mental health treatment. The nature and extent of such treatment, has not, however, been documented and its effectiveness has not been evaluated. The purpose of this research is to: (1) describe the nature and extent of mental health treatment obtained by batterers with diagnosable mental disorders and (2) to test the relative effectiveness of such mental health treatment for batterer program participants through an experimental clinical trial. Court-ordered batterer counseling supplemented with mental health treatment will be compared to batterer counseling only. At batterer program intake, men court-ordered to batterer counseling will be screened for mental health disorders using the Psychiatric Diagnostic Screening Questionnaire and Brief Symptom Inventory (N = 400). Those men who show evidence of a disorder on the self-report instrument will be randomly referred to a local mental health outpatient clinic for assessment and appropriate treatment. The effectiveness of the mental health treatment will be tested using a 12-month follow-up study design. Phone interviews with the batterer’s female partners will be conducted at 3-month intervals to determine re-assault, and arrest records will be obtained and coded to determine further criminal offenses.

**Product:** NCJ# 223030

**Supplemental Mental Health Treatment for Batterer Program Participants (2007) – E.W. Gondolf**

The study concluded that increased efforts, procedures, coordination, and costs of implementing a mandatory screening and referral system for batterer mental health treatment did not improve outcomes related to program completion and meaningful reductions in partner abuse. In general it is difficult to justify investment in the process required for mandatory referral for mental health treatment because of the relatively small portion of men involved and the small net improvement in outcomes. However the option of referral for men with observed or self-reported mental health problems seems justified. One instructive finding is that batterer program participants are not likely to comply with voluntary referrals for mental health treatment. Accountability through court mandate, oversight, and sanctions should substantially improve compliance, and the men who do comply should benefit from treatment. The authors caution that the findings must be viewed with caution, because of the small portion of men who actually received treatment and the lack of improvement in mental health status for the referred men as a whole.


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The goal of this research project is to address the critical need to improve accuracy in risk assessment for sexual offenders and hence improve decision-making about sexual offenders. The study will investigate the most widely used actuarial instruments for facilitating correct decisions relating to the management of sexual offenders. The study will examine the instruments under conditions of greater methodological rigor than previous research has allowed, explore the contexts in which specific instruments are maximally useful, and apply advances in psychometrics and predictive statistics to generate improved actuarial instruments. The research will focus on the outcome data of an original study that was completed before actuarial instruments had been developed. The participants in the original study were selected from two groups of sexually aggressive offenders evaluated at the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) for Sexually Dangerous Persons between 1959 and 1984. Between 1985 and 1987 all of the participants in the study were tracked through four follow-up record sources. These data will provide the basis of the multiple outcome measures for the study.

**Product:** NCJ# 217618

**Evaluating and Improving Risk Assessment Schemes for Sexual Recidivism: A Long-Term Follow-up of Convicted Sexual Offenders – R. Knight, D. Thornton**
Highlights of the results were: (1) for the average predictability over all measures, the Bridgewater Observations sample (BOs) were better predicted than Bridgewater Treatments sample (BTs), despite a significantly lower recidivism rate; (2) the cross-temporal pattern of prediction differed between rapists and child molesters, with rapists being predicted better at shorter follow-up periods and child molesters better at longer intervals; (3) all actuarials showed moderate reliability and predictive accuracy with few significant differences; (4) five factors accounted for all of the predictive variance in the existing actuarials; (5) the Structured Risk Assessment (SRA) Needs Assessment consistently had the highest area under the Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curve (AUCs) for the entire sample and for rapists and child molesters separately; (6) age was not found to constitute an important moderator for predicting outcome, and a complex relation among age at index offense, age at discharge, and outcome status emerged and (7) promising additional subgroup specific predictors for child molesters and rapists were identified. Risk assessment plays a central role in the management of sexual offenders. The study assessed the comparative accuracy of the major risk instruments over time and over sub samples, explored their underlying factor structure, examined the accuracy of a new assessment protocol, the SRA Needs Assessment, and explored the potential for generating improved predictive instruments. To accomplish this, archival files from a prior study which followed 599 offenders referred to the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) from 1959 and 1984 were used. The offenders were referred from both Bridgewater Treatment (BT) and Bridgewater Observation (BO). They were coded on the modern actuarials that have been developed since 1998 and on a new experimental measure, the SRA Needs Assessment.

2003-WG-BX-1005: Integrating Fatherhood into Batterer Programs: A Comparative Field Test
Amount: $314,346
PI: Chris O’ Sullivan
Status: Completed

The goal of this project is to determine whether a domestic violence curriculum with a strong emphasis on the effects of domestic violence on children, produces a better outcome than the standard curriculum. Researchers will conduct both a process and outcome evaluation. The study sample will consist of 200 men entering Safe Horizon domestic violence programs over a 12 month period of time and signing up for classes in the Bronx or Brooklyn. Upon consenting to participate in the study, half of the men will be assigned to the test group (a 26-week standard curriculum program compressed into a 16-week period, plus a 10-week module focusing on the impact of domestic violence on children) and half to the control group (a standard 26-week curriculum, which includes one session devoted to the effects of violence on children). Semi-structured, in-person interviews will be conducted with each of the participants at the first session after orientation, at the halfway mark, and at the final session. Subsequent telephone interviews will be conducted 3 months after course completion. Recidivism will be tracked by collecting information on each participant’s arrest one year after enrollment in the program.

Product: NCJ# 223029
The evaluation involved 123 men mandated to and enrolled in the Safe Horizon domestic violence Accountability Program in Brooklyn, NY, between July 14, 2004, and December 31, 2005. They were randomly assigned to either the child-focused curriculum or the partner/victim-focused curriculum. Forty-six completed the child-focused curriculum, and 35 completed the partner-focused curriculum. Rearrests were determined for the period of 1 year after program completion or termination. Instructors for the two programs were asked about their impressions of participant interest and responses to the curriculum. Despite the instructors’ impression that the men in the child-focused curriculum were more thoughtful about and interested in the material than participants in the curriculum that focused only on the partner/victim, men in the child-focused curriculum were equally likely to be terminated from or drop out of the classes. The only factors significantly associated with a lower rearrest rate were completing the program, regardless of whether it was child-focused or partner-focused; being older; and having no criminal history. This evaluation, as well as previous evaluations of batterer programs, suggests that there may be a group of chronic offenders who commit domestic violence along with other crimes, for whom arrest is not a deterrent and batterer programs, regardless of content, are not effective. This report recommends that instead of continuing to modify program content in the hope of finding material that will cause positive behavioral change in batterers, efforts should focus on other variables such as improved monitoring and increasing batterers’ stake in conformity through employment services.

2004-WG-BX-0001: Stages of Change and the Group Treatment of Batterers
One individual difference in response to treatment among batterers may be readiness to change, best conceptualized by the stages of change (SOC) model. It is the purpose of this project to (1) compare the effectiveness of a 26-week SOC group treatment with a standard 26-week cognitive-behavioral gender re-education (CBTGR) group treatment; (2) assess the integrity of the two treatments with respect to therapist adherence, therapist competence, and processes of change; (3) conduct exploratory analyses on individual readiness to change as a moderator of treatment condition in predicting outcomes; and (4) conduct exploratory analyses comparing the effectiveness of these two approaches in Spanish-speaking groups. A total of 240 court-ordered, English-speaking male batterers will be randomly assigned to one of two treatment conditions, for a total of 12 groups in each condition and 10 men per group. In addition, 80 court-ordered Spanish-speaking male batterers will be randomly assigned to one of the two conditions, for a total of four groups in each condition. Effectiveness will be indicated by (a) increased involvement in treatment (lower attrition, higher working alliance, higher group cohesion), (b) increased readiness to change, and (c) desistance from violence (according to batterer self-report at post-treatment and partner reports at post-treatment, and 6- and 12-month follow-ups). Groups will be conducted over the course of 2 years at the Montgomery County, Maryland Abused Persons Program (APP), and initial, mid-group, and post-treatment assessments will be collected on all group participants. Initial, post-treatment, and 6- and 12-month partner follow-up assessments will be collected as a function of Montgomery County APP's participation in a project funded by the CDC (R49/CCR 319813-01) to predict batterers' response to treatment.

Product: NCJ# 228004

Stages of Change and the Group Treatment of Batterers (2007) – P.C. Alexander

The study found that self-reported aggression at post-treatment was unrelated to treatment condition; however, on the basis of victim follow-up reports, the SOC curriculum was more effective than standard CBTGR treatment in reducing women's risk for physical aggression from their male partners, especially among English-speakers. The SOC condition was particularly effective for first-time offenders, for men who were court-ordered to treatment, and for men in an earlier underlying stage of change. On the other hand, the SOC condition was no more effective than the CBTGR condition in reducing the violence of men with multiple admissions, histories of trauma, or source of referral as a function of their assignment to different treatment conditions. The SOC condition was based on a motivational intervening model that included the use of open-ended questions, asking about both positive and negative aspects of the problem, listening reflectively, being willing to revise these reflections upon clarification from the client, highlighting discrepancies between clients' values and their behavior, affirming a client's efforts to change, and reflecting upon his ambivalence about changing. The CBTGR condition emphasized presenting reasons why clients should change their behavior. The sample consisted of 528 batterers, 96.1 percent of whom were court-ordered to treatment. They were randomly assigned to a total of 19 English-speaking groups in the SOC conditions (200 men), 16 English-speaking groups in the CBTGR conditions (175 men), 4 Spanish-speaking groups in the SOC conditions (47 men), and 10 Spanish-speaking groups in the CBTGR condition (106 men).

2004-WG-BX-0005: Court Responses to Battering Program Noncompliance: A National Perspective

The purpose of this study is to investigate how courts use batterer program mandates to keep defendants under tight court supervision. This study will involve a survey of criminal courts, batterer programs, and battered women’s programs in each of the 50 states. An average of three communities per state will be surveyed (n = 150). Selection criteria will include whether the community has a batterer program, battered women’s agency, and a court that can respond. All communities whose courts mandate batterer programs pre-disposition will be included. The survey will assess: (1) how the court uses batterer programs pre- and post-disposition; (2) what policies exist for responding to noncompliance; and (3) how respondents perceive the message the court’s enforcement practices send about the seriousness of intimate partner violence.

Product: NCJ# 230399

The primary goal of this research was to determine the extent to which criminal courts nationwide are advancing the goals of accountability by imposing consequences on domestic-violence offenders who do not comply with a batterer program mandate. The study was also interested in identifying the goals that courts, batterer programs, and victim assistance agencies currently ascribe to batterer programs. Overall, the study found that a foundation exists in most communities nationwide on which to build an accountability model for implementing court mandates to batterer programs; however, confusion about the purpose of batterer program mandates many divert attention from strengthening responses to noncompliance. The findings from nearly all of the 260 courts examined reported that they most often impose batterer program mandates on convicted offenders who were originally arrested on a misdemeanor (55 percent) or violation (39 percent) as opposed to a felony charge (6 percent). Generally, probation departments played a critical role in supervising batterer program mandates. Only 34 percent of the courts reported predisposition mandates. Sixty-two percent of the courts indicated that convicted offenders mandated to a batterer program must report back to court for periodic compliance monitoring; however, only 58 percent of those courts reported that the first compliance monitoring date was held within 4 weeks of mandate imposition, suggesting that many jurisdictions monitor at infrequent intervals. Almost half of the batterer programs surveyed reported that their program is 20-30 weeks long, and nearly all programs held one session per week. In addition to batterer programs, 83 percent sometimes mandate domestic-violence offenders to other types of programs, most often drug/alcohol abuse treatment, mental health treatment, and anger management. The study conducted a survey of 260 communities nationwide that met several criteria. A criminal court, batterer program, and victim assistance agency existed in each community surveyed. Extensive figures and tables, 60 references, and appended research instruments and materials included.

PDF Link: https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/230399.pdf

2004-WG-BX-0011: Long-Term Efficacy of Court Intervention on the Reduction of Repeat Battering
Amount: $78,391
PI: Douglas Wilson
Status: Completed

The proposed research is a plan to discover the long-term effects of criminal justice and court interventions on the pattern of offender domestic violence. The goal is to discover what combination of court intervention safeguards the same or different victims from repeat domestic violence offenses. The study will extend the database on 353 domestic violence offenders who were arrested from July 1995 through February 1996 for misdemeanor assaults and violations of protective orders in East Norfolk Domestic Violence Court in Massachusetts. Their arrest and civil order histories will be followed through 2004, providing a ten year longitudinal study of offender abuse and other criminal behavior. Longitudinal record data will be supplied by the Massachusetts Criminal History Board. Additional data on arrest will be obtained from courthouse records to determine if additional offenses have been committed against the same or new victims. The analyses will apply methods used to analyze criminal careers.

Product: NCJ# 215346


The findings revealed that the men arrested for domestic violence in this study cohort were generally antisocial, persistently criminal, and engaged in domestic violence as part of their general criminal activities. Police arrested 75 percent of the 342 men for subsequent crimes involving substance abuse or violence (including domestic violence), or both. Men in the cohort were commonly arrested for a new crime before the courts disposed of an earlier crime. The commission of a new crime before the disposition of a previous crime did not adversely impact the criminal justice outcome for the defendant, but actually seemed to work in the defendant’s favor as both offenses were typically handled by the court in one disposition while the court’s sentence remained unaffected. Statistical analyses indicated that the courts displayed consistency in the application of deterrence responses/sentences in domestic violence cases, which included the use of probation, suspended sentences, split sentences, and jail. Given the criminal histories of the men in the cohort, the authors suggest it is unlikely that a deterrence approach alone, or even deterrence combined with batterer treatment, will deter these men from committing future crimes, particularly domestic violence. The findings also illustrate that in order to properly evaluate the impact of criminal justice responses to domestic violence, it is necessary to consider the responses within the broader context of an abuser’s general criminal behavior. Data were drawn from the State’s criminal history file and from individual court criminal and civil records for 342 men.
who were originally arrested for domestic violence within the jurisdiction of an eastern Massachusetts District Court between February 1995 and March 1996. Data were analyzed using cross tabulations, Fisher’s exact test, bivariate and multivariate logistical analysis, and survival analysis.

### 2005-WG-BX-0004: Evaluation of California’s Batterer Intervention Systems

- **Amount:** $250,092
- **PI:** Dag MacLeod
- **Status:** Completed

This project will evaluate batterer intervention systems with an eye toward teasing out the contributions of different parts of the system. The project will take advantage of the size of California’s population currently in the criminal justice system and the length of its statutorily mandated batterer intervention programs. California’s 52-week programs are among the longest in the country. The common statutory framework in California — combined with the variation in the operation of courts and batterer treatment programs within that framework — provides an ideal environment for conducting a quasi-experimental study, making it easier to distinguish the effects of specific components of batterer intervention systems. Various qualitative and quantitative measures will be used to examine the characteristics of different components of the systems and their interactions. A multi-method research design will begin by creating typologies of the batterer intervention system in six different jurisdictions in the State and the batterer intervention programs within these systems. Measures of program fidelity will be constructed so that outcomes may be evaluated relative to differences in program design and implementation. Program completion, a key element of compliance with the terms of probation, and reduced recidivism, specifically reduced recidivism for domestic violence offenses, will be the key indicators of effectiveness and will be measured by tracking records from law enforcement, the courts, and batterer intervention programs. An estimated sample size of approximately 2,000 will be selected from batterers enrolled in intervention programs in six project sites. The goal of this research is to assist in building a national consensus on the components of these systems that are most effective.

### Product: NCJ# 230702


This study examined a sample of more than 1,000 men who were enrolled in batterer intervention programs (BIPs) across five jurisdictions in California. Some findings from the study include the following: (1) The men in the BIPs were not representative of the larger problem of domestic violence; more than one-third of the men in the sample still lived with their victim. (2) BIPs incorporated multiple approaches to working with domestic violence offenders. (3) Offenders’ rates of program completion varied across different BIPs. (4) The strongest predictors of re-offending following intake to a BIP were the individual characteristics of the offenders. Since 1994, California law has required that defendants who are convicted and granted probation in domestic violence cases must complete a certified BIP. In addition, many State superior courts have adopted specialized procedures for handling domestic violence cases; jurisdictions manage their caseloads in different ways. This study examined the different ways that domestic violence cases are handled by the courts, departments of probation, and BIPs in five separate jurisdictions in California: Los Angeles, Riverside, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, and Solano. The report is divided into six chapters that cover (a) an overview of California’s batterer intervention systems, (b) an evaluation of five batterer intervention systems in California, (c) a look at BIP content, (d) an examination of offender profiles, (e) an analysis of systems impacts, and (f) a review of policy issues and research implications.

### 2006-IJ-CX-0018: Megan’s Law: An Empirical Analysis

- **Amount:** $38,252
- **PI:** Kristen Zgoba
- **Status:** Completed

This study assesses the empirical efficacy of New Jersey’s Megan’s Law (in its home state). Megan’s Law was enacted in New Jersey in 1994 after the death and sexual molestation of Megan Kanka in Hamilton, New Jersey. President Bill Clinton signed the federal version of Megan’s Law in 1996, giving states two years to implement the law, or risk losing federal funding. Today all fifty states have a version of Megan’s Law. Despite widespread community and legislative support, there is no empirical evidence that such community notification and registration laws reduce the frequency of sex offenses. Additionally, what is not known is the true cost of implementing Megan’s Law and the sex offender registry websites within the criminal justice system. As such, this study will approach the problem with a
triangulated methodology. The main study goals are (1) to establish the prevalence of sexual offenses in New Jersey for the five years prior to the implementation of Megan’s law and the five years after the inception of Megan’s Law, (2) to compare a matched sample of sex offenders who left New Jersey State Prisons (NJSP) prior to Megan’s Law and were therefore not subject to the law to offenders who were released after the implementation of Megan’s law and subject to its provisions, (3) Determine direct costs of program operation since the implementation of Megan’s Law. Additional activities include report/manuscript writing, code book development and dissemination.

**Product:** NCJ# 225370


This study investigated: (1) the effect of Megan’s Law on the overall rate of sexual offending over time; (2) its specific deterrence effect on reoffending, including the level of general and sexual offense recidivism, the nature of sexual reoffenses, and time to first re-arrest for sexual and nonsexual reoffenses (i.e., community tenure); and (3) the costs of implementation and most recent annual expenditures of Megan’s Law. Phase One was a 21-year trend study (10 years prior and 10 years after implementation, and the year of For Phase Two, data on 550 sexual offenders released during the years 1990 to 2000 were collected, and outcomes of interest were analyzed. Phase Three collected implementation and ongoing costs of administering Megan’s Law for 15 of New Jerseys’ 21 counties. Findings showed that: (1) Megan’s Law has no effect on community tenure (i.e., time to first rearrest), (2) Megan’s Law showed no demonstrable effect in reducing sexual reoffenses, (3) Megan’s Law has no effect on the type of sexual reoffense or first-time sexual offense (still largely child molestation/incest), and (4) Megan’s Law has no effect on reducing the number of victims involved in sexual offenses.

**Additional NCJ Citations:** 230486, 232041, 225370

**2006-WG-BX-0001: A National Portrait of Domestic Violence Courts**

Amount: $275,064

PI: Michael Rempel

Status: Completed

The study will involve the identification of criminal domestic violence courts throughout the country; site visits to 15 courts; and a national survey of domestic violence courts. The result will be a detailed national portrait of domestic violence court goals, policies and practices. This portrait will be used by the project team of researchers and practitioners to identify best (and worst) practices and testable hypotheses for future domestic violence court research.

**Product:** NCJ# 229659


The study's major findings pertain to the goals, victim services and safety, offender assessments programs, and compliance monitoring of Domestic Violence Courts (DVCs). Regarding DVC goals, most courts emphasize victim safety, offender accountability, deterring recidivism, rehabilitation, and efficient case processing. Regarding victim services and safety, DVCs generally emphasize victim advocacy services, orders of protection, and victim safety while attending court. Regarding offender assessment and programs, most assessments were usually conducted by prosecution staff, probation, or the staff of batterer programs or other outside programs. All courts reported using batterer programs, but with widely varying frequency. Orders to attend other types of programs were as prevalent as orders to batterer programs. Regarding compliance monitoring, 62 percent of the DVCs reported "always" or "often" ordering offenders to probation supervision. Fifty-six percent of courts reported requiring a return to court for postdisposition monitoring. At such hearings, 27 percent of DVCs reported imposing sanctions for noncompliance. Other topics addressed in open-ended survey questions and on-site interviews were collaboration, consistency, training, victim outreach, and resources. For the purposes of this study, DVCs were defined as courts that handle domestic violence cases on a separate calendar or assign domestic violence cases to one or more dedicated judges or judicial officers. Using a variety of investigative methods, the study developed a comprehensive list of criminal DVCs nationwide. Three DVCs in each of five States were visited to develop in-depth information. Surveys involved all qualifying courts in the national compendium and prosecutors linked to each court. Phone interviews were conducted with a subsample of court survey respondents.


Amount: $365,704
The proposed study will evaluate the use, implementation, and effectiveness of Global Positioning Systems (GPS) programs aimed at preventing repeat domestic violence (DV) in the pretrial/predisposition period, a volatile phase during which women are vulnerable to renewed abuse. The study is composed of three parts: (1) Records will be analyzed from five GPS-using jurisdictions to examine program effectiveness in the short term (pre-adjudication) and long term (post-program release or post-incarceration); (2) an e-mail survey will be conducted of all agencies in the United States using GPS and RF technologies to address the safety of IPV victims in the post-arrest/pretrial period will solicit responses on the relative value of each technology in terms of its protective potential, costs, accuracy, reliability, versatility, and ease of implementation; and (3) in-depth interviews with representatives of all stakeholders (victims, offenders, justice personnel, and victim advocates as well as vendors and manufacturers) will be used to examine the use, implementation, and effectiveness of GPS for DV.

Product: NCJ# 238910


This study examined the use of Global Positioning System (GPS) technology to monitor compliance with court-mandated “no contact” orders in domestic-violence (DV) cases, particularly those that have involved violence. In addition, the study also determined the effectiveness of GPS as a form of pretrial supervision in DV cases compared with other pretrial supervision conditions. The findings indicate that the use of GPS impacts the behavior of program enrollees over both short and long terms. The short-term impact was associated with no contact attempts, and defendants enrolled in GPS monitoring had fewer program violations compared with those placed in traditional electronic monitoring (EM) that uses radio frequency (RF) technology. The latter involves remotely monitoring house arrest but without tracking. Apparently, GPS tracking increases defendants’ compliance with program conditions compared with those who are monitored for presence at a particular location, usually the home residence, but are not tracked for all locations. Defendants enrolled in the Midwest GPS program had a lower probability of being rearrested for a DV offense during the 1-year follow-up period compared with defendants who had been in a non-GPS condition (e.g., in jail, in an EM program, or released on bond without supervision). In another study site, those placed on GPS had a lower likelihood of arrest for any criminal violation within the 1-year follow-up period. In a third site, however, no impact from participation in GPS monitoring was found. The authors speculate that the heterogeneity of the defendants placed on GPS at the latter site, along with the different method for generating the sample of DV defendants, may explain the absence of an impact of GPS on arrest in the long term. The finding also suggests that defendants’ participation in GPS increased the likelihood of conviction. NCJ 238910.


Amount: $151,580
PI: Andrew Klein
Status: Completed

The criminal justice response to domestic violence has been transformed since the 1980s, beginning with a great increase in arrests. Although prosecution initially lagged, recent research challenges the widespread belief that few domestic violence (DV) arrests are prosecuted (Maxwell & Garner, 2009). However, the effectiveness of DV prosecution remains at issue. Maxwell and Garner’s review of more than 30 DV prosecution studies finds no deterrent effect of prosecution beyond that obtained by the abuser’s initial arrest (2011). The goal of this research is to revisit the question of the effectiveness of DV prosecution. Unlike previous studies, we will use a wider lens, examining the cumulative effect of DV prosecutions over time and within the context of all prosecutions experienced by the abuser, including those for non-DV offenses. This wider examination is essential to determine the effectiveness of prosecution/sentencing. As documented in the literature review, abusers who come into contact with the criminal justice system are not first-time abusers who otherwise are law-abiding citizens. They are repeat abusers, often with extensive criminal histories for non-domestic violence offenses. Given this, looking at any given one DV prosecution in isolation will not reveal the effectiveness of prosecution/sentencing of abusers. It is our hypothesis that context matters, and that differences between patterns of prosecution/sentencing of domestic compared with nondomestic offenses will effect reabuse outcomes. To discern these differences, we have developed a severity scale that will measure and compare patterns of domestic and non-domestic violence prosecutions/sentences. Our hypothesis is that
abusers who are prosecuted as aggressively and sentenced as severely for DV as for non-domestic violence offenses will be less likely to reabuse or will reabuse less than those who are consistently prosecuted and sentenced less severely for DV compared with non-DV offenses.

We will test this hypothesis by looking at a large cohort of criminal justice-identified abusers, compare their histories of criminal prosecutions over a substantial period of their active criminal careers (10 years), and measure their subsequent abuse over the next 5 years to determine reabuse rates. In order to accomplish this first of its kind, exploratory research, we will use a large dataset of more than 1,000 males and females on probation for at least one DV offense as of November 2002 across the state of Rhode Island. We are familiar with this dataset; it was used in a prior NIJ study (Klein et al., 2005). Given that almost all of these abusers had repeat DV and non-DV criminal histories and their average age in 2002 was 34, we will be able to examine their criminal lives for 10 years from their first adult offense, compare the severity of their DV and non-DV prosecutions/sentences, and see if any differences are associated with reabuse over the subsequent 5 years. The dataset will allow us to control for unique offender characteristics that have been documented to predict reabuse, including age, criminal history, and gender. Our findings will reveal whether our approach reveals a new way to examine the effect of DV prosecution/sentencing over time, but a more accurate assessment of current DV prosecution/sentencing practices across Rhode Island. If our hypothesis proves correct, it will have major implications for how DV could be prosecuted/sentenced to safeguard victims more effectively.

**Product: NCJ# 244757**

**Impact of Differential Sentencing Severity for Domestic Violence Offenses and All Other Offenses Over Abusers’ Life Spans (2013) – Andrew Klein, David Centerbar, Steven Keller, Jessica Klein**

Unlike previous studies of the effectiveness of prosecutions of domestic violence (DV), the current study used a wider lens in examining the relative effect of differential prosecutions of DV offenses over time compared to prosecutions of all other types of offenses by DV abusers (non-DV offenses), which tests the hypothesis that if sentencing for DV offenses was more severe than for non-DV offenses, then re-abuse would be significantly deterred.

The study confirmed this hypothesis. It found that abusers who were prosecuted and sentenced more severely for DV compared to their non-DV crimes during the first years of their adult criminal careers were less likely to be arrested for another DV offense. Also, the subset of abusers who were prosecuted for their DV offense but were not prosecuted for their non-DV offenses were significantly less likely to commit new DV offenses. These findings suggest that prosecutors and courts have the means to deter DV reoffending significantly by enhancing sentences for repeat DV cases. The study sample consisted of 500 DV offenders who were on probation for DV in Rhode Island in 2002 and also were involved in non-DV cases during the first 6 years of their criminal careers. Also, they had at least one non-DV case that preceded a DV case. Researchers examined every adult criminal prosecution for both DV and non-DV offenses since age 18 through April 2012. The majority had active criminal careers of at least 8 years, as measured from first to last arrest. In order to determine the impact of sentencing for DV offenses, the study controlled for the most common independent variables associated with risk of re-abuse, including number of prior offenses, gender, and age at first offense.

2011-WG-BX-0002: An In-Depth Examination of Batterer Intervention and Alternative Treatment Approaches for Domestic Violence Offenders

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<td>PI:</td>
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Most offenders who are convicted of domestic violence crimes in the U.S. are mandated to attend one of the nation’s 2,000 batterer intervention programs (BIPs). Recent research raises serious questions about the effectiveness of BIPs because of high attrition rates, little evidence of attitudinal and behavioral change, and inconsistent contact with victims. A number of States are now offering alternative treatment approaches for domestic violence crimes. Some States, including Utah, require these alternative programs to be offered after a period of BIP treatment. The proposed National Institute of Justice (NIJ) study will provide an in-depth content analysis to complement a National Science Foundation (NSF)-funded randomized control trial in Salt Lake City, Utah, that will use an intention-to-treatment method of analysis to determine which of three treatment programs has the lowest arrest outcomes: batterer intervention programs, a restorative justice (RJ) approach called Circles of Peace (CP), or a conjoint treatment approach called Couples Conflict Group (CCG). CP provides weekly circles or conferences, encouraging behavioral
and attitudinal change, and includes willing participation from victims, family members, and trained community 
members. The first randomized, controlled study comparing BIP and CP, being released soon, suggests that CP may
be more effective than BIP in reducing overall arrests. The results also negate the claim that it is dangerous to use RJ
for domestic violence. CCG offers a forum for multiple couples to address their abuse histories by engaging in group
discussions in which they receive from and offer help to other members. The proposed NIJ study focuses on intimate 
partner cases in which the victim is willing to participate in treatment with the offender. Using a variety of data 
collection methods, the NIJ study will offer critical findings that the NSF quantitative study cannot provide. Case 
record reviews, video recordings of selected treatment sessions, and interviews with offenders and victims will allow
the researchers to test whether emerging theories like CP and CCG may be viable alternatives to a BIP-only approach
while ensuring that safety concerns are being addressed. An estimated 150 male and female offenders (ranging in age,
race, and ethnicity) will be randomly assigned to treatment (n = 50, BIP only; n = 50, BIP plus CP; n = 50 BIP plus
CCG). Initial and ongoing assessments from the case records will be analyzed and used to describe demographic and 
clinical characteristics of the sample. A content analysis will be conducted on the case session notes, video recordings, 
and interview transcriptions. Results from the three treatments in the proposed study will be combined with results 
from the NSF randomized, controlled trial to determine which characteristics of the treatment process are associated
with treatment outcomes. Both conventional statistics and a meta-regression approach will be used to test the effects 
of these variables. Given that alternative treatment programs are currently being offered by various courts, it is
imperative that rigorous, in-depth research findings become available. This study proposes to meet this urgent need.
A cost-benefit analysis will also be provided to understand the trade-offs that each treatment provides.

Product NCJ# 252265
An In-Depth Examination of Batterer Intervention and Alternative Treatment Approaches for Domestic 
Violence Offenders -- Linda G. Mills, Briana Barocas

The study was a content analysis that complements a National Science Foundation (NSF)-funded randomized 
controlled trial (RCT) in Salt Lake City (Utah) that used an intention-to-treat method of analysis to determine which
treatment program had the lowest arrest outcomes, i.e., a traditional BIP or a BIP plus RJ approach called Circles of 
Peace (CP). The BIP was a 16-week, group-based treatment approach for DV offenders only. It was largely didactic,
rather than interactive and focused on changing sexist attitudes so as to alter offender behavior. BIP plus CP provided 
12 weeks of offender-only group sessions, with RJ principles infused throughout to encourage offenders to focus on 
behavioral and attitudinal change. Following the initial 12 group sessions, offenders participated in four weeks of 
individual circles with a willing victim (or victim advocate when the victim did not want to participate), along with 
family members or other support people, as well as trained community volunteers. The NIJ-funded study built on Part 
II of the NSF study, which focused only on cases of intimate partner violence. Part I of the NSF study compared BIP
only and BIP plus CP for all DV cases (both intimate partner and family violence). The preliminary findings presented 
in this report show the recurring patterns across all data sources. They focus on attitudes about gender, family, and 
relationships; DV; offender treatment for DV; the criminal justice system; perceptions about causes of violence in the 
relationship; factors that influence offender participation in treatment; the infusion of RJ in treatment; victims and 
DV; and considerations for implementing DV offender treatment.

For an index of all grants, go to ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh241/files/archives/ncjrs/223572-grants-index.pdf.